

# **CHAPTER III**

## **JAINISM IN KERALA**

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### Jainism in Kerala

#### Land and Physiography

In the words of the Malayalam poet Vallathol, Kerala (Fig.1), the god's own country '*sleeps with her head on the lap of the Sahyadris clad in green*'; *her feet pillowed on the crystal ocean sand, Kumari at one end and the Lord of Gokarna on the other*'<sup>1</sup>. This small state in the southern tip of the peninsular India looks like a bitter gourd in the map bounded by South Canara, Coorg, and Mysore districts of Karnataka on the north and north east; Nilagiri, Coimbatore, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts of Tamil Nadu on the south and south-east and Arabian Sea on the west. Kerala, as a linguistic state came into existence on 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1956, extending over 38,863 sq.kms of geographic area. The density of population of Kerala is 860 persons per sq.km.as per Census of 2011. The elevated long green belt of Western Ghats acted as a natural boundary for the region since ages. The western coastal line helped the growth of a sea-link with the Mediterranean world and even the Far East. Simultaneously, the inland contacts through the hazardous passes in the Western Ghats cemented a hard to kill root of the typical Indian tradition in the whole life pattern of the people of Kerala.

#### Physical Divisions

Tradition says that sage Parasurama extracted the land by causing the sea to withdraw and gave it away to the Brahmins whom he brought from Ahichchatra. Whatever be the traditional stories, on the basis of the geographical setting, it can be safely said that the land was once under the water. The Tamil classical work *Tholkappiyam* speaks about thirteen divisions of Tamilakam such as *Pandi*, *Thenpandi*, *Kuttam*, *Kutam*, *Karka*, *Ven*, *Poozhi*, *Panri*, *Aruva*, *Aruva-Vadatalai*, *Cheethani*, *Maladu* and *Puna-nadu*<sup>2</sup>. Kanakasabhai Pillai observe that five of them Viz., *Kuttam*, *Kutam*, *Karka*, *Ven*, *Poozhi* comprise the present Kerala region respectively signifying the 'Western Land', the 'Land of Lakes', the 'Sandy Tracts', the 'Bamboo Land', and the 'Rocky Region' <sup>3</sup>. Most of the Tamil classics including *Tholkappiyam* also define the different landscapes of *Tamilakam* based on the flora and fauna, known as *Tinais*. These divisions are five in number (*Ainthinai*) such as *Kurinji* (mountainous region),

*Mullai* (forests), *Palai* (dry land), *Marutham* (wetland) and *Neithal* (seashore)<sup>4</sup>. All of them can be identified in the Kerala country except *Palai Nilam*. Kerala country can broadly be divided into three divisions based on the physiography such as Highland or plateau region, Midland or Plains, and Low land or Sea coast.

### **Highland or Malanadu**

The Malanadu region comprised the Western Ghats (*Sahyadris*) and their valleys. The elevation of the Western Ghats range between 915 to 2439 meters above the Mean Sea Level (AMSL). The highest peak in the state known as Anamudi in the Western Ghats is in the Idukki district with an elevation of 8841 ft. AMSL and look like a watch tower of the land. The 580 Kilometre unbroken coastal belt and 450 Kilometre mountainous girdle with gaps and passes, together with the Western Ghats, significantly influenced the historical developments in Kerala country. This region is fertile with thick forests consisting of evergreen tracts with endemic flora. The cultivable lands in these mountain regions being the largest producer of the spices such as pepper and cardamom attracted the foreigners to this land from ancient period onwards.

There are 44 rivers in Kerala which, except three, rise in the the Western Ghats. Of them forty one flow to west and empty themselves into the backwaters of the coastal area or directly in to the Arabian Sea. The remaining three, Kabani, Bhavani, and Pambar, have the status of the tributaries of River Cauvery, merging with it on their easternly course. All the rivers are seasonal, fully based on monsoon and many of them shrink into streams or dry off completely during summer. The 244 km long River Periyar, the only perennial river of Kerala originates in *Sivagiri* peaks of *Sundermala ranges* of the Western Ghats and is the longest river in the state. A 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE Hoysala inscription refer to this river as 'Perar' and compares it with *Jahnavi* (Ganga)<sup>5</sup>. Some historians of Kerala were of the opinion that a great flood of this river in 1341CE completely destroyed the historical port city Kodungallur (Muziris) as a result of which the Cochin port rose into prominence<sup>6</sup>. The celebrated Advaita Philosopher and Hindu revivalist Shankaracharya was born and brought up on the banks of the river Periyar. The second longest river in the state is *Nila* popularly known as Bharathappuzha which originates in the *Anaimalai* hills of the Western Ghats and flowing over 209 km in the state finally empties into the Arabian

Sea at Ponnani. The dreadful war festival *Mamamkam* which is being fought once in twelve years, between the *Zamorins* of Kozhikode and *Valluvakonathiri* of Valluvanad for the supremacy over southern Malabar took place on the banks of Nila<sup>7</sup>. All these rivers promoted commercial and agrarian activities since ages.

The Western Ghats provided an impregnable natural boundary from Kasaragod in the north to *Aralvaimozhi* in the south, where they abruptly end; interspersed by the great 'Palakkad Gap'. This 41 km long gap tremendously influenced the historical developments in Kerala country<sup>8</sup>. In brief, It is the only entry point to central Kerala and commercially this place had an important role in the economic history of Kerala on account of its strategic location which connects the trade route to the riparian corridor of Bharathappuzha River and the ancient and medieval Sea ports on the west coast especially with Muziris, Tyndis (modern Kadalundi or Ponnani), Ezhimala, etc. With regard to the climate, this natural opening provides the benefit of the monsoon rain not only to central Kerala but to the Coimbatore region of Tamil country as well. It keeps Kerala's rice-bowl Viz., Palakkad wet and productive. Above all, it provided the much needed impetus to the process of acculturation of different religious faiths and traditions within the soil.

Major passes (*Churams*) in the Western Ghats immensely contributed to the historical developments in Kerala from ancient period onwards. The political infiltration by Tamil and Deccan dynasties followed by the traders and missionaries through these passes resulted in significant political and economic changes in Kerala. The *Perambadi* pass provides access to the Coorg or Mercara region of South Canara from the North Malabar. Similarly, the *Tamarasseri* Pass or *Wayanad Churam* provides entry to the southern Mysore region of Karnataka through Wayanad. This 14 km long mountain pass connects Wayanad, the gateway to Kerala from Karnataka, with the nearby district of Kozhikode. The *Periya* pass also ties the plains of Kannur and adjoining areas with Mananthavady in Wayanad. The *Nadugani* pass gives two-way connection from Nilambur taluk of Malappuram district to Karnataka via Wayanad (Gudalur), and to the peaks of Nilagiri hills which leads to the Kongu or Coimbatore region. These passes paved the way for the Kannada-Deccan cultural exchanges with the Malabar region which created some unique and conspicuous elements.



The *Bodinayakanur* pass provides access to the Madurai province of Tamil Nadu through the hilly tracts of Munnar and Devikulam in the district of Idukki facilitating the political penetration and trade links with the Northern Travancore region. The *Kambam-Theni* pass too gives access to the Dindigul district of Tamil Nadu through Idukki from the Plains of Kottayam and Alappuzha. The *Aryankavu* pass connected Shenkottai and adjoining areas of Tamil land with the present districts of Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram. The so called ‘black gold’ or pepper and other spices from the hilly tracts of Idukki, Pathanamthitta and neighbouring areas were transported to the ports of central and southern Kerala by the Jain and other merchants from Madurai and adjoining regions of Tamil country through this pass. The *Aralvaimozhi* (*Aramboly*) pass in the southern tip of Kerala connecting Tirunelveli with Thiruvananthapuram significantly transmitted the Tamil culture to southern Kerala. The frequent wars and skirmishes between the native rulers and Tamil dynasties such as Pandyas, Cholas, etc. made this breach famous as a ‘cockpit of Kerala.’

#### **Midland (*Edanadu*)**

This wet and fertile plain land set between highland and coastal areas is known as *Edanadu* in Malayalam. These regions are well settled and suitable for cultivation and it comprises of about 16200 Sq.km in area comprising 40 % of the entire land of the state. Crops like paddy, coconut, tapioca, Areca nut, pepper, turmeric, ginger, vegetables, etc. are cultivated here. Cashew nut introduced by the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to prevent land erosion later became a major produce of Kerala. Majority of the paddy fields (*Vayal*) are located in this region. All these factors made this region the ‘core area’ of Kerala from where most of the political and cultural transformations emanated and expanded. Even though the urbanisation process started from the coastal regions, it developed and reached its zenith in this part of Kerala. As a consequence, foreign traders and missionaries were attracted to these areas from the small port cities of the coastal region and this gave further impetus to the urbanisation of the state. Native traders from the neighbouring regions of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Tulu regions developed various transit establishments in this region which acted as entrepots to collect and exchange merchandise between the coastal ports and manufacturing centres.

### **Low land (*Theera Desam*)**

The western coastal region of Kerala is the meeting point of all westward flowing rivers, backwaters, and the sea. The fertile sandy soil of this region is suitable for the cultivation of coconut and paddy. Historically, western coast had tremendous influence on the economic, political, social, religious and cultural formations of the state. This land attracted the monsoon assisted voyages by the foreigners from the pre-Common Era period onwards. The natural ports supported brisk overseas trade, which further led to the arrival of missionaries and finally the European trading companies. Foreign religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam entered into India as a consequence of trading networks. The Srilankan Buddhism becomes an influential religion in the state and it was transmitted into the central part of Kerala through the Arabian Sea. The local Jain merchants besides those from the neighbouring regions of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka were famous for the trading of precious stones like pearls, diamonds etc. The seeds of the European Imperialism over India were first sown in the Kerala soil by Vasco Da Gama through his epoch making landing in the Kappad (*Kappadakavu*) beach near Kozhikode on 20<sup>th</sup> May, 1498 CE. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, the English and the French through the waters of the Arabian Sea.

The narrations of ancient foreign travellers like Pliny, Ptolemy, author of the *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, contained descriptions of several ports of the Kerala region such as Muziris, Tyndis, Mantai, Naura, Barace, Nelkinda, Balita, Baltipatna, etc. and its richness of spices and other commodities. Pliny records that “*at the present day voyages are made to India every year: and companies of archers are carried on board the vessels, as those seas are greatly infested with pirates.....if the wind, called Hippalus, happens to be blowing, it is possible to arrive in forty days at the nearest mart of India, Muziris by name. This, however, is not a very desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias; nor, in fact, is it very rich in articles of merchandize*”<sup>9</sup>.

Ports like Cochin, Quilon (Kollam) and Kozhikode became prominent only in the latter part of medieval period. Some of the foreign travellers like Sulaiman, Ibn Battuta, Marco Polo, Ma Huan, Nicolo de' Conti etc., made detailed descriptions of the port cities. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller and merchant of Siraf in Persia who

visited not only several parts of peninsular India, Deccan and the North Eastern part of India during 851 CE provides plenty of information about Kollam port and its brisk trade with China. According to him, Quilon was “*the most important port in south India at the time*” and the Chinese ships paid 1,000 *Dinars* as port duty, because it was the only port which is convenient to anchor the huge Chinese ships on their way from Canton to the Persian Gulf<sup>10</sup>. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta called Kollam as *Kaulam* and described it as “*one of the finest cities in Malabar with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants*”<sup>11</sup>. The Venetian merchant traveller Marco Polo (1254-1324 CE) gives a detailed description of Kollam and he called it as *Colum* situated 500 miles south west of Malabar, famous for *Brazil* *Coilumin* (*Caesalpinia echinata*), Ginger and Pepper<sup>12</sup>. Another Venetian traveller Nicolo de’ Conti who visited the western coast of Kerala in the early part of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century CE describes Kollam as “*a noble city the circumference of which is twelve miles*” from where he collected Ginger, Cinnamon, Brazil wood and Pepper<sup>13</sup>.

Chinese traveller M Huan who visited Cochin in 1409 CE says that the ruler of the city belonged to solar race and a staunch believer in Buddhism. He also mentions about the gold and silver coins of the city Viz., *Fa-nam* and *Ta-urh* respectively<sup>14</sup>. Calicut might have emerged as a leading port and city only after the decline of Kodungallur because it was not mentioned by foreign travellers who visited the country before 15<sup>th</sup> Century CE except Ibn Battuta. Kamalludin Abdur Razzak (1413-1482 CE), who was sent to Vijayanagara Empire as an ambassador by Shah Rukh of Persia, visited Kozhikode in 1442 and described it as a “*perfectly safe harbour*”<sup>15</sup>. Whatever it is, Kozhikode port became conspicuous only after the historical landing of Vasco Da Gama in 1498 CE.

### **Early Inroads of Jainism into Kerala**

The early history of Jainism in Kerala region is shrouded in darkness. Historians expressed divergent opinions about the route through which Jainism entered Kerala. Some say that it is through Tamil Nadu through the *Aralvaimozhi* (*Aramboly*) pass in the southern tip of Kerala connecting Tirunelveli with Thiruvananthapuram. But here we have to keep in mind certain facts that from the Gangetic plains where the origin of this faith ensued, it spread to peninsular India, initially to Karnataka and from there to Tamil region. Kerala region have a common geographical boundary with Karnataka

on its northern side. Some scholars have argued that the Western Ghats with a dense forest cover did not allow any migration of people before Tiger Tipu of Mysore. This opinion cannot stand the historical scrutiny. We have to remember the historical importance of Palakkad gap. In the south, Western Ghats have another huge gap which provided entry to Travancore region simultaneously in the north from Tulu country. Invading armies of the Chola, Pandya, Kadamba, Pallava, Ganga, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Hoysala dynasties entered Kerala through these Passes. The thick forests were never a barrier for them. *Kaduvetti*, the generic title of the Pallavas indicate their forest (*Kadu*) clearance (*vetti*) activities. After the decline of ancient Cheras, the Kadamba, Pallava and Ganga dynastic interlude can clearly be visualised in the Kerala country.

Right from the early historic times, the coastal towns and ports of Kerala were world famous for their brisk commercial activities. The spices and other commodities of this land were in great demand in the western world. The Jains were traditionally traders. On account of that how can they neglected the valuable inland trade link with the Kerala country and its port cities? Right from ancient period onwards the northern part of the Kerala country came under the dominance of Kannada-Deccan dynasties; simultaneously southern part was controlled by Tamil kingdoms. Any of the political, cultural or social dynamics in the Kannada and Tamil regions had their impact, directly or indirectly, in Kerala region as well. The ancient Chera rulers with their two capital cities: Vanji in Malabar Coast and Karur in the present Coimbatore region might have had an extended political realm beyond the present day Kerala region, into the present day Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu; Tulu, Coorg and southern Mysore districts of present Karnataka. The Pallavas, Kadambas, and the western Gangas followed by the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra had extended their political authority over the Kerala country. On the basis of all these observations, it is plausible to say that Jainism penetrated into the present Tamil Nadu region and Kerala simultaneously. But unfortunately, we have very few native evidences to reconstruct early history of Jainism in Kerala. However, a critical study of epigraphical sources from the adjoining Karnataka and Tamil Nadu regions, and corroborated by the fragmentary native inscriptional and literary sources, clearly indicate that Jainism entered into the Kerala region before the Common Era.

In the previous chapter the history of the early inroads of Jainism into Karnataka and other parts of peninsular India were discussed. Epigraphic and literary evidences from early 7<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, attest the traditional accounts related to Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya. Two inscriptions dated between 600 -650 CE from Shravanabelagola gives us a full account of this tradition<sup>16</sup>. Five more medieval inscriptions from Shravanabelagola and Srirangapatna further corroborate the presence of these two legendary champions of Jainism in the Kannada region<sup>17</sup>. The Sanskrit literary work *Bhadrabahucharita* says that the final destination of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya was Chola country,<sup>18</sup> and according to the Kannada work *Rajavalikathe*, it was Chola and Pandya countries<sup>19</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE *Brihatkathakosa* traces it to Punnada country<sup>20</sup>.

The ancient Punnada country is very significant in the history of south India including Kerala. It consisted of most parts of the present Malabar region of Kerala and its southern boundary extended up to the Palakkad. This territory is repeatedly mentioned in the ancient/medieval records belonging to one Punnada-Raja Ravidatta (dynasty unknown), and also in the dynastic records of the Gangas, Cholas, and the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu<sup>21</sup>.

Punnada could be the *Pouunata* of Ptolemy which he locates near to the country of *Kerobothros* (Keralaputras or Cheras) which was famous for beryl<sup>22</sup>. He also mentions two more territories close to *Pouunata* (Punnada) such as *Mastanour*, and *Kourellour*. These can tentatively identified as Mysore and Gudalur respectively. The capital of the Punnada kingdom was *Kirttipura* alias Kittur situated on the banks of the river Kabani in H. D. Kote taluk, just 60 kilometres away from Wayanad.

Harisena, author of *Brihatkathakosa*, and Jinasena, author of *Harivamasa Purana* and *Mahapurana* claimed that they belong to *Punnada-sangha*<sup>23</sup>. This *Punnada-sangha* could be the *Kittur-sangha* mentioned in a Shravanabelagola inscription<sup>24</sup>. Two 9<sup>th</sup> Century Chera inscriptions (Syrian Christian copper plates) of the reign of Sthanu Ravi (c.844-883 CE) speak about the *pati* (chiefs) of *Punnaitthalai* which seems to be the Punnada of our present discussion<sup>25</sup>.

The extent of this kingdom up to the present Coimbatore-Palakkad region is attested by another undated inscription of one Punnada-Raja Ravidatta datable to 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE from Udumalpet near Coimbatore<sup>26</sup>. It speaks about the land grants endowed by Ravidatta from his victorious camp at Kirttipura with the permission of one *Cheramma*<sup>27</sup>. *Cheramma* could be *Cheraman*, a Chera king. If this identification is correct, then the existence of the Chera royal house during 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE should be accepted.

Here we have to examine certain crucial facts regarding Kadamba-Pallava-Ganga interlude in the Kerala history, particularly during 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Century CE, which help us in reconstructing the historical developments of the so-called ‘dark age’<sup>28</sup> in the history of Kerala. The Pallava and Kadamba records from Kerala territory and nearby Kannada regions such as the Nilambur plates of Ravivarman Kadamba,<sup>29</sup> Edakkal cave label inscription of Vishnuvarman Kadamba,<sup>30</sup> and two Pallava grants<sup>31</sup> from Palakkada (Palakkad) and Dasanapura (Dasanur near Nanjangud) are important<sup>32</sup>.

A western Ganga record (513 CE) speaks about the marriage of king Avinita with the daughter of Punnada king Skandavarman as a consequence of which Punnada became a part of the Ganga kingdom<sup>33</sup>. This record also says that through the marriage of Avinita with Punnada princesses “having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs,” and rest of the small territories like *Andari*, *Alattur* (*Alantur*),<sup>34</sup> *Paurulare*, *Pernnagara*, and other places conquered through wars by his son Durvinita<sup>35</sup>. The marriage by Avinita with Punnada princess along with Durvinita’s subsequent conquests made the Gangas owners of the entire *Paakhaad* and *Punnada* countries<sup>36</sup>. Some more Ganga records clearly say that Avinita’s grandmother (wife of Madhava Mahadhiraja-III and mother of Konguni-II) was the sister of Kadamba king Krishnavarman<sup>37</sup>. Krishnavarman was the father of Vishnuvarman of Edakkal cave record<sup>38</sup>. Vishnuvarman ruled from Triparvarta (Halebidu) and Ravivarman from Banavasi. The Hebbata grant mentions that Vishnuvarman was installed on the throne by a Pallava ruler<sup>39</sup>. Palakkada record gives the names of some Pallava rulers including Skandavarman I and his grandson Skandavarman II<sup>40</sup>. Palakkada was one of the sub-capitals of the early Pallavas along with Kanchi, Tambrapa, Menmatura and Dasanapura<sup>41</sup>. Lewis Rice identifies Skandavarman in the Ganga record as a Pallava ruler or “he may have been a

feudatory who adopted his patron's name"<sup>42</sup>. Either way, the name of the dynasty is clear and it seems certain that Skandavarman (father-in-law of Ganga king Avinitha) was a Pallava king whose political authority extended over not only Punnada but the Palakkad region of Kerala as well. This hypothesis is supported and confirmed by another grant of the Ganga king Avinitha (issued in his 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year) which spoke about the construction of a Jain temple by the mother of a Pallava king Simhavishnu for the merit of her husband's family<sup>43</sup>. Here the Pallava king Simhavishnu could be the son of Ganga Avinitha by Pallava princess and daughter of Skandavarman. After the marriage of Avinitha and his son's conquest not only made them the kings of Punnada but Palakkad (*Paakhaad*) as well. Through the marriage, according to the Ganga record "three powers"-Kadambas, Pallavas, and the Western Gangas- got amalgamated. The *Alattur*, one among the small territories captured by Durvinita was probably the present place with the same name in Palakkad, one of the ancient Jain centres of Kerala<sup>44</sup>.

Kirttipura (Kittur), the capital of Punnada kings later became the capital of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad during their rule between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE<sup>45</sup>. The territory of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad comprised of the present Wayanad district as well<sup>46</sup>. An epigraph<sup>47</sup> from Kittur dated 1079 CE of Kandavamman (Skandavarman) ruler of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad speaks about several Punnada chieftains (*Punnada-adhigari*) who were in charge of *Kerala-nadu*, *Kandavamma-nadu*, *Nidule-Nadu*<sup>48</sup>, and *Kiki-nadu*. All these evidences attest the fact that ancient Punnada country comprised most of the present Malabar region of Kerala including Wayanad, and in the south it extended up to the boundaries of the Palakkad, one of the ancient capitals of the Pallavas. These inscriptional evidences are helpful in bridging what has been described as the huge '*history less gap*' between ancient and later Cheras in the history of Kerala. Above all, the spread of Jain establishments in Kerala during this period is very obvious considering its patronization, as discussed in the previous chapter, by all these dynasties of the Karnataka and Tamil Nadu regions.

### **The Kundakunda Tradition**

Tradition says that Kundakunda Acharya, the great Digambara pontiff was the greatest and successful missionary in the Chera along with the Pandya, and Chola

countries<sup>49</sup>. His preaching of Jaina dharma converted a large number of people of the Chera country into the noble faith. Kundakunda's prominence in the Jain faith can be visualised from the verse still recited by the followers before their daily routine starts which goes with “*mangalam-bhagavan-viro, mangalam-gautami-gani, mangalam-kundakundadhya-jaina-dharmostu-mangalam*”, placing him on the same plane of spiritual glory along with Mahavira and Gautama (the *Gandharva*). The *Digambara Pattavalis* mention four of his titles such as *Padmanandin*, *Vakragriva*, *Gridhrapichchha*, and *Elacharya*,<sup>50</sup> and that he assumed charge of the pontiff at the age of thirty three<sup>51</sup>. He is believed to have lived during the last part of the 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE or the early part of the 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE. He hailed from Konakondla in Anantapur district of south-western Andhra Pradesh. Kundakunda is credited with the authorship of classical *sangam* work *Thirukkural*, under his alternative name *Elacharya*<sup>52</sup>. According to the *Sarasvati Gaccha Pattavalis*, Kundakunda was the fifth pontiff of the *Sarasvati Gaccha* in the *Mula sangha*<sup>53</sup>. It also describes that Kundakunda chaired the *Mula sangha* until fifty two years of his life and attained *nirvana* in 44 CE, at the age of eighty five. It is also believed that saint Kundakunda chaired this *Dravida (Dramila) Sangha* or *Mula Sangha*, that existed at a place known as *Patalika* in *Pana Rashtra* during 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, and some scholars identified it as the Patalipura or Padirippuliyur (Tiruppapuliyur) in Cuddalore district of Tamil Nadu<sup>54</sup>.

On the basis of all these evidences the presence of Kundakunda in the Kannada-Tamil country including present Kerala could be established as a historical fact. From Kundakunda onwards the genealogy (*Pattavali*) of the Jain pontiffs came to be known as *Kundakundanvaya*. A large number of inscriptions of the Mysore and Tamil region from 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards mentions the term *Kundakundanvaya*<sup>55</sup>. Kundakunda and his Jain monastic order could be the earliest successful missionary group which preached and spread the doctrine of the noble faith in Kerala region and other parts of peninsular India.

### **Jainism under the Native Dynasties**

Native ruling dynasties of Kerala such as the early Cheras, medieval Cheras (Perumals of Kerala), and the *Ay* rulers made their own significant contribution to the development and spread of Jainism. However, the sources of study, inscripational or



literary, are few and far between. Yet they help us, in their own humble way, in reconstructing the broad outlines of the history of Jainism in Kerala beginning from the pre-common era. In this context it should be made clear that the history of ancient *Tamilakam* includes both the Tamil and Kerala territories; and the geographical boundaries of the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas cannot be clearly demarcated. Our sources clearly reveal that under the early Cheras, Jainism in Kerala was one of the predominant religions.

The medieval Cheras, also known as the Perumals, emerged as the dominant power in the Kerala region from 9<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. The inscriptional sources prove that the ancient and the later Cheras belong to the same line of ruling family and the latter was the continuation of the former. The Perumals also patronised Jainism but the Brahminical Hinduism becomes the dominant faith in the country. The temple oriented feudal order of the medieval age gradually absorbed all other sectarian faiths into Hinduism. The inscriptional sources further indicate that the adherence to Jain faith by the last Chera Perumal was one of the reasons for the decline of the empire. The inscriptions of *Ay* dynasty of southern Kerala also speak about their patronization of Jainism. These will be discussed in the following pages in a chronological order.

### **The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the Ancient Chera Region**

Discovery and reading of a large number of Tamil-Brahmi and early Vatteluttu inscriptions was initiated by a number of epigraphists such as Venkayya, Krishna Sastri, K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, C. Narayana Rao, T.N. Subramanian, T.V. Mahalingam, Kamil Zvelebil, R. Nagaswamy, R. Panneerselvam, and M. S. Venkataswamy, from the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. But the most comprehensive decipherment, reading and interpretation of these inscriptions were made by Iravatham Mahadevan<sup>56</sup>. Most of these inscriptions from the caves of Tamil country and those from the Chera territory, except a couple, have Jaina affiliation.

Out of the 89 Tamil-Brahmi records of Tamil country 84 have been identified as having Jaina affiliation<sup>57</sup>. The ancient Chera territory contributed 22 inscriptions to this corpus. Among them 18 (13 from Pugalur and Ayyarmalai, 3 from Arachalur near Erode, and 2 from Mannarkovil near Tirunelveli) directly or indirectly speak about

their association with Jainism. These records roughly belong to the period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE and the 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE. On the basis of these early Tamil Brahmi and Vatteluttu records, it can be stated that Jainism was one of the first organised religions entered into the present day Tamil Nadu Kerala regions. It should be remembered that without the royal support this sectarian faith would not have flourished but unfortunately, these records are not providing much information about their patrons, except a few.

The short label inscription (c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE) from Ayyarmalai in Kulithalai taluk of Karur district is the earliest dated Jain affiliated record discovered from the geographical territory of the ancient Cheras. The inscription refers about the gift of a stone bed (*atitanam*) by one *Vessan* of *Panaithurai*<sup>58</sup>. The name *Vessan* was interpreted by Iravatham as one of the members of the Vaishya community<sup>59</sup>. But it is reasonable to identify this *Vessan* as the individual's name. There is no controversy in identifying the caves as hermitages of the Jains. Gift of a stone bed to the Jain monk in a cavern by a Jain follower namely *Vessan* is logical. The *atitanam* or stone bed caused to be given by Vessan is still existing carved on the uppermost cave on the Ratnagirisvarar hill in Ayyarmalai. Sculpting of the stone beds called *atitanam* in the caverns is an exclusively feature of the Jain monastic history of ancient Tamilakam.

The place name *Panaithurai* deserves special discussion. Mahadevan splits the place name *Panaithurai* as '*Panai*' (Palmyra tree) and '*thurai*' seashore or river banks<sup>60</sup>. But it is correct and logical to read *Panaithurai* as *Panithurai*. The sangam classic *Pathitruppathu* refers to the term *Panithurai* to denote either seashore or port city of Chera king Chenguttuvan. In one poem, poet Parinar praises Chenguttuvan as '*Panithurai Parathavan*'<sup>61</sup>. The Tamil word '*Pani*' means cool (cold) and '*thurai*' according to the *sangam* classics signifies seashore. The poem in the *Pathitruppathu* exalts Cheran Chenguttuvan thus: "*Oh! Lord of the sea with cold shores (panithurai parathava)! You entered waters and battled at sea, seized enemy wealth and achieved great fame difficult to ruin*"<sup>62</sup>. It can be inferred the term *Panithurai* denotes the seashore of the Chera king. The epithet *Kadal Pirakottiya* (one who drives back the sea) attributed to Cheran Chenguttuvan could be a metaphorical rendition of his naval expeditions against the enemies. We have the reference to *Perumthurai* in the *Pathitruppathu* to indicate big port<sup>63</sup>. Vessan of Panithurai who donated the stone

rock bed/seat to a Jain monk could be hailing from one of the western coastal towns of the Chera kingdom than the banks of the river Kaveri as interpreted by Mahadevan<sup>64</sup>.

Twelve short inscriptions from Pugalur in the Karur district of Tamil Nadu deserve special attention. Among them six inscriptions are dated to c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE and another six to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE. All these records were engraved inside or peripheral areas of the caverns on the Arunattarmalai hill in Pugalur which were once used by the Jain monks for penance. All these records speak about the endowment of cave shelter or stone seats by prominent personalities including rulers. Some of them mention the names of the Jain ascetics who resided in the caverns. Some others signify the names of gold and oil merchants who made gifts to the ascetics.

Two of them are vital to identify the relation of the ancient Cheras with Jainism. Both of these records refer that '*the abode of the senior Jain monk (Mootha Amana), Yarrur Senkayapan (Cenkayapan)*' and that '*the rock shelter was caused to be carved when Katunkon Ilankatunko, the son of Perunkatunkon, the son of King Athan Chel Irumpurai, became the heir apparent (Ilanko)*'<sup>65</sup>. Here the three names *Athan Chel Irumpurai*, his son *Perunkatunkon*, and his son *Katunkon Ilankatunko* were identified by scholars as the Chera rulers *Selvakkadunko Valiyathan*, *Perum Cheral Irumpurai*, and *Ilam Cheral Irumpurai* respectively, referred to in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> decades of *Pathitruppathu*<sup>66</sup>.

Yarrur Senkayapan, the senior Jain monk is also mentioned in another record (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE) from the same site. According to it, the *atitanam* was caused to be carved (*arupitta*) by a person named *Pinnan Kurran* of *Tavanur*<sup>67</sup>. We have a historical city known as 'Tavanur' on the southern bank of the river Bharathappuzha (Perar) in Malappuram district of Kerala<sup>68</sup>. However, without the help of further supportive evidences it is not reasonable to surmise that the Tavarannur in the Pugalur record is the same place situated in Kerala. At the same time, it can be stated that the geographical territory of Irumpurai line of Chera rulers comprised the present Kerala state also, because they were the continuation of the Athan line of Cheras. It is more evident because the first six decades of the *Pathitruppathu* are dedicated to the Athan line ruled from Vanji in Kerala, but the next three decades to the Irumpurai line who

reigned from Karur in Tamil Nadu<sup>69</sup>. These issues will be discussed in the following pages.

Three more records from Pugalur talks about the members of a ‘Pittan family’<sup>70</sup>. Two of them dated to c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE mentions about the gift of a cave *palli* (hermitage) along with stone seat by a lady named *Kiran Korri*, the younger daughter of one *Pittan antai* of Nalliyur<sup>71</sup>. The third record dated to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE speaks about one *Korran antai* (*Korrantai*) *Ilavan* who caused to be given a front yard (*munru*) to the same *palli* which is already mentioned in the first two records. *Korran antai* could be the son and ‘successor chief’ of *Pittan antai* mentioned in the other two Pugalur records. The term *antai* denoting a chieftain or chief, is mentioned in a large number of Tamil-Brahmi Jain records from Tamil country. The *antai* subject is discussed in the following pages.

The suffix *Ilavan* in the *Korran antai* ‘*Ilavan*’ could be meaning ‘junior/younger’ or ‘son/successor’. *Korran antai Ilavan* might also be the brother of *Kiran Korri* who endowed the cave shelter and stone bed. Some songs in the Tamil classics *Akananuru* and *Purananuru* sung about one *Pittan* and his son *Pittan Kotran*. ‘Pittan Kotran’ in the sangam poems was read as ‘Pittan Korran’ by some scholars<sup>72</sup>. Poet Mathurai Ilanakanar of *Akananuru* speaks about Pittan as the commander of a Chera king as follows:

*“The long beads of tears from her eyes, like the perfect spear blades of the charitable Chera commander Pittan with curved bow, happy with alcohol, who fought battles with enemy kings, will give me great anguish”<sup>73</sup>.*

Another poem in the *Akananuru* by poet Alamperi Sathanar glorifies that “*the faultless Pittan with unfailing sword*” was the owner of the *Kuthirai malai* (Kuthirai Mountain)<sup>74</sup>. Pittan was the army commander of the Chera king Perum Cheral Irumpurai (*Perunkatunkon*) mentioned in the two Pugalur records<sup>75</sup>.

Whatever it may be, *Purananuru* makes clear that Pittan Kotran (Pittan Korran), son of the Pittan was the chieftain of the Chera king Kotha<sup>76</sup>. Five poems in *Purananuru* are dedicated to Pittan Kotran, and he was also referred as the chief of Kuthirai

Mountain. Pittan Kotran fought many successful battles for his lord Cheraman Kotha. Poet Vadama Vannakkan Thamotharanar spoke about Pittan Kotran as: “*Pittan with swift horses is lord of a mountain country, where, should a fire kindled by guards in a wild-rice field go out; the light from bright gems will dispel darkness. May his spear that wins harsh battles, his generous King Kotha, and even his enemy kings, live for a long time!*”<sup>77</sup>

The Chera king Kotha might be belonging either *Athan* or *Irumpurai* line of kings. Two silver portrait coins from Karur dated on the palaeographic grounds to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE carry the names of “*chera kuttuvan kothai*” and “*chera makkothai*”<sup>78</sup>. Mahadevan identified the *Katumiputta* of the Edakkal cave inscription (Wayanad) as *Kuttuvan Kothai* of the silver coin from Karur<sup>79</sup>. It should be mentioned here that majority of the later Chera rulers (Perumals of Kerala) prefixed/suffixed the surname ‘*Kotha*’ with their name such as Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga (c.883-913 CE), Kotha Kerala Kesari (c.913-943 CE), Indu Kotha (c.943-962 CE), Ravi Kotha Rajasimha (c.1021-1036 CE), Adithyan Kotha Ranaditya (c.1036-1089 CE), and so on. It is reasonable to assume that the ‘*Kothai*’ patronymic of the ancient and later Chera rulers could be an evolved form of ‘*Ko Athan*’. We have a very short Tamil-Brahmi inscription assigned to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE from Edakkal cave which refers to “*Ko Athan*” (Athan, the king)<sup>80</sup>. The ‘*Chera Makotha*’ on the coin could be denoting the capital of the Cheras ‘*Makotha*’ which have a number of other names like Muziri, Vanji, Mahodayapuram, Muiyirikkodu, and so on<sup>81</sup>. The *Cheraman Perumal Puranam* part of the *Periyapuranam* by Sekkizhar’s mentions “*makothaiyena kothaiyarachar*”<sup>82</sup> (King Kotha of Makotha).

Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the *Pittan antai* and his successor *Korran antai* in the Pugalur records were the *Pittan* and his son *Pittan Kotran* eulogised in the *Akananuru* and *Purananuru* respectively. We have a c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE record from Kudumiyamalai (about twenty kilometres from Pudukottai in Tamil Nadu) which spoke about a cave *palli* (hermitage) endowed by one *Korran antai* (*Korrantai*) of Nalal<sup>83</sup>. Kudumiyamalai record can geographically be located in the Pandya territory. Probably *Korran antai* of Pugalur and Kudumiyamalai records could be one and the same.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that *Kiran Korri*, one of the members of the Chera subordinate's family was a follower of Jainism. Probably her father *Pittan antai* alias *Pittan* and brother *Korran antai* alias *Pittan Kotran* were also the believers of Lord Arhat. Not only the Chera rulers but their subordinates and their family members also appear as patrons of Jainism.

Two more Pugalur records assigned to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE on palaeographical grounds, refer to the gift of stone beds made by one Natti, the gold merchant (*pon vanikan*) of Karu-ur and another person named Venni Athan, an oil merchant (*ennai vanikan*)<sup>84</sup>. The place Karu-ur can be identified as the present Karur, capital of the Irumpurai line of Chera rulers. The term *Venni* of the Venni Athan must be a place name. We have a place namely *Venni* in the Tamil classics famous in the Sangam history on account of the war between Chera monarch Udayan Cheralathan and Chola king Karikala Cholan<sup>85</sup>. The *Natrinai*, of the *Ettuthokai* (The Eight Anthologies) inform us that Venni comes under the realm of Chola king Killi<sup>86</sup>. The name Athan was very common in the ancient Tamilakam largely used by rulers and other individuals belonging to the upper strata of the society. The name *Athan* occurring in a large number of Jain cave inscriptions proves that this term was probably affixed exclusively with the names of the Jain followers. This issue will be discussed in the following pages.

The above Pugalur label inscriptions clearly divulge the inseparable connection between Jainism and the ancient trade activities of Tamilakam. From ancient period onwards we know that trade was the chief occupation of Jains. As per the Jain canonical injunctions, agricultural activities are forbidden to the followers of Mahavira. Thus it is obvious that the chief patrons of the Noble Faith during ancient period in the Tamilakam were not only the ruling class alone but traders as well. Most of the Jain cavern Tamil-Brahmi records add strength to the above observation. The majority of the donors of stone beds or other amenities to the Jains described in the cave records were traders and artisans such as Athan Athan, the *Pon Kollan* (goldsmith); Viyakan, the *Uppu Vanikan* (salt merchant); Netumallan, the *Paanita Vanikan* (Jaggery merchant); Elachanthan, the *Kolu Vanikan* (Ploughshare dealer); and Ela-a-Attan, the *Aruvai Vanikan* (cloth merchant) from the Alagarmalai caverns<sup>87</sup>.

Remaining four Pugalur records of the corpus under present discussion are very short and fragmentary.

Two Mannarkovil label Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are also important. All the previous studies considered Mannarkovil as just a part of the ancient-Medieval Pandya territory. But this perception must be reconsidered. Mannarkovil is a village near Ambasamudram in the Tirunelveli district of present Tamil Nadu state. Right from ancient period onwards the political fortunes of Mannarkovil shifted between the Cheras to the Pandyas. Practically, Mannarkovil region was under the administrative control of a petty ruling dynasty of southern Tamil region called *Ay* whose kingdom acted as a buffer zone between the two warring powers and they periodically performed the role of feudatories of the Cheras or the Pandyas.

Both the Mannarkovil records under discussion were dated to c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE. They are engraved on the ceiling and the stone bed of a cave on the hill locally known as *Rajakkal Parai*. One of the records refer that the gift of a *Palli* (hermitage) caused to be made by one *Ilanko* of *Kuna* (*kunavin ilanko ceypita palli*)<sup>88</sup>. Iravatham Mahadevan observes that the term *Ilanko* in the record is the title frequently used by the *Vaisyas* of that region<sup>89</sup>. He further views that they were a sub-caste of the *Vaishyas* of the region who “lived in the area from before 7<sup>th</sup> Century CE down to at least 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE”<sup>90</sup>.

As mentioned earlier the term *Ilanko* in the ancient Tamil-Brahmi records was primarily used to indicate a crown prince. Tamil term ‘*Ila*’ (*Ilaiya*) means ‘young’ and ‘*Ko*’ generally signifies king or prince<sup>91</sup>. *Ilanko Adigal*, the author of *Silappadikaram* was a prince of the Chera family. He was the younger brother of King Cheran Chenguttuvan and because of that his name starts with *Ilanko*. The name of the hill from where the records were found is traditionally known as *Rajakkal Parai* or ‘rock of the kings’.

The name *Kuna* in the record must be place name. The *Silappadikaram* refers to “*Kunavayir kottatharachu-turandhiruntha-kudakkocheral-ilangoadikal*”<sup>92</sup>. It can be translated as “*Kudakkocheral Ilango who had renounced his royalty and was permanently residing in the hermitage of Kunavayir*”<sup>93</sup>. The *Kuna* in the Mannarkovil

inscription could be the *Kunavayir Kottam* from where Ilanko Adikal spent his ascetic life and authored the epic *Silappadikaram*. Atiyarkkunallar, the commentator of *Silappadikaram* designates *Kunavayir Kottam* as *Thrikanamathilakam*<sup>94</sup>. Historians were of the opinion that modern Mathilakam near Kodungallur in Kerala was the ancient *Thrikanamathilakam* or *Kunavayir Kottam* of Ilanko Adikal<sup>95</sup>. A number of Malayalam vatteluttu inscriptions from different parts of Kerala called *Thrikanamathilakam* as *Trikunavay*<sup>96</sup>. We have an early medieval unpublished fragmentary inscription from Mathilakam refers to *Trikunavay* (Fig.6). The Medieval Sanskrit/Manipravala literary works like *Kokasandesha*, *Sukasandesha*, *Bhramarasandesha*, and *Unniyachi Charita* called *Trikunavay* as *Kunavay*, *Kunaka*, or *Gunaka*<sup>97</sup>. *Kokasandesha* describes *Kunaka* situated inside the *Mathilakam*<sup>98</sup>. Taking into consideration all these facts it can be inferred that *Thrikanamathilakam* or *Kunavayir Kottam* or *Trikunavay* or *Gunaka* was a famous ancient/medieval Jain centre which was the model for all other Jain temples of Kerala<sup>99</sup>. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Ilanko* of *Kuna* in the Mannarkovil record could be the Ilanko Adikal of *Kunavayir Kottam*. If it is true, we have to assign the period of *Silappadikaram* to the c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE. But there are many controversies regarding the date of *Silappadikaram*. A junior Chera prince named Ilanko Adikal could be a reality, and probably he lived during about the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE and the place *Kunavay* (*Kunavayil*, *Kunavayir*, *Trikunavay*, *Kunaka*, *Gunaka*, and *Kuna*) and its Jain temple might have existed even before 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE.

The second record of the Mannarkovil states that one *Perunkurran*, son of the chief of the assembly, caused to be given the *palli*<sup>100</sup>. The assembly, according to the record called *katika*. The *katika* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *ghatika*, which was the assembly of the learned persons or the assembly of the higher learning existed during ancient and medieval *Tamilakam*<sup>101</sup>. A large number of *ghatikas* functioned in different parts of Tamil country and one of the famous *ghatikas* was the one at Kanchipuram that flourished before the Pallava hegemony<sup>102</sup>. M.G.S Naryanan identified the *ghatikas* of Tamil Nadu as the equivalents of the medieval *Salais* of Kerala like *Kanthalur Salai*, *Parthivapuram Salai*, so on<sup>103</sup>. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai pointed out the *Sramana* influence over the Hindu *Salais* of Kerala<sup>104</sup>. Iravatham Mahadevan observes that “the mention of *katika* in the inscription in a Jaina hermitage, and the donor of the *palli* being referred to as the son of the chief of the



*katika*, would appear to indicate that the *katika* was associated with the local Jaina community and its composition and functions were probably different from those of the *ghatikas* of the Pallava period”<sup>105</sup>.

Three inscriptions datable to c.4<sup>th</sup> Century CE <sup>106</sup> from Arachalur cave (Erode district, Tamil Nadu) clearly reveal the role of Music in Tamil Jainism. These three records are interrelated with each other. First record refers that one Devan Chathan (*Tevan Cattan*), the *Malai Vannakkan* composed the letters of the musical notions<sup>107</sup>. Second and third records contain the musical notions composed and written by Devan Chathan starting with “*ta tai ta tai ta...*” and “*kai ta tai ta kai...*”<sup>108</sup>.

### **Jainism under the Ancient Cheras**

The Cheras were the native rulers of Kerala. Asoka edicts called them *Keralaputras* (*Ketalaputo*)<sup>109</sup>. Studies on the ancient Cheras up to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century relied entirely on the literary evidences in the form of Tamil *sangam* classics such as *Pathitruppathu*, *Akananuru*, *Purananuru*, and *Silappadikaram*. The *Pathitruppathu* text deals exclusively with the ten Chera kings who ruled over the regions of present day Kerala and contiguous parts of present Tamil Nadu. The discovery and decipherment of a number of short Tamil-Brahmi records belonging to the last part of Pre-Common Era and the first part of Common Era, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century added a new dimension to the writing of the Chera history of ancient *Tamizhagam*.

In the case of Jainism and the ancient Cheras, as mentioned earlier, out of the 89 Tamil-Brahmi records read by Iravatham Mahadevan and his predecessors, 84 have Jaina affiliation<sup>110</sup>. These records belong to the period between c. 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE to c.4<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Some of these inscriptions help in reconstructing the early history of Kerala and its relation to Jainism which can be corroborated with the Tamil classical literary accounts.

One Tamil-Brahmi record from Kongar Puliyankulam near Madurai (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE) says that one “*Cer-atan* gave for carving this section” (*kuru kotalkuittavan cer-atan-on*)<sup>111</sup>. This *Cer-atan* could be one of the Chera kings who usually affixed the

term *Athan* with their names. In the Sangam classical work *Pathitruppathu*, we have a number of Chera king's names affixed with *Athan*, such as Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko Valiyathan<sup>112</sup>. The Chera king of the present record might have endowed or caused to be carved out the cavern in which the record has engraved. Kongar Puliyankulam inscription could be the earliest one mentioning the name of an ancient Chera king. It could also be the earliest evidence to divulge the presence of Jains in the Kerala country and also to speak about the patronisation given by a Chera king to the Jains, probably outside of his imperial territory.

Another cave inscription from Muttupatti in Madurai speaks about a *Kothan* (*Kotan*) of *Muziri* (*Muciri*) and an *antai* of *Nakaperur* together donated the cave to a Jain monk (*nakaperur-ataiy-muciri-kotan-elamakan*)<sup>113</sup>. This record has been assigned to c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE. Muziri must be the *Muziris*, the famous ancient port city of Kerala coast described by the author of *Periplus*<sup>114</sup>, Pliny<sup>115</sup>, and Ptolemy<sup>116</sup>. *Akananuru* and *Purananuru* also gave a vivid picture of Muziri, the port city of Chera kings<sup>117</sup>. The Vienna Museum Papyrus of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE also gives a description of the commercial importance of Muziris<sup>118</sup>, situated close to the ancient Chera capital Vanji. There is a general consensus among archaeologists and historians that the recently discovered archaeological site in the coastal region of Kodungallur called 'Pattanam' could be the Muziris. However, the present record could be the earliest inscriptional evidence which speaks of Muziris.

According to the Muttupatti record, *Kothan* was the *Elamakan* from *Muziri* (*muciri-kotan-elamakan*)<sup>119</sup>. Here the word 'Kothan' and 'Elamakan' deserves discussion. *Kothan* could be derived from two words such as 'Ko' + 'Athan'. 'Ko' is the usual term used in the Tamil to get the meaning King. We have a short Tamil-Brahmi record from Edakkal cave dated c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE read by Iravatham as "*kov=atan*", and it has translated by him as "*Athan (Atan), the king (Ko)*"<sup>120</sup>. The two Chera records of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE from Pugalur also indicates 'Ko Athan' alias 'King Athan'<sup>121</sup>. It is also remembered that the term *Athan* affixed with most of the ancient Chera rulers like Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko Valiyathan, etc., which clearly illustrated in the

*Sangam* classic *Pathitruppathu*. In that sense, *Ko Athan* in the in the Muttupatti record could be a member of the Chera family.

*Elamakan* in the Muttupatti record could be denoting the junior prince or younger son, because the Tamil word '*Ila*' means young and '*Makan*' means son<sup>122</sup>. In that sense, it can be interpreted as *Elamakan* of *Muziri* or a younger son or junior prince from *Muziri*. It is reasonable to suppose that the *Elamakan* of *Muziri* could be an heir apparent or a male member of the Chera royal house of *Muziri*.

The Muttupatti record mentions the donation of the cave to a Jain monk made not only by *Kothan* of *Muziri* but one *antai* of *Nakaperur* as well<sup>123</sup>. The place *Nakaperur* of the *antai* in the record also might be a place situated inside the present geographical territory of Kerala<sup>124</sup>. A Jain vatteluttu inscription from Poothadi in Wayanad mentions one *Nagapura* (*Nakeraporai*)<sup>125</sup>. According to the record, the twelve *poti* revenue from *Nagapura* has to be given to the temple of Yaksha for the purpose of perpetual lamp<sup>126</sup>. *Nakaperur* in the Muttupatti inscription and *Nagapura* in the Thazhekavu inscription (Fig.32) could be the present Pambra village near Sulthan Bathery. The Sanskrit word '*Naga*' means Dravidian '*Pampu*' denotes snake<sup>127</sup>. In that sense the Sanskrit *Nagapura* become Tamil-Malayalam *Pampupura* evolved as *Pambra*. A medieval Sanskrit inscription from the site shows that Pambra alias Nakaperur was an established Jain settlement of Wayanad, and it also attests that the fame of the Pambra *Palli* has been protracted beyond the boundaries of Kerala<sup>128</sup>.

A brief discussion of the term *antai* is necessary. As many as eight inscriptions assigned to c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE from Mettupatti mentions the term *antai* suffixed to personal names of Jains<sup>129</sup>, such as Antai Ariyti, Antai Iravatan, Antai Vissuvan, Antai Sentan (Centan), Chantan Antai Chantan (Cantan), Antai of Patinur, Kuvira Antai, and Kuvira Antai Vel. All these names were engraved on the walls or surrounding rocks of the Jain cave complex on Mettupatti hill. Another 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE dated record from Vikkiramangalam in the Chellampatti Taluk of Madurai region also mentions a Jain name as *Antai Pikkan*<sup>130</sup>. One of the c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE Mangulam inscriptions refers that the cave was caused to be carved by one *Antai Assutan*, an official (*Kaviti*) of the merchant guild of Vellarai<sup>131</sup>. *Antai Assutan* was also designated as *Kalathikan* (*Kalatika*) or the superintendent of pearls<sup>132</sup>. Two

Pugalur records of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE refer one *Pittan*, the *antai* of Nalliyur<sup>133</sup>. Another Pugalur record of c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE mentions *Korran Antai Ilavan* who donated the forecourt to the cave shelter<sup>134</sup>. We have c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE record from Kudumiyamalai (about twenty kilometres from Pudukottai in Tamil Nadu) which spoke about a cave *palli* (hermitage) endowed by one *Korran antai* (*Korrantai*) of Nalal<sup>135</sup>. Korran antai of the Pugalur and Kudumiyamalai records could be one and the same. This Korran Antai seems to be the son and successor of Pittan Antai of another two Pugalur records. Some poems in *Akananuru* describe Pittan as the commander-in-chief of the Chera king<sup>136</sup>. Scholars observe that Pittan was the commander of Chera king Perum Cheral Irumpurai (*Perunkatunkon*) mentioned in two Pugalur records<sup>137</sup>. Five songs in *Purananuru* are about Pittan Korran (Pittan Kotran), the son of Pittan<sup>138</sup>. Pittan Kotran was the chieftain of the Chera king Kotha<sup>139</sup>. Present Pugalur records divulge the fact that the term *antai* most probably used to denote the chieftain of the kings in ancient *Tamilakam*. But at the same time the suffix *antai* was never exclusively used to denote king's chieftain. For example the Mangulam record mentions one *Antai Assutan* as the chief of a guild. The term *antai* is however found exclusively in the Jain cave records. On account of that it seems safe to conclude that the *Antai* of *Nakaperur* in the Muttupatti inscription could be a chieftain who was also a follower of Jainism.

In that sense, it can be summarised that the cave, according to the Muttupatti record was caused to be given by the younger son, probably the heir apparent of a Chera ruler of Muziri (Vanji) along with an *antai*, most possibly a chieftain of Pambra (Nagapura) in Wayanad. This record could be the earliest evidence, next to Kongar Puliyanikulam record, speaks of the Jain patronisation by a member from ancient Chera family. Furthermore, two important personalities from the Chera country made a gift of a cave shelter to the Jains in the Pandya territory could be one of the significant supportive evidence to Kongar Puliyanikulam record which indicate the presence of Jain community in Kerala even on or before the 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE. In this context it is necessary to recall the historical importance of one label potsherd Tamil-Brahmi inscription (Fig.3) dated 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE from Pattanam, most possibly another name of Muziris<sup>140</sup>. This potsherd inscription was deciphered by Mahadevan as *ammna* (*Amana*) and it is an evolved form of Tamil *Camana*, Prakrit *Samana*, and Sanskrit *Sramana* to denote non-Vedic monks. It is generally accepted that in Tamil

and Kerala country the word *Amanan* (*Amana*) was exclusively used to denote Jain monks than any other Sramana sects. On the basis of the above discussion, it is reasonable to mention that the arrival and development of Jainism in Kerala and Tamil Nadu happened almost simultaneously and can be dated to a period between 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> Centuries BCE.

### **What was the Faith of the Ancient Cheras?**

*Ilango Adigal*, the younger brother of the Chera king Chenguttuvan was a Jaina ascetic<sup>141</sup>. The *Silappadikaram* itself explains the incident which led to the conversion of the prince to become an ascetic thus: “*In the audience hall of ancient city of Vanji, when you (Ilango Adigal) were seated by your father’s side, you frowned upon the astrologer who predicted indications of your succeeding to the throne, so as to relive the affliction of Chenguttuvan famous for his chariot forces and his fragrant Kongu garland. You then went away to the Kunavayir Kottam and standing before eminent saints (Patiyor) you renounced all thought of the burdens of this earth in order to secure the kingship of the vast realm afar-off and of eternal bliss, incapable of approach by even the faculty of reason*”<sup>142</sup>.

If Ilango Adigal, the Chera prince was a Jain monk, the next obvious question that arises is what was the faith of other members of his family? The members of the same family followed diverse faiths and there appears to be no restrictions in that regard. However, certain literary and inscriptional evidences clearly prove Chera’s Jain religious affinity. The Sangam classics *Akananuru* and *Purananuru* speaks about the practice of *Vadakkirikal* (facing north) by the Chera king Udayan Cheralathan after his shameful defeat in the battle of Venni in the hands of Chola king Karikala<sup>143</sup>. *Purananuru* by poet Kalathalaiyar describes the incident thus: “*On the day when the full moon appears, the sun and moon look at each other with their bright light. In the evening time, one sphere hides behind the mountains. Like that, embarrassed that he took a wound on his back, the ruler with martial courage is facing north next to his sword. Time will not go by like before, when the sun was shining!*”<sup>144</sup>.

*Purananuru* further elucidates this holy practice observed by the Chola king Koperuncholan and the sangam poets like Kapilar and Pothiyar<sup>145</sup>. We are already

aware that the ritual called *Vadakkirikal* is a Jain sacred practice by which through prolonged voluntary fasting a Jain welcome death. It also called as *Sallekhana*, *Santhara*, *Samadhi-marana*, and *Sanyasana-marana*. We have many inscriptional and literary references to the practice of *Vadakkirikal* by Jain monks. One Jain tradition says that Chandragupta Maurya observed *Vadakkirikal* at Shravanabelagola during his last days.

In the *Akananuru*, poet Kari Kannanar sung metaphorically about the fasting of a Jain ascetic (wise men) thus: “*Wealth, going on the small path surrounded by mountains, where forest elephant herds that have lost their beauty walk in a row like wise men who are skinny without eating, who perform rituals without bathing....*”<sup>146</sup>.

Certain early vatteluttu inscriptions assigned to c.6<sup>th</sup> Century CE from Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru in the Gingee taluk of Villupuram district engraved on the bare rocks of the summit called *nicitikai* commemorating the place where Jain monks observed *nicitikai* alias *Vadakkirikal*<sup>147</sup>. We have a fragmentary inscription from Thrikanamathilakam (*Kunavayir Kottam* of Ilango Adigal) which have the term *Vadakkirikal* (Fig.4-5). It is not unreasonable to suppose that Udayan Cheralathan, the Chera king celebrated in the first ten poems of *Pathitruppathu* was a Jain at least in his last days.

Regarding the Inscriptional evidences, the Kongar Puliyankulam record of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE says that one Chera Athan (*Cer-atan*) endowed a cave to the Jain monks probably in the territory owned by the Pandya king<sup>148</sup>. The Muttupatti record assigned to c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE refers one King Athan (*Ko Athan*), the younger prince (*Elamakan*) of Muziri caused to be given a cave to the Jain monk<sup>149</sup>.

As discussed above, the title or name *Athan* is very common in the case of the early Chera rulers<sup>150</sup>. The Pugalur Chera records further establish the ‘Athan-Chera’ association. Two Tamil-Brahmi epigraphs of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, from Pugalur talk about an endowment of a cave shelter to a Jain monk (*Mootha Amana*) named Yarrur Senkayapan, when one Katunkon Ilankatunko became junior prince (*Ilanko*)<sup>151</sup>. Katunkon Ilankatunko was the son of Perunkatunkon and grandson of King (*Ko*) Athan Chel Irumpurai. Here all the three individuals-*Athan Chel Irumpurai*,

*Perunkatunkon*, and *Katunkon Ilankatunko*-can be identified as the Chera rulers such as *Selvakkadunko Valiyathan*, his son *Perum Cheral Irumpurai*, and his son *Ilam Cheral Irumpurai* respectively<sup>152</sup>, who were eloquently praised in the Tamil classic *Pathitruppathu*.

It is interesting to note that the title *Athan* is associated only with the name of the first king in the Pugalur record, Viz., Athan Chel Irumpurai alias Selvakkadunko Valiyathan. At the same time, names of his son and grandson were suffixed by the term ‘Irumpurai’, which may indicate the origin of Irumpurai line of Chera rulers who began to rule from Karur near Coimbatore as their capital. The names of the early Chera rulers given by the *Pathitruppathu* were affixed with the term ‘Athan’ alone, (not Irumpurai) such as Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, etc. But in the case of Selvakkadunko Valiyathan, the Pugalur inscription unveils another name of him that Athan Chel Irumpurai. Athan Chel Irumpurai contains both ‘Athan’ and ‘Irumpurai’ together. We have a Tamil-Brahmi record assigned to c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE from Edakkal cave in the geographical territory of Kerala, mentions “Athan, the king” (*Ko Athan*)<sup>153</sup>. The Athan line of rulers must have ruled from Vanji (Muziris) in the western coast of Kerala as their capital. On the basis of Muttupatti, and Kongar Puliyanikulam Jain records we can tentatively fix the date of the starting point of Athan line of Chera regime before the Common Era (BCE). But due to certain reasons possibly the attacks either from the Satavahanas or from the Kadambas of Banavasi they forced to change their capital to Karur in the Coimbatore region of Tamil Nadu<sup>154</sup>. Athan Chel Irumpurai alias Selvakkadunko Valiyathan, the husband of the younger sister of the wife of Neduncheralathan, probably started the new line of Chera dynasty during about the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE.

It should here be remembered that the term *Athan* was not exclusively used by the Chera rulers alone. The Kongar Puliyanikulam inscription (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE) mention the cave as an endowment of one *Per-Athan Pittan* (*Peratan Pittan*) of Pakanur<sup>155</sup>, probably to the Jain monks. The Alagarmalai Jain cave complex provides us with thirteen short Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions assigned to c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE connecting with Jainism either directly or indirectly<sup>156</sup>. All these records either describe the names of the donors of the cave or the names of the senior Jain monks (*Kani*)<sup>157</sup> and nuns (*Pammitti*) who owned the shelters. Most of the donors were

either Jain merchants or professionals engaged in the trade of different commodities or professions. Three of the donors are ‘*Athan Athan, the gold smith from Matirai*’; ‘*Athan Athan, the son of Athan, the accountant, the chief scribes*’; and ‘*Ela-a Athan, the cloth merchant from Venpalli*’<sup>158</sup>. We have a record from Pugalur Jain cave complex which speaks of *Venni Athan*, the oil merchant (*Ennai Vanikan*)<sup>159</sup>. The *Athan Chathan (Atan Cattan)* of Kappi-ur in a c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century inscription from Kunnakkudi (Sivaganga district of Tamil Nadu) is another conspicuous Jain personal name<sup>160</sup>. It seems probable to assume that these merchants or other professionals must be the followers of Jainism. And the name Athan could be either an honorific suffix or a name used by the rulers or other higher class people like merchants and other professionals of the ancient Tamil society and they must be the patron followers of Jainism. There is another probability that the *Athans* belong to a particular tribe or family who dominated ancient Tamil society. It is remarkable that all *Athens* in the abovementioned records were exclusively patronised Jain monks and nuns, because all the records mentioning *Athan* are discovered from the Jain caves and the inscriptions also either directly or indirectly related to Jainism. It is logical to say that all individuals named *Athan* in the above records are Jains but not exclusively kings, merchants, and professionals. In short, *Athan* was a Jain.

In the case of the ancient Cheras, we cannot claim that the entire line of kings of this dynasty patronised or adopted Jainism. At the same time, those kings with the title *Athan* definitely were the followers of Jainism. The first ruler Udayan Cheralathan, his son Neduncheralathan, his son Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko Valiyathan (*Athan Chel Irumpurai*)<sup>161</sup> must be Jains. Udayan Cheralathan’s performance of *Vadakkirikal* was described in the Sangam literatures support this hypothesis of their Jaina affiliation. On the basis of the Pugalur records we can establish another fact that Selvakkadunko’s grandson Ilam Cheral Irumpurai (*Katunkon Ilankatunko*) was also a staunch patron of Jainism because as the heir apparent he caused to be carved the shelter and donated it to the Jain monk Senkayapan. There is a good reason to assume that the Irumpurai line of Chera kings who ruled from Karur were also the followers of Jainism. Some scholars were of the opinion that Cheran Chenguttuvan (*Vel Kelu Kuttuvan*), son of Neduncheralathan was a Hindu<sup>162</sup>. However, his brother Ilango Adigal was definitely a Jain at least after his renunciation from the throne.



One of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from Edakkal cave in Wayanad refers to one “Katumiputta Chera” a Chera king who could be a Buddhist<sup>163</sup>. It is interesting to note that this c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE inscription could be the earliest native inscription directly refers the dynastic name Chera. The Pali word *Putta* means signifies the Sanskrit word *Putra* meaning son (*Putran*)<sup>164</sup>. But in the Buddhist religious context the word metaphorically convey the meaning as “son of Buddha” or it can be simply interpreted as the follower of Buddha<sup>165</sup>. During ancient period the word *Putta* is prefixed to the personal names of the *Sramana* people. The best example is the name Moggaliputta Tissa, the spiritual teacher of Asoka. The Pali canon *Digha Nikaya* called Mahavira as *Nigantha Nata Putta*<sup>166</sup>. The second Girnar rock edict of Asoka called the rulers of Kerala as *Ketalaputo* (Keralaputras) along with *Choda* (Chola), *Pada* (Pandya), and *Satiyaputo* (Athiyaman dynasty of Tagadur)<sup>167</sup>. These references to the Cheras and the petty kingdom of Tagadur indicate the influence of Buddhism in those territories. Interestingly, we have a short Tamil-Brahmi inscription from Jambai hill in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of Villupuram district in Tamil Nadu (c. 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE) referring to *Satiyaputta* (*Satiyaputo*)<sup>168</sup>. Jambai region is known for the presence Buddhists along with Jains from ancient period onwards. Furthermore, in the case of *Katumiputta* of Edakkal cave, if they need to get the meaning as either son or heir apparent certainly will use the words like *makan* and *Ilanko* (*Ilaiya*) respectively. It also unveils the Chera dynastic relationship with Buddhism. There is a good probability to argue that the Chera king Katumiputta was a Buddhist follower.

To conclude this discussion about the religious affinity of the ancient Cheras and their subjects, it seems reasonable to surmise that all the three mainstream belief systems such as Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism were practiced and followed by them. Ilango Adigal, the author of *Silappadikaram* was a Jain and at the same time his brother, king Chenguttuvan was an orthodox Hindu. But the Tirumalai inscription of Vidugadalagiya Perumal mention one Elini or Yavanika who installed Yaksha and Yakshi images there, who can be identified as the Cheran Chenguttuvan who also patronised Jainism. According to *Silappadikaram*, Chenguttuvan installed Buddhist *Pattini* image for Kannaki at Vanji. Kannaki and her husband Kovalan followed Jain ritualistic way of bathing, clothing and eating<sup>169</sup>; but another work *Manimekalai* says that Kannaki and Kovalan were the followers Buddhism. Kovalan’s entire family

were Buddhists but Kannaki's were Ajivikas. Ilango Adigal's best friend Sithalai Sathanar (Kulavanikan Sathanar, author of *Manimekalai*) was a Buddhist. It is clearly evident that there were not many fundamental differences among various faiths in the ancient Chera family and society.

The geographical distribution of the Tamil-Brahmi records from Tamil Nadu and Kerala enlighten us another thing that their patronisation of Jainism was not confined only to their imperial boundary but extended to the contiguous regions as well. The Kongar Puliyanikulam, Muttupatti, and Alagarmalai records (c.2 Century BCE and c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE) from Pandya territory support this inference. Most of the *Athans* in the Kongar Puliyanikulam, Muttupatti, Alagarmalai, and Pugalur records could be from the Chera Empire. Some of the Jain traders mainly concentrated in the Chera region may have settled down in the Pandya region also.

Trade contacts between the western coastal ports towns of the Chera country (Muziris, Tyndis, and Nelkinda) and the Chola-Pandya territories (Arcot and Madurai regions) stimulated exchange of Jain spiritual doctrines between these regions. The rich merchants from the Chera country were patrons of Jainism in the Pandya and Chola countries. The potsherd Tamil-Brahmi inscription speaking about an *amana* from Pattanam along with Jain remnants from Pattanam Neeleswaram temples ascertain this fact. Large scale availability of beads and other precious stones from the Pattanam site confirm the link with the *Amana Muthu Vanikans* (Jain stone traders) of the Madurai region. It is no wonder that *Thrikanamathilakam*, from where Ilango Adigal composed his Jain epic *Silappadikaram*, just five miles away from Muziri, later became a major Jain centre of south India.

It can be surmised on the basis of the above said native and non-native records, that the presence of Jains in the Kerala country can be identified at least from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the majority of the ancient Chera kings in the inscriptions and literary compositions such as Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan, Saint-price Ilango Adigal, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, Selvakkadunko Valiyathan and all other Ko Athans (King Athans) and Chera Athans were followers of Jainism.

## Jainism under the Chera Perumals

In the case of the Later Cheras or the Perumals, unfortunately we did not have sufficient inscriptional or literary sources to prove their affiliation with Jainism. The primary reason behind the scarcity of sources seems to be the patronisation of Hinduism especially Vaishnavism by the later Cheras because of which they came to be called as the 'Perumals'. The Kinalur inscription provides some hints about the sanctification of the temple for the *Bhattarar* of *Kunavaynallur* (Kinalur) probably by Vijayaraga, a Chera king<sup>170</sup>. Another inscription from Thiruvannur near Kozhikode directly connects this dynasty with Jainism<sup>171</sup>. The Kollam pillar inscription associates the Chera ruler Rama Kulasekhara with Jainism<sup>172</sup>. The Tirumalai inscription of the Vidugadalagiya Perumal also connects Jainism with the Cheras of Vanji<sup>173</sup>. Some other fragmentary inscriptions from different parts of Malabar region of Kerala also record the presence and activities of Jain followers during later Chera age.

Historians of Kerala are of the view that the *Trikunavay* temple situated near Kodungallur served as a model for all other Jain temples of Kerala. It was here Ilango Adigal composed his epic *Silappadikaram*. This *Trikunavay* temple mentioned in the Thazhekavu, Alathur, Kinalur and Thiruvannur records (Fig.11, 16, 17, 32)<sup>174</sup>, enlighten us about the clear cut administrative authority of the Jains and their organisations over their settlements and temples attached to them. The Kollam Pillar inscription of the last Chera perumal directly connects the *Trikunavay* with the Chera dynasty. Although the Later Cheras patronised Vaishnavism, the Kollam pillar inscription reveals the Jain affiliation of the Last Chera Perumal, and this could be one of the reasons that led to the ultimate disintegration of the empire. Thus the significance of the *Trikunavay* Jain establishment even during 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE is portrayed by the Kollam pillar record.

However, it should be made clear that the medieval Kerala Jainism was thoroughly under the influence of the revived Hinduism, and absorbed many of the ritualistic and theistic elements from Hinduism particularly its Tantric derivatives. As a result many of the Jain temples were converted as the Hindu temples during this period. However

we do not have sufficient sources to support the traditional accounts of religious oppression faced by the Jain followers in Kerala.

### **Vijayaraga: the Founder of Vijayaragiswaram**

The Kinalur inscription of c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE <sup>175</sup> discovered from the Kinalur village near Balussery in Kozhikode district is a crucial record for our present discussion. This could be the only inscription which establishes the earliest known Chera-perumal Vijayaraga as a patron of Jainism in the Kerala country. It records the institution of rice offering and a perpetual lamp to the *Vijayaragiswaram palli* in *Kunavaynallur* i.e. the present Kinalur. Although the inscription belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE, the name *Vijayaragiswaram palli* testifies that it was established during the reign of king Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga<sup>176</sup>. Furthermore, the inscription itself says that the offerings were made 189 years after the establishment of the *palli* named Vijayaragiswaram. Vijayaraga could be the third known Perumal of Kerala, known from the epigraphical evidences<sup>177</sup>, who reigned between 883-913 CE<sup>178</sup>.

The Thirunadhikkara inscription says that Vijayaraga was the husband of one *Kilan Adikal*, daughter of Kulasekhara<sup>179</sup>, who is identified as the second Perumal Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara (c.844-883 CE)<sup>180</sup>. Interestingly, the Thiruvorriyur inscription of the Chola king Parantaka I (c.907-950 CE) also records the name of Vijayaraga's daughter as *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli*<sup>181</sup>. The *Adikal* (*Adigal*) definitely have a Jain connection, at the same time the term *Neeli* which has its origin from Jainism, later became a very common name among the Nair women folk of medieval Kerala. Our following discussion regarding these two Jain-Nair terms will try to elucidate the truth. It is reasonable to suppose that the temple of *Kunavaynallur* was named *Vijayaragiswaram* after king Vijayaraga, the founder of the *palli*. Possibly, Vijayaraga's attitude towards Jainism might have been influenced by his (Jain-Nair) Wife *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli*. Unfortunately, we do not have any further evidence to substantiate the Jain association with Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga. It is remarkable that Vijayaraga was the first known Chera-Perumal who had Jaina affiliation.

## Chera Inscription in Tirumalai, Tamil Nadu

An inscription belonging to Vidugadalagiya Perumal which also speaks about his father Rajaraja Chera and their forefather Elini or Yavanika, helps us to connect the ancient and medieval Cheras with Jainism<sup>182</sup>. This is incised on the outer wall of the entrance which leads to the famous painted cavern on the Tirumalai hill near Polur in the Tiruvannamalai district of Tamil Nadu. The word '*Tirumalai*' means 'sacred hill' and a number of medieval inscriptions from the site speak about its original name as Vaigaimalai alias Vaigavur<sup>183</sup>. The lofty hill at this place, where the Jain temples were located is described in certain records as *Tirumalai*, which later became the permanent name of the entire region. Availability of a large number of inscriptions and other archaeological remnants shows that Tirumalai was one of the biggest Jain establishments from ancient period onwards.

Although this inscription was published in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, it is identified for the first time by the present researcher as a vital source for the reconstruction of the history of Jainism in Kerala<sup>184</sup>. Although this record was assigned to 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE on palaeographic grounds,<sup>185</sup> on the basis of some other records speak about the contemporaneity of *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* with the Chola king Kulothunga III (1178-1218 CE), it has to be assigned to 12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>186</sup>. The script of the record consists of both Tamil and Grantha script. The content of the record has three parts, written in Tamil prose, Sanskrit verse, and Tamil verse respectively, repeating the same content. The translation of the inscription is as follows:

(L.1-2): *"Hail! Prosperity! He set up again the image of a Yaksha and a Yakshi, meritorious gifts formerly made by Elini, an Adigaman of the Chera family, presented a gong and granted a channel which he had constructed to (or from?) the Kadapperi tank.*

(L.3-6): *The images of two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious and very pious-minded Kerala king named Yavanika on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (mandala) called Tundira, were later on saved from ruin by*

*Vyamuktasravanajjvala, the lord of Takata and the son of the glorious Rajaraja-an Adhika prince who was the ornament of Yavanika's race.*

(L.7-10): *The ruins which remained of the images of a Yaksha together with a Yakshi that had been set up by Elini, the chief of the family ruling over the Vanjiyar were repaired and placed on this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities by Vidugadalagiya-Perumal, the protector of the Tagadaiyar, the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences and the son of the brave Adigan Vagan-the foremost on the right path, who came from Elini's family after the latter had died*<sup>187</sup>.

Three rulers of the Chera dynasty: *Elini* or *Yavanika*, *Rajaraja* or *Vagan*, and *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* or *Vyamukta Sravanajjvala* was mentioned in this inscription. *Elini* or *Yavanika* is said to be ruling from his capital at *Vanjiyar* (*seravamsattu-adigaiman-elinisrimat-kerala-bhubhrita-yavanika-namma/vanjiyar-kulapatiy-elinis*)<sup>188</sup>. *Rajaraja* or *Vagan* is described as the “*prince who was the ornament of Yavanika's race; the foremost on the right path, who came Elini's family after the latter had died*”<sup>189</sup>. *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* or *Vyamukta Sravanajjvala* was the son of *Rajaraja*. *Elini* and *Rajaraja* held the title *Adigaman* or *Adigan* or *Adhikanripa*. *Adigaman* must be the alternative form of *Athiyaman*. *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* is described as the lord or protector of *Tagada*, or *Tagadaiyar*. The inscription thus belongs to the period of the *Vidugadalagiya Perumal*. The Chera capital *Vanjiyar* in the record must be the *Vanji* which was also known as *Makotha*, *Muziri*, *Mahodayapuram*, and *Muyirikkodu*, which can be identified as the present *Kodungallur*<sup>190</sup>.

According to the present record, *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* was not a mere chieftain of *Tagadur*. The term ‘*Vidugadalagiya (Vidukadalakiya) Perumal*’ can be interpreted as ‘the *Perumal* whose abode is at the sea’. The Tamil-Malayalam word ‘*vidu*’ denote residence, ‘*kadal*’ means sea, and ‘*agiya*’ or ‘*akkiya*’ means ‘befitted’. The surname ‘*Perumal*’ affixed with the name further establishes his place in the line of *Perumals* of *Makotha*. At the present state of our knowledge there are no inscriptions of the Later Chera or *Perumal* Empire after *Rama Kulasekhara* (c.1089-1122 CE). This inscription under discussion must be belonging to the post-*Rama Kulasekhara* period. Epigraphical evidences testify the fact that *Vidugadalagiya Perumal* was a *Chola*

feudatory. Some inscriptions from Selam and Tiruvannamalai regions of Tamil Nadu refers the names of Kulothunga Chola III and Vidugadalagiya Perumal together which helps us to reach the conclusion that he was a faithful ally of the Cholas<sup>191</sup>. At the same time, identification of his eulogy inscription from the western gopura of Guruvayur temple in Kerala confirmed his political authority over his mother land<sup>192</sup>. The same laudatory verses without any change, written in Sanskrit and Tamil verses, on the northern *Prakara* wall of the of Irungolisvara (Neelakantesvara) temple in the village Laddigam, three miles from Punganur, in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh may be identified to indicate the extension of the political authority of the later Cheras subsequent to Rama Kulasekhara<sup>193</sup>. Interestingly, this Laddigam inscription and another one of the same ruler engraved in Tamil on the right entrance of the same temple are flanked by the royal Bow emblem of the Cheras<sup>194</sup>. A big Chera Bow emblem can also be seen on the top of a Jain temple at Laddigam<sup>195</sup>. Our second Laddigam record says that he subdued his enemies such as Ganga, Magadha, and the Kadava<sup>196</sup>. Laddigam, Guruvayur, and Tirumalai records mentioned his second name as *Vyamukta Sravanojjvala* and also that he was an *Adigaman*. Both the Laddigam and the Guruvayur records further state that he was the jewel of the *Keralavamsa* (“....*srimath-keralavamsa-bhushanamithikhyathasya-prithivipathe...*”). Laddigam and Guruvayur records also titled Vidugadalagiya Perumal as *Cheran Athikan*, *Thiru Neduman*, and *Then Takata Veeran*. His title *Thiru Neduman* certainly leads us to commemorate Neduman Anji, the ancient hero of the Adigaman Chera family, mentioned in the *Sangam* classics. *Chera Athikan* or *Chera Adigaman* again confirmed his Chera lineage. On the basis of all these evidences it seems safe to conclude that Vidugadalagiya Perumal must be the immediate successor of the Rama Kulasekhara, until now the last known Chera Perumal of Kerala but his kingdom extended beyond the geographical territory of Kerala or Tamil Nadu. At the same time he was a faithful feudatory of the Imperial Cholas.

### **The Tagadur Problem**

Two places with the same name ‘Tagadur’, one located near Dharmapuri in Tamil Nadu and another in the Nanjangud taluk of Karnataka, can be identified in the inscriptions of ancient and medieval periods. A number of western Ganga, Hoysala, and Vijayanagara records speak about the Tagadur at Nanjangud taluk<sup>197</sup>. A record of

western Ganga king Sripurusha issued in his first regnal year records the donation of a piece of land to a Brahmin at *Baradur* in the *Tagadur Vishaya*<sup>198</sup>. Baradur could be the present Varadur in Wayanad district of Kerala. Two Chola records from the Mallikarjuna temple at Dharmapuri of the same period refer to another *Tagadur-nad* alias *Tagadur Vishaya* as the subdivision of the *Ganga-nadu*, in *Nigarili Chola Mandalam*<sup>199</sup>. On the basis of these inscriptional descriptions it can be said that the Tagadur near Nanjangud was headquarters of the administrative division of the Gangas which continued to be so under the Cholas and Hoysalas as '*Tagadur Vishaya*' comprising the present Wayanad, Nilagiri, Coimbatore and Selam regions. At the same time, a Hoysala inscription states that "*when Ganga Raja, the general of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana defeated Adigaman (Tagadur Chief), who was then a Chola viceroy, he ran across the Kaveri to Mysore where he created another city Tagadur now not far from Nanjangud*"<sup>200</sup>. On account of that, there is a good probability to suppose that there were two places existed within the *Tagadur Vishaya* with the same name as Tagadur, possibly one in Southern Mysore and another near Dharmapuri; both related to the Adigaman chieftain of the Chera family<sup>201</sup>. Laddigam and Guruvayur inscriptions described the Chera king Vidugadalagiya Perumal as *Then Takata Veeran*<sup>202</sup> signifies 'brave hero of south Tagadur'. It could be meant that headquarter of the Vidugadalagiya Perumal was at southern Tagadur or Dharmapuri-Tagadur.

### **Elini the Yavanika**

According to the Tirumalai inscription<sup>203</sup>, Elini or Yavanika was the Kerala king ruled from Vanji. At the present state of our knowledge, it is hard to find any other reference to the Chera king with the name 'Elini' or 'Yavanika'. One king Athiyaman Neduman Anji of the Tagadur-nadu is celebrated in a number of poems of Sangam classic *Purananuru*<sup>204</sup>. The Jambai record (c.1<sup>st</sup> Century CE) speaks about the Athiyaman dynasty of Tagadur and its chief Neduman Anji<sup>205</sup>. The king, Neduman Anji was referred as *Satiyaputo*. The terms *Satiyaputo* and *Ketalaputo* were mentioned in the Girnar rock edict of Asoka<sup>206</sup>. *Purananuru* and *Pathitruppathu* refer to the bloody war between the Chera ruler Perum Cheral Irumpurai and the Athiyaman Neduman Anji<sup>207</sup>, in which the latter was assassinated. A later work entitled *Tagadur Yathirai* narrates the war between Neduman Anji and Perum Cheral



Irumpurai and states that the main reason behind the war: ‘*whatever be the extent of the territory given by the latter, the former was dissatisfied*’<sup>208</sup>. *Tagadur Yathirai*, clearly establishes the family relationship between the Irumpurai and the Adigaman branches of the Chera family.

Poet Avvaiyar dedicated certain poems in *Purananuru* to one Pokuttu Elini, the son of Athiyaman Neduman Anji<sup>209</sup>. *Purananuru* further refers to Pokuttu Elini as a ruler of the Kuthirai Mountain, probably situated in the Karur region of Tamil Nadu<sup>210</sup>. The same text mentions another ruler *Athiyaman Tagadur Poruthu Veelntha 'Elini'* who was sung by Arisil Kilar after the latter’s death on the battlefield<sup>211</sup>. According to our present Tirumalai inscription Elini or Yavanika was a Chera ruler of Kerala ruling from his capital Vanji<sup>212</sup>. Interestingly, in this record the title *Athiyaman* was also attached with the King Elini of Kerala. The historical existence of the Athiyaman chiefs of Tagadur is clear. The war<sup>213</sup> fought between the Irumpurai line of Chera ruler and the Athiyaman chief Neduman Anji proves the existence of the Athiyaman chiefs of Tagadur as one of the collateral branches of the Chera ruling family. The royal property disputes might have led to internecine war which resulted in the death of Athiyaman. The Elini in the Tirumalai record and the Elinis in the Tamil classics must be different. At the same time there is a good probability that the name ‘Elini’ was used by different Chera family members in different times. The title ‘Athiyaman’ attached with Elini in the Tirumalai record along with the Elinis in the Tamil literatures could be a family title like ‘*Athan*’, largely affixed by the ancient Chera ruling family members. At the same time, in the light of Tirumalai inscription, the association of the title with Rajaraja and his son Vidugadalagiya Perumal shows continuity of the tradition even during the medieval period. Elini, the Kerala ruler in the Tirumalai record might be another Elini who belongs to the Athan line of Chera rulers who reigned from Vanji during ancient period.

Thus we can identify three branches of the Chera rulers such as those of the ‘Athan’ line ruling from Vanji near Kodungallur, ‘Irumpurai’ line from Karur near Coimbatore and the ‘Athiyaman’ line from Tagadur near Dharmapuri (sometimes shifted to Tagadur near Nanjangud)<sup>214</sup>. The earliest branch of the Cheras must be the Athan line, which was mentioned in the first seven decades of *Pathitruppathu*<sup>215</sup>. Most of the kings attached to their names the title ‘Athan’ like Udayan Cheralathan,

Neduncheralathan, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko Valiyathan. Selvakkadunko Valiyathan was also known as Athan Chel Irumpurai. From this ruler onwards the Irumpurai line begins. He was the husband of the younger sister of the wife of Neduncheralathan. The Athiyaman line also might have emerged during this period. They fought wars against the Irumpurai rulers for the territorial dominance in the Coimbatore-Karur region. The later history of the ancient Athan line of rulers is still unknown on account of the lack of evidences. However the Elini alias Yavanika in the Tirumalai record must be belonging to the ancient Athan line of Chera rulers because according to the inscription he was the Chera ruling from his capital at Vanji<sup>216</sup>.

There are strong reasons to believe that the Elini in the Tirumalai record was an ancient Chera ruler than one belongs to the group of Perumals. At the same time, our following study will clearly reveal a fact that the ancient Athan line of Cheras and the Perumals (Later Cheras) were belonging to the same line of royal family. It has already been mentioned that the present record belongs to the period of Kulothunga Chola III (12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> Century CE). The core content of the record says that Vidugadalagiya Perumal repaired and saved from ruin the image of a *Yakshi* and *Yaksha* along with a gong and a channel of the Arhat (*Engunaivirai*) temple on the Tirumalai Mountain which was set up by the very pious-minded Chera-Kerala king of Vanji named Elini or Yavanika<sup>217</sup>. On the basis of this description it is clear that the shrine and other establishments were in a ruined condition being built by a Chera ruler of an earlier date. It was Vidugadalagiya Perumal of the record, who made some repairs to the structures to those already made by his ancestor Elini.

Elini could be an ancient Chera ruler who lived during the sangam age. Another name of Elini such as '*Yavanika*,' supposed to be a title, deserves special discussion on our study. Here, it is reasonable to assume that the Chera king who installed the *Yaksha* and the *Yakshi* images on the Tirumalai hill had a *Yavana* touch. In the general sense, the word *Yavanika* (Prakrit: *Javanika*) mainly using to get the meaning as curtain which largely used in the theatrical art specifically in the field of drama<sup>218</sup>. Sometimes *Yavanika* has interpreted as 'Greek cloth'<sup>219</sup>. Whatever it maybe the word '*Yavana*' is commonly using to signify the natives of Greece and Ionia but later the term is used to indicate all the foreign people both the Muslims and the Europeans<sup>220</sup>. The term

*Yavana-desa* (Yavana Country) has largely applied to the countries like Ionia, Greece, Bactria, and more recently the Arabian countries also. The word ‘Yavanis’ meaning ‘Greek maidens’ could be the body guards of the kings<sup>221</sup>. Whatever it maybe, *Yavanika* in the Tirumalai inscription could be a title of the King Elini on account either he overpowered the *Yavanas* or got protected by the Yavana soldiers. There is another supposition that the *Yavana* colonies were protected by the Chera king. The presence of *Yavanas* in this region is referred to in the Tamil classics; which connect two ancient Chera kings such as Neduncheralathan and Cheran Chenguttuvan with the *Yavanas*. The second epilogue of the *Pathitruppathu* states that King Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan “captured the unkind, harsh-mouthed *Yavanars* (*van chol Yavanar*), tied their hands in the back, poured oil on their heads, seized their fine ships with diamonds and precious materials, and brought them to his country”<sup>222</sup>. *Silappadikaram* states that the *Yavanas* had owned fertile land in this country and they paid tribute to and got protected by Cheran Chenguttuvan<sup>223</sup>. The text further mention that the *Yavanas* “*sing to the glory of our king, the lord of men, who protects the earth as far as Cape Comorin, abounding in heavy large stones, with his bow, fish and tiger flags*”<sup>224</sup>, *including the fertile country of the Yavanas of the barbarous speech?*”<sup>225</sup>. Some more accounts in the same work also prove that the Yavana traders had colonies in the Puhar, capital of the ancient Cholas<sup>226</sup>. The kingdom of the *Yavanas* got protected by Chenguttuvan could be indicating their trade settlements and colonies. Furthermore, *Silappadikaram* attests the presence of Yavana soldiers in the Tamil king’s army<sup>227</sup>. Regarding the *Yavanas* of the Tamil classics V.A. Smith observes: “*there is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in South India during the first two Centuries of our era, and that European soldiers, described as ‘powerful Yavanas, dumb Mlechchas (barbarians), clad in complete armour,’ acted as bodyguards to Tamil kings, while ‘the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas’ lay off Muziris (Kodungallur) to receive the cargo of pepper paid for Roman gold. It is even stated, and no doubt truly, that a temple dedicated to Augustus existed at Muziris*”<sup>228</sup>. One the basis of above observations, it is reasonable to suppose that Elini the *Yavanika* could be one of the Chera kings either Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan or Kadal Pirakottiya Cheran Chenguttuvan. At this juncture more probability is to be given to Chenguttuvan, the most unorthodox religious follower among the ancient Chera family. On the basis of his installation of Yakshi and Yaksha images along with

providing other sacred amenities on the Tirumalai Jain hill, we have to conclude that Elini, the Yavanika was a faithful patron of the Noble Faith.

### **Rajaraja Chera, Father of Vidugadalagiya Perumal**

The Tirumalai record under discussion says that Vidugadalagiya Perumal was the son of one Rajaraja alias Vagan, ‘the foremost on the right path, who came from the Chera family of Vanji’<sup>229</sup>. We have some other inscriptions of the same period of Vidugadalagiya Perumal which speaks of his father-Rajaraja. The Chengama inscription of Kulothunga Chola III (Tiruvannamalai district, Tamil Nadu) mentions that he was the *Pirantha Perumal* or ‘the born Perumal,’ son of one Rajaraja<sup>230</sup>. Another Chengama record of the same ruler described him as Rajaraja Devan Vidugadalagiya Perumal, son of Rajaraja<sup>231</sup>. The Rajaraja alias Vagan, father of Vidugadalagiya Perumal can be identified as Rajaraja alias Ravi Rama Rajadithya alias Adithyan Kota Ranaditya (c.1036 - 1089 CE), who belongs to the main line of the Chera-Perumal family ruling from Thiruvanchikulam<sup>232</sup>. He must be identical with the *Irai Irayar* alias Rajaraja in the Thiruvannur Jain inscription discovered from the vicinity of Kozhikode city<sup>233</sup>. Another two native records, one from Trichambaram near Kannur and another from Indianur near Malappuram also mention his name<sup>234</sup>. Two Chola records from Mannarkoyil mentioned this ruler as Chera Mannar Rajaraja Deva<sup>235</sup>. Most probably he was succeeded by the last Perumal, Rama Kulasekhara (c.1089-1122 CE). At the present state of our knowledge the relationship between Rama Kulasekhara and the Rajaraja is unknown. Possibly, he was a brother or son of Rajaraja Chera. However, initially, Vidugadalagiya Perumal might have ruled from Tagadur as an Athiyaman chief and then after the death of Rama Kulasekhara he might have started his independent rule of the Kerala country as well. If it is true, we have to consider Vidugadalagiya Perumal as a last Chera-Perumal emperor whose kingdom not merely comprised the Kerala country but the entire northern part of Tamil Nadu and some parts of the Andhra and Karnataka regions also. Rajaraja’s name mentioned in the Chola records reveals the fact that he was a Chola feudatory like his son Vidugadalagiya Perumal. It is interesting to note that most of the inscriptions discovered from the Tamil region bore Rajaraja’s name with the title ‘Adigaman’. At the same time, records from the Kerala region designate him

as Chera king. Probably, Rajaraja's kingdom would have comprised the geographical territories of the present Kerala and some Tamil regions including Tirunelveli, Coimbatore, and Selam.

In brief, Elini the Yavanika, a Chera monarch of Vanji described in the Tirumalai inscription must be from the ancient line of Chera rulers described in the Tamil classics different from the medieval Chera Perumals of Kerala. Most probably he could be the Cheran Chenguttuvan who ruled in the Kerala country during ancient period. At the same time, identification of Rajaraja in the inscription as one of the Perumal kings unveils the fact that the Perumals of Kerala were the inheritors of the ancient Chera lineage. Identification of the Vidugadalagiya Perumal as one of the Adigaman chiefs of the Tagadur further proves that the Tagadur chiefs also belong to the Chera family. There is good reason to believe that the Athan line of Cheras later become the Perumals of Kerala. The surname Kotha affixed with the names of most of the Perumal rulers like Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga, Kotha-Kotha Kerala Kesari, Indu Kotha, Ravi Kotha Rajasimha, and Adithyan Kotha Ranaditya, further support this proposition. The *Ko Athan* or king Athan of ancient age could have been transformed as *Kotha* in the medieval age. The conflict between the Perum Cheral Irumpurai and Adigan Anji for territorial thirst proves that the family had earlier kinship even during the Sangam age. The term Elini in the name of Pokuttu Elini, son of Adigaman Anji find mentioned in the *Purananuru* further ascertain the fact. The Asoka's edict used to describes these two 'brother dynasties' as *Ketalaputo* and *Satiyaputo* than Cheras and the Adigaman; at the same time the Pandyas and the Cholas mentioned with their common labels also leads us to think on this way. The term '*putho*' suffixed with the names of both dynasties which probably used to designate them by the people from outside expose their common identity, which might be derived from a common ancestor. Vidugadalagiya Perumal, without doubt, was an Adigaman chief of Tagadur who belongs to the Chera-Perumal family of Thiruvanchikulam. Inscriptional evidences clearly testify that he and his father Rajaraja (the Perumal of Kerala) were the feudatories of the Cholas.

In the case of Jainism, the above discussion leads us to draw certain inferences. The ancient Cheras were great patrons of the 'Faith of Mahavira'. There is a probability that Elini was a follower of Jainism, though he was definitely a worshiper of Yaksha

and Yakshi. Adigaman Neduman Anji, the earliest known Adigaman line of Chera chieftain was also a patron of Sramana faith as attested by his Jambai inscription.

The Tirumalai record is sufficient enough to comprehend Vidugadalagiya Perumal's positive attitude towards Jainism. The huge Chera bow insignia on the top of the Laddigam Jain temple further reveal his encouraging attitude towards Jainism<sup>236</sup>. At the same time availability of his inscriptions from Hindu temples like Guruvayur, Kambayanallur (Selam district), Laddigam, Chengama, and other places indicate his equal disposition towards Hinduism as well. He must be a staunch follower of 'Perumal's Bhakti Hinduism' which was followed by his immediate predecessors, except the last known Perumal Rama Kulasekhara.

Tirumalai inscription corroborates the prevalence of Yaksha and Yakshi cult in the Tamil and Kerala country even during the Sangam age. It also substantiates the Jain Yakshi cult practiced by the Chera rulers like the Buddhist *Pattini* cult. In the *Silappadikaram* Cheran Chenguttuvan was known for the installation of *Pattini* image of Kannaki in the Chera capital at Vanji (modern Kodungallur)<sup>237</sup>. Tirumalai record proves that he also installed Jain Yaksha and Yakshi images on the hill. This can be considered as a great ruler's unorthodox and optimistic attitude towards different faiths.

### **Rajaraja Chera**

After Vijayaraga, Rajaraja was another Chera king of Thiruvanchikulam who patronised Jainism. His Thiruvannur inscription (Fig.17) datable to c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE discovered from the vicinity of Kozhikode city attests this fact<sup>238</sup>. This royal order was issued in the fourth regnal year of the king by Paliyattu Kannan Kantan, the governor of Ramavalanadu. It was countersigned by the king's officials named *Paniutaiyavakal*, *Nizalor* along with the representative of a militia called *Arunurruvar* (Organisation of Six hundred). The king's decree says that the new levy introduced by one Kanayapalli Yakkan Chellan on the gold belonging to the god Thiruvannur *Bhattarar* is not an authorised one. It further says that the governor and his men did not have the permission to introduce any kind of levies on the property of the *Thirumannur Bhattarar*. The *Devaswam* and *Brahmasvam*<sup>239</sup> of the temple were left

under the supervision of the *Arunurruvar* force, which should supervise the daily worship, and protect the property of the temple as the property of the god of *Trikunavay*. *Arunurruvar* has the right to light a lamp in front of the god of Thirumannur as the protection fee. The temple property should be managed by another official called *Ulpatan* (Sanctum keeper), but the *Arunurruvar* has the right to take any immediate action on the basis of the report prepared by *Pothuval* (temple secretary). The cultivable field of Arungadan (*Arungadan Thottam*) shall go to the *Arunurruvar* on the same condition as Palaiyur. If anyone obstruct the cultivation or made theft of the property set apart for the expenses of the temple shall pay twenty five *kalanju* of gold to the *Arunurruvar*. Those who act against this royal order were to be measured as offenders against the God of *Trikunavay*.

The Thiruvannur inscription reveals the importance given by King Rajaraja for keeping the Noble Faith alive in Kerala country. The Hindu revivalism, no doubt, largely affected the Jain temples and its belongings. Medieval feudal chiefs and governors tried to utilise the properties of the Jain and Buddhist temples by imposing heavy taxes and other measures including confiscation. Sometimes, the temple officials themselves looted the *Devaswam* property. The present decree can be considered as a royal effort to arrest the decline of the *pallichantham* (*Sramana* temple properties) of the god Thiruvannur *Bhattarar*. It also has to be measured as an unsuccessful attempt to protect this waning faith by a Chera ruler governing from Thiruvanchikulam.

### **The concept of god *Bhattara***

The concept of god *Bhattara* or *Bhattarar* or *Bhattari* is a peculiar feature of south Indian Jainism. In the medieval inscriptions, these terms were used to signify a ‘deity’ of the Jains of south India, especially from Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. According to the Thiruvannur record, the presiding deity of the temple is mentioned as ‘*Bhattarar*’. Another Jaina Vatteluttu inscription from Kinalur near Kozhikode in Kerala refers to the deity of the temple as *Tirukkaliay Pattarar*<sup>240</sup> (*Tirukkaliay Bhattarar*). The Kudlur plates of Western Ganga ruler Marasimha II (c.963-975 CE) designate his ancestor Eregangadeva (c.843–870) as “a bee at the pair of the lotus feet of the adorable *Arhat-Bhattaraka*”<sup>241</sup>.

The God *Bhattara* in the Malaiyadippatti and Kanchipuram records of Dantivarman Pallava (c.796-840 CE), along with the Vandavasi record of Nandivarman III (c.840-869 CE)<sup>242</sup>; in the Malaiyadippatti cave inscription<sup>243</sup> and the Vayalaikkavur inscriptions<sup>244</sup> represents the deities of respective Jain temples. Two inscriptions from Chitharal in Travancore designate the female deity of the temple as *Bhattariyar*<sup>245</sup>. The *Yakshi Bhattari* of Sattamangalam record<sup>246</sup> and the *Erruk-kunranar-Bhattari* of Tondur inscription<sup>247</sup> must be the female form of *Bhattarar* or *Bhattara*. At the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to identify *Bhattarar*, *Bhattara*, and *Bhattari* as any particular male or female deity of the Jain pantheon. Whatever it maybe, it is clear that *Bhattara* is a typical south Indian Jain deity which emerged during medieval age, under the influence of Hinduism.

What's more, we have large number of inscriptions from Kerala, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu where we come across the term *Bhattara* or *Bhattarar* suffixed to the personal names of Jain saints and ascetics, meaning 'the servant of the deity'. *Pattini Bhattarar*, the preceptor of *Ay* King Vikramaditya Varaguna mentioned in one of the Chitharal inscriptions is one such example from Kerala<sup>248</sup>. Another inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya Varaguna mentions *Arettanemi Bhattara* of Perayakkudi as the preceptor of one *Gunandangi-kkurattiga*<sup>249</sup>. One *Bavanandi Bhattara* is mentioned as a preceptor of Bana king in the Vallimalai inscription<sup>250</sup>. The Mercara plates<sup>251</sup> of Western Ganga ruler Avinita mention several Jain Acharyas, such as *Vandanadi Bhattara*<sup>252</sup>, *Gunanandi-Bhattara*, *Jayanandi-Bhattara*, *Silabhadra-Bhattara*, *Abhayanandi-Bhattara*, and *Ganachandra-Bhattara*. The *Acharya Sivanandi Siddhanta Bhattara* and his disciple the *Sarvvanandi Deva Bhattara* in the Biliyur inscription;<sup>253</sup> the *Uttanandipuri Mandala Bhattara* and his preceptor *Kamungare Kadahura Bhattara* in the Narasapura copper plates<sup>254</sup>, both belonging to the reign of Rachamalla II (c.870-907) are some more examples of the '*Bhattara* saints' from the Ganga country.

Ichavadi record<sup>255</sup> of the Butuga II (c.938-961 CE) refers *Nandi Bhattaraka* and *Balachandra Bhattaraka*, at the same time Shravanabelagola record<sup>256</sup> of Marasimha (c.962-974 CE) refers Saint *Ajita Bhattaraka*. Chattala Devi, daughter of the younger brother of Rakkasaganga (c.986-1024 CE) received her *Jina diksha* from Saint



*Srivijaya Bhattaraka*<sup>257</sup>. The Peggur inscription<sup>258</sup> of Rachamalla IV Satyavakya (c.975-986 CE) refers *Gunasena Pandita Bhattara*. The Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana's famous minister Deva Raja had his spiritual guru *Chandra Bhattaraka*<sup>259</sup>.

In the case of Chola records; the *Gunakirtti Bhatara*, preceptor of *Kanakavira Kurattiyar* in the Vedal record of Aditya I (c.871-907 CE)<sup>260</sup> is remarkable. *Arishtanemi Bhattara* and *Kanakasena Bhattara* in the Vilapakkam inscription<sup>261</sup> and Sendalai inscriptions<sup>262</sup> belonging to the reign of Parantaka I (c. 907-950 CE) are also crucial for our Jain-Bhattara discussion. Cholvandipuram inscription of Gandaraditya Chola (c.950-957 CE) mentioned *Gunavira Bhattara* of *Kurandi*, a well-known Jain saint from medieval southern Kerala<sup>263</sup>. The Pallankovil copperplates, belonging to the reign of Parantaka II (c.957-970 CE) speaks about a donative grant to the saint *Chandranandi Bhattarar* alias *Maunidevar* of the *Nandi sangha*<sup>264</sup>. *Adi Bhattaraka* was a Yakshi devotee described in the Tirunarungondai Appandainathar temple inscription of Rajadhiraja I (1018-1054 CE)<sup>265</sup>. Thiruparuthikundram inscription of Kulothunga Chola III (c. 1178-1218 CE) register certain land in the village of Ambi, for the merit of the *Bhattaras* of the Thiruparuthikundram *Palli* (Jain establishment)<sup>266</sup>.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the emergence of the deities like *Bhattara* and *Bhattari* could be the earliest phase of transformation in the Jain pantheon of gods and goddess into the Hindu fold. It has already been said that the Jain deity of the Chitharal temple was called as *Tirucharanathu Bhattariyar*<sup>267</sup>. At present the Chitharal *Bhattariyar* is being worshipped as *Bhagavati*. Thiruvannur *Bhattarar* and Kinalur *Bhattarar* (*Tirukkaliyar Bhattarar*) are being worshiped as lord Siva. A 13<sup>th</sup> Century Malayalam vatteluttu record from Kumaranalloor near Ettumanoor in Kottayam district designates goddess Bhagavati in the temple as *Bhattariyar*<sup>268</sup>. At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to establish any kind of Jain association of the Kumaranalloor *Bhattariyar* alias Bhagavati. A Thirunadhikkara Inscription of the Chera King Kulasekhara Deva alias Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara (c.844-883 CE)<sup>269</sup> refers the god of the temple as *Thirunadhikkara Bhattara*, now being worshipped as Lord Siva. Thirunadhikkara Pallava rock cut temple has clear cut Jain affiliation in the designation of the presiding deity as *Bhattara*.

The Mallam record (889 CE)<sup>270</sup> of the Pallava king Kampavarman, is another example to confirm the *Bhattari* or *Bhattariyar* metamorphosis. Here the word *Bhattari* is used denote a Hindu Goddess Durga instead of Jain Yakshi. The *Trikkakara Bhattara* mentioned in a number of inscriptions from Trikkakara (near Ernakulam in Kerala) to designate the god Vamana add strength to the above observations<sup>271</sup>. During the latter medieval period, due to the influence of Jainism the word ‘Bhatta’ was used to designate a scholarly person or a learned man of the Brahmin community; the Bhattathiri Brahmins are one among the sub-classes of the Kerala Nambuithiri Brahmins.

### **The *Arunurruvar***

The above Thiruvannur record places the temple under the protection of an organisation called *Arunurruvar* (Organisation of the Six Hundred). One of the undated Trikkakara records also speaks about the role played by the *Arunurruvar* in the temple administration<sup>272</sup>. The Kollam inscription (1102 CE) of Rama Kulasekhara (c.1089-1122 CE), the last known Chera king, refers the *Arunurruvar* organisation along with *Trikunavay* Jain establishment<sup>273</sup>. The militias like the *Munnuttuvar* (The Three Hundred), *Annuttuvar* (The Five Hundred), *Arunurruvar* (The Six Hundred), *Ezhunnuttuvar* (The Seven Hundred), *Ayiravar*, (The Thousand) *Muvayiravar* (The Three Thousand), and the *Ayirattirunurruvar* (The Thousand Two Hundred) played a prominent role in the history of medieval Kerala. Initially, these groups were just trading organisations, specifically engaged in caravan trade, which linked neighbouring regions and the world famous *Pattanams* (coastal towns) of Kerala. The *Ayyavole*, *Anchuvannam*, *Nanadesi*, *Manikkiramam*, *Narpattennayiravar* and *Valanchiyar* were some of these peninsular Indian trading cum skilled labour guilds, whose origin can be traced from the early medieval period onwards. Step by step, some of the members in the guilds began to maintain their own militia to protect their valuable trading commodities from the highway robbers. The militia attached to the guild began to be named on the basis of the number of warriors in the force, like the ‘Six Hundred.’ Gradually they appear to have lent their helping hand to the king during war and other exigencies. This phenomenon can be noticed in most of the Jain and other sectarian temples of Kerala. These military organisations gradually become

independent power centers under the feudal lords on account of the decline of the centralised power in the country. Slowly, either these groups or its members become owners of the respective temple and its property which they protected. The warrior member of the military organisations gradually became a part of the Nair caste of the Hindu fold and came to be known as *Padainayar* or the warrior Nair. We have inscriptional references regarding the protection of the medieval temples placed under the *Padainayars*. *Poothapadi Padainayar* and the *Paadikumbam Padainayar* of the Sulthan Bathery Mariamman temple inscription (c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE)<sup>274</sup>; the *Then Poothapadi Padainayar* of the undated Thirunelli temple inscription<sup>275</sup>; the *Nedumpurayurnattu Padainayar* in the Nedumpuram Tali temple inscription and *Sirukadaitturutti Padainayar* in the Huzur treasury plates are noteworthy<sup>276</sup>. Possibly, this religio-acculturation phenomenon of the evolution of the Nair caste happened before the establishment of the Perumal kingdom, between 7<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Here we have to note a crucial fact that most of the converted Jain temples like Kallil, Velikkad, Paruvasseri, Chitharal, Koodalmanikyam and Mathilakam are owned by the Nair families or they were the lay patrons/regular visitors of these temples. The place Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad known for the remains of a Jain temple along with the Thazhekavu inscription (Fig.32) later became the hub of *Poothapadi Padainayars* (Nair commanders from Poothadi (Poothapadi), the regally appointed protectors of the Hindu temples of Wayanad like Thirunelli and Sulthan Bathery<sup>277</sup>. The feudal chieftains namely Yakkan (*Iyakkan*) Srikantan and the Iyakkan Kovinnan (Govindan) in the Thrikodithanam inscriptions,<sup>278</sup> Yakkan Kunrappolan and the Yakkan Kodai in the Trikkakara records,<sup>279</sup> *Manalmanrathu Yakkan Kotha* in the Nedumpuram Thali record<sup>280</sup> are some of the Nair chiefs who emerge from the Trade guild militia. The Chola commander, *Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama* alias *Yakkan Rama* who hailed from *Keralantaka* (*Seralantaka*) *Chaturvedimangalam* in *Vennadu* (Venadu near Travancore) who made certain donations to *Melaippalli* and *Periyapalli* at Tirunarungondai (Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu)<sup>281</sup>, could be a Jain or a Jain-Nair. Even though, they were Nair chieftains, their surname ‘Yakkan’ (Jain *Yakshan* or *Yaksha*) itself reveals either their or their forefather’s Jain affiliation. *Yakkan Chellan* in the Thiruvannur Jain record possibly was a Jain or Jain-Nair<sup>282</sup>. The *Yakkan kadi* who hailed from *Kurandi* in *Venbu Nadu* (Venadu) made certain donations to the god of Kalugumalai could be a pure Jain<sup>283</sup>.

### *Adigal (Adikal)*

The term '*Adigal*' (*Adikal* in Malayalam) have a significant place in the history of Jainism in Kerala. This word has certain Jain-Nair association. The suffix '*Adigal*' must be a common one in Tamil-Kerala country from ancient period onwards. *Adigal* in Tamil denotes 'feet', corresponding to Sanskrit word '*Pāda*'<sup>284</sup>. More accurately, in Tamil *Adigal* is generally used as a respectful title or an honorific suffix meaning '*slave of the god*'. The term *Adigal* during earlier period was largely used to denote the *Sramana* saints, specifically the Jain monks. Here we have to remember *Ilango Adigal*, younger brother of the Chera king Chenguttuvan and the author of the epic *Silappadikaram*. He was a Jain saint lived in Thrikanamathilakam near Kodungallur. We have large number of medieval inscriptions from Tamil Nadu to prove the unquestionable identification of '*Jaina Adigal*'. The *Adigal*, *Nattadigal* *Siddhavadvan*, and *Nadalvar Ilanko Adigal* find mentioned in two Tirumalai inscriptions<sup>285</sup>, *Singanandi Kurava Adigal* in a Kalugumalai inscription<sup>286</sup>, *Acharya Vajrasinga Ilamperuman Adigal* in a Tondur rock bolder inscription<sup>287</sup>, *Kanakavira Siddha Adigal* in a Tirukkoyilur inscription<sup>288</sup>, and the *Vardhamana Periya Adigal* in an Ananthamangalam record,<sup>289</sup> are some of the examples for this observation. *Pattini Kuratti Adigal* in the Vilapakkam inscription<sup>290</sup> and *Kavundi Adigal* in the *Silappadikaram* were Jain nuns<sup>291</sup>.

*Adikal Rajasekharar* in the Painkannoor Subrahmanya swami temple inscription (Valanchery Malappuram district) deserves our attention. The gist of the record is a temple committee resolution. According to it, *Parutaiyar* (?), *Urar* and the *Adikal Rajasekharar (Adikal Irayasekarar)* made certain provisions to protect the property which set apart for the (*Nandavilakku*) perpetual lamp, *Nalpanka* (?), and the *Palli*<sup>292</sup>. *Adikal Rajasekharar* probably was a priest or an official of the temple. The term *palli* could be denoting a monastery or other kind of Jain establishment. It clearly says that the offenders will be ostracised from the village. But interestingly, the present inscription did not mention any kind of *Kachams* (Code of conduct) which were popular during the Chera age to control the Hindu temple affairs<sup>293</sup>. Furthermore, the record did not refer either the name or the ruling year of the monarch. On palaeographical grounds, the record can be assigned to c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Possibly,

the present Subrahmanya temple of Painkannoor could be originally one of the temples of twenty four Jain Tirthankaras.

The Kallil Bhagavati temple (Fig.7) in Perumbavoor near Trissur also was once a shrine of Padmavati Yakshi<sup>294</sup>. The hereditary proprietors of the Kallil temple is also a Samantha Nair sub caste (*Amabalavasi* or temple dwellers) called *Pisharody*. The term *Pisharody* could be derived from two words: Tamil *Pichai* (Sanskrit/Malayalam *Bhiksha*) and *Adigal*. *Pichai* means basic needs obtained through alms, largely practiced by Jain and Buddhist monks. In this logic, *Adigal* who obtain *Bhiksha* became *Pisharody*.

Today, in the Kerala society, *Adikal* is one of the sub-castes of the Nair community. Tradition says that they were the degraded Brahmins due to their priestly duties in the Durga/Bhadrakali temples offering flesh and liquor to the goddess and also partaking both.<sup>295</sup> Interestingly, priests of the Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple are called as *Adikal*. Some scholars have observed that the “*Bharani festival in the present Kodungallur temple wherein vulgarities are shouted and bloody sacrifices are made represents the commemoration of an attempt to drive away the Jain or Buddhist monks and nuns from the place*”<sup>296</sup>. According to *Silappadikaram*, the ancient Chera king Chenguttuvan installed Kannaki image in stone in the Chera capital, which is identified as the present Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple. The *Adigal* community of Kerala are a small community, mainly concentrated in Palakkad, Trissur and Malappuram districts. In the Travancore region they are known as *Adishens* or *Adichan* Nairs. The term *Adichan* was popular during the medieval period, and it became identical with one of the sub-castes of the Nairs of Kerala. *Adichan Kothai*, governor of the Munni-nadu mentioned in a Perunna inscription support this hypotheses<sup>297</sup>. *Iravi Adichan*, minister (*Amaicchi*) of the Chera king Kotha Ravi alias Kotha Kotha Kerala Kesari (c.913-943 CE) mentioned in the Trippunithura inscription could be one such example<sup>298</sup>.

During medieval period, the transformation of Jain deities, temples, rituals, and cults can be identified by the Jain term ‘*Adigal*’ in the Kerala country. We have evidences to prove the term ‘*Perumanadigal*’ (*Peruman* + *Adigal*) to denote either god or king during the Perumal age<sup>299</sup>. Sankaran Kotha Varma alias *Adikal Puraikilar* in the

Thirunelli inscription of the Chera king Bhaskara Ravivarman could be another remarkable example for the prominence of Adigal in the royal court<sup>300</sup>. Here Sankaran Kotha Varma could be a sovereign lord (*Adigal*) of Puraikil-nadu (Puranadu or Kottayam near Kannur). *Adigal* in the Adigal Maluvakkon in a Trikkakara inscription leads us to think about his Jain-Nair affiliation<sup>301</sup>.

Certain Chera records inform us that the term ‘Kilan Adikal’ was a common title used by the royal women of the Chera dynasty. One Thirunadhikkara Inscription states that *Kilan Adikal* alias Iravi Neeli was the wife of the Chera King Vijayaraga (c.883-913 CE)<sup>302</sup>, the founder of the *Vijayaragiswaram Jain palli* at *Kunavaynallur* (Kinalur near Kozhikode)<sup>303</sup>. Interestingly, the deity of the Thirunadhikkara temple was designated as *Bhattara*. The Thiruvorriyur inscription of the Chola king Parantaka I (c.907-950 CE) refers another *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli*, daughter of the same Chera king Vijayaraga Deva<sup>304</sup>. The Trikkakara record of the Indesvaran Kotha alias Indu Kotha (c.943-962 CE) speaks of certain gifts made by the Chera princess *Sadirasikhamani* alias *Kilan Adikal*<sup>305</sup>, either a Nair wife or daughter of the ruling monarch<sup>306</sup>. Ilayidam (Kollam-Koyilandi) inscription of an unknown *Chera Kon* (Chera king) records the gift of an extensive landed property to one *Isvaran Neeli*, the daughter of Pollamma alias Ponnamma of Chiyamana in Mangalapuram<sup>307</sup>. Ponnamma was designated as *Nayattiyar*, the feminine gender of Nair. *Isvaran Neeli* could be either the wife or the concubine of the Chera king. The term ‘Neeli’ in the ‘Iravi Neeli’ thus appears to be a popular term largely used by the Nair women folk of Kerala. The history of the Jain Neeli and its conversion as Nair Neeli will be discussed in the following pages.

### **Thirumannur, Trikunavay, Kanayapalli and Palayur in the Thiruvannur Inscription**

Certain places mentioned in the Thiruvannur record of Rajaraja Chera, such as *Thirumannur*, *Trikunavay*, *Kanayapalli*, and *Palayur* deserves special discussion<sup>308</sup>. Thirumannur must be the present Thiruvannur, situated near Nallalam in the centre of the Kozhikode city, where the inscription was discovered. The present Jain Vatteluttu inscription was discovered from the vicinity of the Thiruvannur Siva temple leads us

to think about the Jain origin of this temple. However except this inscription, there were no other structural evidences in Thirumannur pertaining to Jainism.

There are diverse opinions regarding the history of the Trikunavay temple(s). The Jain Vatteluttu inscriptions from Alathur<sup>309</sup> Thiruvannur<sup>310</sup> and Thazhekavu<sup>311</sup>, speaks of a temple complex named Trikunavay. The Kollam Rameswaram Koyil inscription refers to certain donations made by the Chera ruler Rama Kulasekhara to the Trikunavay Thevar<sup>312</sup>. Some historians identified the *Trikunavay* of these inscriptions as the *Vijayaragiswaram palli* at *Kunavaynallur*<sup>313</sup>, others observe that the *Trikunavay* was the alternative name of Thrikanamathilakam, which is the present Mathilakam<sup>314</sup>, while others gave probability to the existence of more than one *Trikunavay*<sup>315</sup>, and they observed that the Jain temples mentioned in the inscriptions from Alathur, Thazhekavu and Thiruvannur refer to different places with the same name as *Trikunavay*. The Thiruvannur record indicates that the Trikunavay was a single Jain establishment; which had superior prominence among the Jains of Kerala. It clearly says that the *Arunurruvar* should protect the property of the *Thiruvannur Bhattarar* in the same way as the property of the *Trikunavay Thevar* (Devar). Furthermore, a recently discovered unpublished fragmentary inscription from Mathilakam clearly refers to the name *Trikunavay* (Fig.6). In the light of these diverse opinions, it is safe to agree with the opinion of M.G.S. Narayanan that the Trikunavay Jain establishment of northern Kerala was another name for Thrikanamathilakam, from where the historical epic Silappadikaram was authored by the ancient Chera prince Ilango Adigal.

The place *Kanayapalli* belonging to Yakkan Chellan of the record might be the present *Kaliyamballi* near Vadakara (Kozhikode district). We have a fragmentary Vatteluttu inscription and a hero stone inscription, both assigned to 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE from a temple in the Kaliyamballi village<sup>316</sup> which divulges the historicity of this village. The term '*Palli*' in Kanayapalli itself indicate the Jain past. Moreover, Kanayapalli could be denoting the *Palli* (hamlet) of the *Kaniyans*. Kaniyans are the group of traditional astrologers in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Nowadays *Kaniyan* is a caste-group of the Hindu social order. But the historical antiquity of the Kaniyans of south India definitely leads us to link them with Jainism.

Palaiyur, mentioned in the record could be the same Palayur mentioned in the medieval literary work *Chakora Sandesa*. It can be identified as the present Palayur near Trissur. *Chakora Sandesa* is a celebrated Sanskrit Kavya by an anonymous author, roughly assigned to the period between 13<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE<sup>317</sup>. In this work, heroine sends the bird Chakora (Pheasant) as a messenger in search of her husband, who has gone to Vedaranya<sup>318</sup>, which can be located either in Kannur or in Kozhikode district, on the basis of the sequence of the places described in the text. Chakora starts its flight from Chidambaram and flies via the south of the Kanniyakumari and through most of the Malabar region. This bird messenger in its flight travelled through the temple towns like Suchindram, Trivandrum, Quilon, Chengannur, Tiruvalla, Kumaranalloor, Vaikom, Trippunithura, Thrikkariyoor, Edappally, Chendamangalam, Irinjalakuda, Perumanam, Kalukampalam, Thrikanamathilakam, Trissur, Ariyannur, Guruvayur, Palayur, Sankarapuram, Shaktigramam, Tirunavaya, Chamaravattam, etc. *Thrikanamathilakam* in this poem must be the same *Trikunavay* alias Mathilakam. The Palayur village near Guruvayur, not far from Thrikanamathilakam is described as a thriving trade center having a Siva temple<sup>319</sup>. The trade center Palayur might also have a Jain temple because according to the Thiruvannur inscription, the cultivable field of Arungadan (*Arungadan Thottam*) was handed over to the *Arunurruvar* on the same condition as Palaiyur (*arungadan-thottam-arunurruvarkum-palaiyoorodukkum*)<sup>320</sup>. Palayur Jain temple could a prominent one of medieval Kerala because the land transaction related to the Thiruvannur temple mentions in the record as equal to Palayur. The Kokasandesa and Sukasandesa Kavyas mention that the Gunaka alias Kunaka alias Trikunavay temple was an abode of *Purari* (Siva) than any of the Jain deities<sup>321</sup>. At this juncture, the possibility of a clear-cut transformation of the Jain deity of Trikunavay as Siva has to be accepted<sup>322</sup>. The Jain temple of Palayur could be faced the same historical fate which confronted to the deity of Trikunavay.

### **Evolution of Jain *Yaksha* to Hindu *Yakkan***

The surname '*Yakkan*' of the *Yakkan Chellan* in the Thiruvannur record<sup>323</sup> deserves our attention. *Yakkan* must have derived from the word *Yakshan*, the male form for *Yakshi*. We have some more medieval Vatteluttu inscriptions from Kerala mentioning the name *Yakkan*. According to the Thazhekavu inscription (Fig.32), the chief deity of



the temple was *Yakkan* (*iyakkanukku-vecha-vilakkinukku-kudambadi-irupathu*)<sup>324</sup>. A person named *Kurandi Yakkan Kadi* of *Venbu Nadu* (Venadu in Travancore) mentioned in a Kalugumalai inscription was a Jain<sup>325</sup>. The Chola commander *Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama* alias *Yakkan Rama* who hailed from *Keralantaka* (*Seralantaka*) *Chaturvedimangalam* in *Vennadu* (Venadu in Travancore) made certain donations to *Melaippalli* and *Periyapalli* at Tirunarungondai (Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu), was also a Jain or Jain-Nair<sup>326</sup>. An inscription from Thrikodithanam (c.1050 CE) near Kottayam mentions one personal name as *Yakkan* (*Iyakkan*) *Srikantan* of *Manalmanram*, the chief of the *Nanrulai-nadu*<sup>327</sup> and the *Nedumpuram Thali* record mentions *Manalmanrathu Yakkan Kotha*, the governor of the *Nedumpuraiyur-nadu*<sup>328</sup>. One *Iyakkan Kovinnan* (Govindan) of *Mulakkadu* made certain gifts to the temple of Thrikodithanam temple<sup>329</sup>. *Yakkan Kunrappolan* is mentioned in two vatteluttu inscriptions from Trikkakara temple near Ernakulam<sup>330</sup>. Another Trikkakara inscription speaks about one *Yakkan* alias *Iyakkan Kodai* of *Iravimangalam*<sup>331</sup>.

On palaeographical grounds, the Trikkakara inscriptions can be assigned to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE, either the regnal period of *Indu Kothai* (c.943-962 CE) or *Bhaskara Ravivarman* (c.962-1021) of the later Chera dynasty. All the three records mention only the name of the governing chief than the ruling monarch<sup>332</sup>. According to first two Trikkakara records, *Yakkan Kunrappolan* of *Panrutturutti* was a feudal chief<sup>333</sup>. In another record, *Yakkan Kodai* was the owner of the land which was purchased by the officials namely *Ulpattan* and *Perumudiyen* with the gift of money made by one *Kannan Kumaran* to be given as a donation to Trikkakara *Bhattarar*<sup>334</sup>. Names suffixed with *Yakkan* must be due to the Jain influence. These people were either converted Jains or their forefather's belong to the 'Noble Faith.' Moreover, they must be the medieval Nair warrior community.

### **Trikkakara Problem**

Interestingly, Trikkakara records designated the god of the temple as *Trikkakara Bhattara*<sup>335</sup>. At present, the chief deity of the Trikkakara is Lord *Vamana*, the 6<sup>th</sup> incarnation of *Vishnu*. In the case of Kerala, the *Vamana* temples are very rare. The *Vamana-Mahabali* tradition connecting the origin of *Onam* festival in Kerala has been

associated with the Trikkakara Vamana temple. At the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to find any kind of affiliation between the Vamana-Mahabali tradition and Jainism in Kerala. However, the designation of the god of Trikkakara as *Bhattara* in the inscriptions provides the clues to interpret its Jain past.

Moreover, there are many common features in the inscriptions of Thiruvannur and Trikkakara temples. The presiding deities of both these temples were *Bhattara* or *Bhattarar*<sup>336</sup>. The individual's name Hindu *Yakkan* alias Jain *Yakshan* are apparent in the records from both places<sup>337</sup>; and the presence of *Arunurruvar* organisation is also common<sup>338</sup> and so is the case with the temple official namely *Ulpatan* (Sanctum keeper)<sup>339</sup>. The Thiruvannur record and one of the Trikkakara records, are in the form of a decree by either the ruling monarch or the local chieftain<sup>340</sup>. Both the records are issued to regulate the conduct of the temple servants and other officials to protect the property of the god *Bhattara*. A Trikkakara inscription states that the wrong doer "shall be considered to have committed offenses against the god *Tirunarayana*"<sup>341</sup>. Thiruvannur inscription<sup>342</sup> states that 'if anyone obstructed royal order shall be deemed as a person who committed sin against the god of *Trikunavay*'. Without the support of further evidences, it is not logical to identify any relation between the *Tirunarayana* and the *Tirukkunavay*.

The analysis of the above inscriptions reveals that the later Chera era was a period of transformation during which a large number of Jain temples got converted as Hindu temples. The Thiruvannur Jain temple became a Saivite shrine and the Trikkakara Jain temple was re-consecrated as the temple of Vamana incarnation of Vishnu. The same is the case with many other important Jain temples of Kerala such as Kallil, Koodalmanikyam, Paruvasseri, Nilamperur, Poothadi, Thirunadhikkara, Pattanam Neeleswaram, Thazhekavu, Kinalur and Chitharal.

### **Rama Kulasekhara: A Jain Perumal**

There is a general consensus among the historians that the last Chera-Perumal was Rama Kulasekhara alias Rama Thiruvadikal alias Kulasekhara Chakravartikal (c.1089-1122 CE)<sup>343</sup>. His Kollam Rameswaram temple inscription<sup>344</sup> is a crucial one to understand the position of Jainism in Kerala in the first part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

This is the last inscription of a Chera ruler who reigned from Kerala. This record inscribed on the four sides of granite pillar in old Malayalam in vatteluttu and Grantha script is assigned to his 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year (c.1102 CE). Being in a highly weathered condition it is difficult to read the full content of the record. The important portions of the inscription, related to Jainism in Kerala were translated by the present researcher from the published Tamil transcript<sup>345</sup>. It is a royal order in four parts tells us about certain crucial socio-political conditions of the Chera country. The first two parts talk about the atonement made by the king himself to the Arya Brahmins by rectifying the wrong doings of himself or his predecessors. The king was stated to have conducted a meeting with Arya Brahmins, *Nalu Thali*, *Ayiram* (*Ayiravar*-The Thousand), *Arunurruvar* (The Six Hundred), along with the feudatories including governors of Eranadu and Venadu in the *mandapa* (temple hall) of the Kolam Rameswaram temple. *Nalu Thali* in the record was the council of the Brahmin members belonging to four Brahmin settlements situated close to the Chera capital<sup>346</sup>. The atonement is in the form of a donation of certain quantity of paddy for daily feeding of Brahmins, for which the king conferred the *Karanmai* (tenancy) right on the *Cherikkal* land (king's own land) to one Kumaran Udaya Varman, probably the junior prince of Venadu principality.

The third and the fourth parts of the inscription are concerned with *Trikunavay*, the famous Jain establishment of medieval Kerala. According to the record, the council met at the *mandapa* of the Rameswaram temple and decided that 'from the current year onwards certain quantity (36 *kalam*) of paddy, additionally, will go to the *Trikunavay Thevar* (God of Trikunavay) for conduct *Thirukkoothu* festival'<sup>347</sup>. Another 36 *kalam* paddy will go for the worship at *Kirradichchuvaram* (*Kittradichchuvaram*) temple<sup>348</sup>. The last mentioned donation probably endowed for conduct temple orchestra (*Melam*) at *Kirradichchuvaram* temple<sup>349</sup>. This inscription further says that three tenants (*Karalar*) of the *Trikunavay Thevar*'s land along with the *Karalar* of the crown's land should deposit certain measure of paddy to the king's office (*Cherikkal*) for the worship of *Trikunavay Thevar*<sup>350</sup>. The king's order then convey that, 'this is the collective responsibility of the minister's council (*amaichar Sabha*) and the *Trikunavayiran* (The head of the Trikunavay Thousand Organisation)'<sup>351</sup>.

Many interesting historical facts emerge from this inscription. The record itself says that either the king or his ancestors committed some mistakes to the Arya Brahmins of Kerala and lists out certain measures for the atonement to the Brahmins. The subsequent portion of the record largely speaks about *Trikunavay* and the grant of certain amount of paddy by the king to the temple specifically for the conduct *Koothu* festival. It is difficult to identify *Kirradichchuvaram* temple in the record which also received certain donation along with the *Trikunavay* temple. But there is a good probability that *Kittradichchuvaram* was also a Jain temple similar with the *Trikunavay*. *Kittradichchuvaram* could be a Jain basti dedicated to Adinatha alias Rishabha Deva, the first Tirthankara. The name *Kittra-Adishwaram* indicates the presiding deity Adinatha.

Another remarkable thing we have to comprehend from this record is that the king's court itself collected paddy from tenants for the worship in the *Trikunavay* temple. There is a reason to suppose that the king Rama Kulasekhara was a follower of Jainism. Probably the worship in the temple of *Trikunavay* was conducted under the direct supervision of the king and his subordinates. The location of the *Trikunavay* must be near to the Chera capital. On the basis of it, the identification of *Trikunavay* alias *Kunavayir Kottam* alias *Thrikanamathilakam* as the present *Mathilakam* near *Kodungallur* can again be confirmed.

The Kollam pillar record leads us to a clear cut Jain lineage of the Chera family. *Ilango Adigal*, the brother of ancient Chera king *Chenguttuvan* spent his hermit life at *Thrikanamathilakam* near the Chera capital *Vanji*, from where he authored the famous Jain epic *Silappadikaram*. From the *Tirumalai* inscription of *Vidugadalagiya Perumal*, we identified the famous *Elini* or *Yavanika*, the Chera ruler of *Vanji* as *Chenguttuvan Cheran*. The suffix '*Athan*' attached with most of the Chera king's names found in the *Tamil Brahmi* inscriptions from Kerala and *Tamil Nadu*, further confirmed the Jain affiliation of the ancient Chera rulers. From the *Kongar Puliyankulam Tamil-Brahmi* record (c.2nd Century BCE), we learned that one *Chera Athan* donated a cavern for Jain monks. A c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE *Muttupatti* record attested that one *Ko Athan* (King *Athan*), the *Elamakan* or junior prince of *Muziri* donated a cave shelter there for Jain monks. The performance of the holy *Vadakkirikal* by the Chera king *Udayan*

Cheralathan further reveal the close affiliation by the Chera family with the Noble Faith.

The Tirumalai inscription further informed us about the clear cut continuation of the lineage of ancient Cheras and the later Chera-Perumals of Kerala. A number of medieval Jain vatteluttu inscriptions discovered from different parts of Kerala, especially from the Malabar region like Kinalur, Alathur, Thiruvannur and Thazhekavu clearly say that the *Trikunavay* was a chief Jain *palli* which was the model of all other Jain temples of Kerala. At the same time, according to the Kollam pillar record, the last known Chera Perumal is managing the temple affairs directly from the court. Jainism must have been the state sponsored faith during ancient and the early medieval age. This could be the reason for *Trikunavay* becoming the model of all Jain centres of Kerala. Because of this could be the all Jaina inscriptions from Kerala specifies the holiness of *Trikunavay* temple is as ‘the defaulters are sinners who equal to commit sin to the *Trikunavay* and ‘should protect the property of the temple as equal to the property of the *Trikunavay*’<sup>352</sup>.

At the same time, the inscriptions clearly show that the Perumals of Kerala were great patrons of Hinduism and its temples. We do not have any evidences regarding Jain patronisation by the Chera Perumals of Kerala, except a few rulers like Vijayaraga, Rajaraja and his successor Rama Kulasekhara, along with the Vidugadalagiya Perumal who ruled from Tagadur. The Hindu revivalism initiated by Shankaracharya, and the subsequent development of Tamil Bhakti movement must have influenced the Chera rulers as well. The earliest known Chera Perumal Rama Rajashekara (c.800-844 CE) has been identified as the Cheraman Perumal Nayanar, one of the sixty three great devotees of Siva called Nayanars in Tamil Bhakti tradition<sup>353</sup>; likewise, the second Chera ruler Sthanu Ravi (c.844-883 CE) is identified as the Kulasekhara Alvar, one of the twelve great devotees of Vishnu, called the Alvar saints in the Tamil Bhakti tradition<sup>354</sup>. There is good reason to believe that from the period of Rama Rajashekara onwards the illustrious Jain center *Trikunavay* appears to have lost its prominence. Absence of any Chera records<sup>355</sup> speaking about *Trikunavay* between 9<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> Century CE indicates the lack of Jain patronisation from the Later Chera rulers starting from Rama Rajashekara (c.800-844 CE) up to Ravi Kotha Rajasimha (c.1021-1036 CE).

There is also another noteworthy fact that we did not have any evidence regarding the Chera rulers who ruled before Rama Rajashekara. During this period, the Pallava and Chola eminence in the Kerala country made Chera rule an unimportant chapter. However, from the Thiruvannur record we learn about the Jain affiliation of Rajaraja, the immediate successor of Ravi Kotha Rajasimha, who was a staunch patron of Hinduism as attested by the Mannarkoyil, Trichambaram and Indianur inscriptions<sup>356</sup>. However, Rajaraja was definitely a tolerant ruler who had encouraging attitude towards the Jaina faith.

Trikunavay held its prominent place up to the period of Rama Rajashekara. The fame begins to decline due to the change in the faith of the later Chera rulers<sup>357</sup> which led to its conversion into a Siva temple, which is eloquently described in the medieval literary works. The partial Brahmin's untouchability to *Kunaka Thampuran* alias *Trikunavay Tevar* as mentioned in certain *Manipravalam* literatures of the late medieval age, should be seen in the light of the conversion of faith<sup>358</sup>. At this juncture, Rama Kulasekara's *Prayaschitta* to the Arya Bahamans described in the Kollam pillar inscription shows his efforts to reclaim their support.

However, it appears that Rama Kulasekhara became the follower of Jainism, and patronised his traditional family shrine and that could be one of the main reason for the decline of the Perumal Empire in Kerala. His conversion into the Noble Faith from Hinduism probably led to internal troubles leading to a civil war in the kingdom. The rise of the Hoysala power under the leadership of Vishnuvardhana after crushing the Cholas and the Pandyas in south India further worsened the situation. According to Kollam pillar inscription, the king is not in his traditional capital at *Thiruvanchikulam* near Kodungallur in the central Kerala; instead, he is in the *Kurakkeni Kollam* alias Kollam in the southern part of Kerala. This shifting of the capital from Kodungallur to Kollam by the Chera-Perumal should be seen in the context of the rise of Hoysala power in peninsular India. Vishnuvardhana's conversion into Vaishnavism from Jainism under the influence of saint Ramanuja led to tumultuous changes not only in the Kannada country but Kerala as well. Rama Kulasekara's Jaina affiliation as a wrong doing to the Arya Brahmins could be added more fuel to fire. These issues will be addressed in the following pages.

The popular tradition regarding the abdication of throne by the last Perumal described in the *Keralolpathi* chronicle must be read by way of the Jain association of Rama Kulasekhara. The text says that the last Perumal received Buddhism, then Islam and left to Mecca after dividing the kingdom among his feudatories<sup>359</sup>. The Muslim tradition according to *Tuhafat Ul Mujahideen* by Sheikh Zeinuddin too testifies the partition of the kingdom among governors by the last Perumal and his ensuing journey to Mecca after he became a Mohammedan<sup>360</sup>. Here it should be remembered that in the medieval Kerala, the term ‘Bauddhas’ (Buddhas) were not only used to denote the Buddhist, but other non-Hindu followers including Jains and Muslims as well<sup>361</sup>. This traditional account should be seen in the light of the descriptions of the Kollam pillar inscription. Rama Kulasekhara’s very encouraging attitude towards Jains of Kerala could be one of the reasons behind the *prayaschitta* (penance) grant given to the Arya Brahmins. At the present state of our knowledge, Rama Kulasekhara was the last Chera- Perumal who directly ruled from the geographical territory of Kerala and he was the last Perumal initially converted into Jainism and later became a Muhammadan. His conversion into Jainism, subsequent patronisation could be the chief factors behind the irritation created among the Arya Brahmins of Kerala. The Kollam inscription could be an appeasement measure taken by the king to resolve the remorse of the Nambuthiri Brahmins of Kerala. The invasion of Vaishnava Vishnuvardhana probably encouraged Rama Kulasekhara to appease the Brahmins of Kerala to get their spiritual support for his temporal power. Endowment of Cherikkal land in the presence of Brahmin council called *Nalu Thali* to the Kumaran Udaya Varman of Venadu for feeding the Brahmins should be seen from this angle. At the same time, the same inscription speaks of his hearty concern about the *Trikunavay*, which led to his additional donations to the temple. Receiving heap of grains directly by the king from the tenants for the worship of *Trikunavay* is telling the real story of his association with Jainism and its main ancient/medieval spiritual center in Kerala, the *Trikunavay*.

#### ***Ayiram alias Trikunavay Ayiram***

The Kollam Rameswaram temple inscription mentions two terms, Viz., *Trikunavayiran* and *Ayiram*, which have a significant bearing on the history of

medieval Kerala. From this record we have seen that the king was sitting in the council at the temple hall with the Arya Brahmins, *Nalu Thali*, *Ayiram*, and *Arunurruvar* along with the feudatories<sup>362</sup>. In another place the same record says that the responsibility for collecting paddy from the *Trikunavay Tevar's* land has been placed under the *Trikunavayiran*<sup>363</sup>. It has already been said that the *Nalu Thali* was the king's council of Brahmins belonging to the adjacent four Brahmin settlements in the Chera capital. The *Ayiram* must be a shadow force (*Nilal*), probably maintained exclusively for the king Rama Kulasekhara. It is very crucial to note this is the only inscription of the entire Chera dynasty which mentioned these two terms. The *Trikunavayiran* and *Ayiram* in the Kollam pillar record must have been closely connected. The former could be the commander or head of the latter. At the same time, *Trikunavayiran* could be the same *Trikunavay Adhikarar* (officer of the *Trikunavay*) find mentioned in the Alathur Jain inscription (Fig.11) of c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>364</sup>. The specific purpose of the *Ayiram* organisation and its head *Trikunavayiran* is difficult to postulate, but it is reasonable to assume that they had the same role played by other organisations of numerical appellation which existed in the medieval Kerala like the *Munnuttuvar* (The Three Hundred), *Annuttuvar* (The Five Hundred), *Arunurruvar* (The Six Hundred), *Muvayiravar* (The Three Thousand), *Ayirattirunurruvar* (The Thousand Two Hundred), etc.

The Alathur and Thazhekavu Jain records clearly say that these two temples were under the supervision of the *Nalpattennayiravar* (The Forty Eight Thousand)<sup>365</sup>. The Thiruvannur temple was supervised by *Arunurruvar*<sup>366</sup>. The Kinalur record put the supervision of *Kunavaynallur Tevar* (The god of the Kunavaynallur or Kinalur) under the *Muvayiravar* (The Three Thousand) and the *Ezhunnuruvar* or *Ezhunnuttuvar* (The Seven Hundred) organisation<sup>367</sup>. These organisations could be a militia which provides protections to the temples and other properties in the medieval feudal social structure. At the same time, they provide military help for the king as well. Consequently, kings and his chieftains maintained these kinds of organisation exclusively for their personal and political purposes. Here we have to note that the *Ezhunnuruvar* in the Kinalur inscription “is the organisation of the companions of honour belonging to the governor of Kurumpurai-nadu”<sup>368</sup>. Simultaneously, the temple at Kinalur had an organisation called *Muvayiravar*. The *Ayiram* of *Trikunavay* could be having the responsibility of protecting the temple besides handling the



administrative affairs of the temple as well. Hence, as per the Kollam pillar record; the responsibility of the collection of a share of produce from the land of Trikunavay temple was placed under *Trikunavayiran*. All these evidences prove Rama Kulasekara's Jain affiliation and that the Trikunavay temple affairs were directly controlled from the king's office. The *Ayiram* was not only a managerial organisation of the *Trikunavay* temple, but a shadow force of the Jain king Rama Kulasekhara<sup>369</sup>.

The *Tirukkunavay Ayiram* was an organisation of the Ten thousand (multiple of Thousand) militia<sup>370</sup>. It has also been noticed that the members of the medieval chera forces mainly comprised of the Nair warriors and the military nature of the bodies like *Annurruvar*, *Arunurruvar*, etc., and their Nair predominance. The question that arises now is who were the members of these organisations? Jains or Nairs? The Nairs of Kerala definitely had a proven Jain ancestry. During the closing stages of the Chera age witnessed a large-scale Jain-Nair acculturation in Kerala country. During this period there were no major differences between the Jains and the converted Jain Nairs. It seems logical to call the *Trikunavay* shrine as a Jain-Nair temple. The members of the *Trikunavay Ayiram* and its head *Trikunavayiran* could be Jain-Nairs. Interestingly, certain traditional literary records attest the *Trikunavay* temple and its property's ownership by two Nair families called *Vadakkedathu Nair* and *Thekkedathu Nair*<sup>371</sup>. The discussion about the Jain-Nair affiliation in the following pages will further reveals the truth.

### ***Onnu Kure Ayiram (The Thousand without One)***

In this background, it is imperative to discuss about a Nair organisation called *Onnu Kure Ayiram* (an association of one minus one thousand or The Thousand without One or 999) still surviving today in Kodungallur, the ancient capital of the Cheras. We do not have any historical records except traditional accounts regarding the origin of this organisation<sup>372</sup>. Nowadays, *Onnu Kure Ayiram* is known as *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam*, but usually referred to in abbreviated form as *OKAY*. It is purely a Nair organisation which comprised a large number of Nair sub-classes living in the vicinity of Kodungallur. Interestingly, this hereditary body has been the administrative authority of the Kodungallur Bhagavati temple. The meeting of the *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* is held on the first day of every Malayalam month before this temple

in which all administrative matters relating to the temple within the purview of their authority were discussed and suitable resolutions are taken. Furthermore, the members of the *Yogam* (Committee) will be perform a ritual called *Nilal Irikkal*, which can be interpreted as ‘sitting as shadow’. We are aware about the term *Nilal* found in the medieval inscriptions, which means shadow mainly denoting the “companions or body guards who will move along with the master like shadows inseparable from the object of origin”<sup>373</sup>. The *Ayiram* body of king Rama Kulasekhara was also his *Nilal* or Shadow force. The expression *Nilal Irikkal* in the present day context could mean protecting the deity of the temple as her *Nilal* or Shadow. Remarkably, this local tradition is actually supporting the association of this organisation with the last Chera Perumal as well<sup>374</sup>. It says that the thousand members in the *Ayiram* organisation were reduced to nine hundred and ninety nine due to the conversion of the last Perumal into Islam who subsequently went to Mecca. The *Keralolpathi* tradition also associates the reason for the conversion of last Perumal into Islam with the story of mistreatment by king to one of his Nair commander *Padamel Nair*, who was the leader of the king’s attendant force called *Akampadi Pathinayiram* (The Retinue Ten Thousand)<sup>375</sup>. This *Padamel Nair* could be the *Trikunavayiran* alias *Ayiravan* in the Kollam pillar inscription, and he also could be the *Trikunavay Adhikarar* find mentioned in the Alathur record. On the basis of these narrations in the traditional accounts substantiated by the *Ayiram* organisation of the Kollam pillar inscription, it seems logical to reach a supposition that the present *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* of the Kodungallur temple was an inheritor or successor of the *Ayiram* organisation of the last Perumal Rama Kulasekhara. The lost one could be the king itself after the conversion from Jainism into Islam.

Here, we have to recall the observations made by some scholars regarding rituals in the *Bharani* festival performed in the Kodungallur temple wherein “vulgarities are shouted and bloody sacrifices are made which represents the commemoration of an attempt to drive away the Jain or Buddhist monks and nuns from the place”<sup>376</sup>. The ritual *Nilal Irikkal* or protecting the deity of the temple as a shadow force by the Nair warriors could be indicative of the past conflicts that once existed between two rival groups possibly for the authority over the worship and administration in the temple. The tradition regarding the conflict between Brahmin *Uralar* of Irinjalakuda and the Nairs of *Thrikanamathilakam* for the *Trikunavay* temple and its property<sup>377</sup> is also

matching with the situation. The protection given by the *Ayiram* body of the king Rama Kulasekhara to the Kodungallur temple could be a reality. This information again speaks of the *Sramana* association of the last Perumal. The administrative authority over the Kodungallur temple exercised by Nair's *Yogam* (committee) and along with its priest's designation as *Adigal* further hint at the Jain ancestry of the temple. Owing to this observation, the identification, by some scholars, of Kodungallur temple as the one where Chenguttuvan installed Buddhist Kannaki image in the Chera capital city at Vanji mentioned in the *Silappadikaram* could be revisited<sup>378</sup>.

The above discussions have clearly revealed that the dynastic rule of the medieval perumals of Kerala has been a continuous one and the extension of Sangam Age Cheras. Traditionally, most of the rulers of the ancient Cheras of Muziris (Vanji) were either staunch Jains or patrons of this faith. During the medieval age the Hindu revivalism and subsequent historical events naturally influenced the Later Cheras of Kerala also, who showed their affinity and preference to Hinduism. Some of them, particularly Vijayaraga, Rajaraja, Rama Kulasekhara, and Vidugadalagiya Perumal patronised Jainism besides Hinduism. The *Vijayaragiswaram palli* established by king Vijayaraga attest to the patronisation of Jainism by one of the earliest Perumal of Kerala. Rajaraja's Thiruvannur inscription (Fig.17) is the best example of another Perumal's tolerant stance towards the 'Nobel Faith'. Kollam pillar inscription and other supportive evidences indicate that Rama Kulasekhara was a follower of Jainism. Tirumalai inscription clearly reveals Vidugadalagiya Perumal's Jaina affiliation.

However, on the basis of the available sources, it must be emphasised that comparing with the ancient Chera dynasty, the contributions made by the medieval Chera Perumals to Jainism were few. The study and analysis of the inscriptions from Kinalur, Thiruvannur, Alathur, Painkannoor, and Kollam inscriptions clearly prove that during the Perumal age, Jainism survived in the Kerala country against the Hindu revival, but became a handmaid of it when most of the Jain temples and other establishments were converted in to Hindu ones. The Jain-Nair warriors of the *Trikunavay Ayiram* and the *Kodungallur Ayiram* besides the *Muvayiravar* and *Ezhunnuruvar* of the *Kunavaynallur* and the *Arunurruvar* of Trikkakara and Thiruvannur also disclosed the same fact. It was the first step to the absorption and

accommodation of this ‘Noble Faith’ into the Hindu fold. The large scale absorption of the Kerala Jains into the Hindu Nair fold was a historical truth which will be further discussed in the following pages.

### **Ay Kingdom and the Noble Faith**

The Ay rulers of Southern Kerala (Travancore) have played a prominent role in the history of ancient and medieval south India. Right from the Sangam age we have literary evidences to establish the existence of this minor ruling dynasty. Parallel to the ancient and later Chera kingdoms, the Ay kings exercised their sway from 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE up to 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE, with frequent intervals in between. They were, most of the time, forced to remain subordinate to the Cheras and Pandyas. The territory of the Ay kingdom consisted of the Travancore region of Tiruvalla in the north and Nagarcoil in the south. Ptolemy called Ay as *Aioi*, and described that their territory extended between the river Pamba (*Baris*) in the north and Kanyakumari in the south<sup>379</sup>. Their kingdom, being located between two major powers, acted as a buffer state between the Cheras and the Pandyas; their loyalty oscillating between them as per the necessity. The capital of the kingdom was *Aykudi* in the *Pothiyil Malai* in the Western Ghats. Vizinjam, the coastal town of Travancore was an important city of the Ay kingdom, perhaps acting as their second capital. After 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE the Ay territories were absorbed by the Venadu (Travancore) kings through wars and marital alliances. The *Sangam* classics, such as *Purananuru* and *Akananuru* sung about the rulers of this dynasty like Ay Antiran, Titiyan, and Atiyan<sup>380</sup>. After a gap of four centuries, the dynasty resurfaces again from 8<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards. Sadayan and Karunadan were two important rulers of this dynasty during 8<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>381</sup>. But the well-known and epoch-making kings in the history of the Ay’s were Karunandadakkan (C.857-885 CE) and his immediate successor Vikramaditya Varaguna (c.885-925 CE).

Regarding ancient Ay rulers, we do not any evidence to indicate their Jain affiliation. Ay Antiran, the first prominent ruler of this dynasty was probably a Saivite and he worshipped Siva “seated underneath the banyan tree”<sup>382</sup>. Karunandadakkan, the later Ay ruler was a patron of Vishnu cult. His Huzur office plates<sup>383</sup> records the construction of a Vishnu temple at Parthivasekharapuram (now known as

Parthivapuram) near Marthandam in Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu. He was also a man of letters and worked for the promotion of Vedic learning through the establishment of a *Salai* (Vedic college) at Parthivapuram under the tutelage of Nambuithiri Brahmins. The Thiruvadaikkodu inscriptions of the same ruler testify to the extension of his patronisation to Saivism as well<sup>384</sup>.

### **Vikramaditya Varaguna: A Jain King**

Of all the rulers of this dynasty, Vikramaditya Varaguna (c.885-925 CE) is known for his patronization of Jainism and Buddhism. His Paliyam copperplates begin with the invocation of “*Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha*” and record the endowment to a Buddhist monastery of Kerala named *Srimoolavasam Vihara*, which is yet to be identified<sup>385</sup>. On the basis of it M.G.S views that Varaguna was a follower of Buddhism<sup>386</sup>. But some inscriptions (Fig.21) from Chitharal<sup>387</sup> clearly speak about his Jaina affiliation. We have three old Tamil-Malayalam Vatteluttu epigraphs from there, one of which mentions that Varaguna was the disciple of one Jain saint *Pattini Bhattarar* of *Tiruchcharanam*<sup>388</sup>. But according to M.G.S. Narayanan, “*it is not clear whether Varaguna of this record is the same as the Ay king Vikramaditya Varaguna*”<sup>389</sup>. Two more inscriptions<sup>390</sup> from the same site belonging to the reign of this king speak about his donations to Jaina establishments; will help us to ascribe all the three records to the same king. Moreover, on the palaeographical ground, these three records belongs to the same period. It should be remembered that nowhere in the Paliyam copperplates Varaguna was not mentioned as a follower of Buddhism. Donating a piece of land to a Buddhist Vihara or the invocations to *Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha* in the inscription, shall not be considered to infer that the ruler in the record was a follower of Buddhism. In fact, Varaguna in the Chitharal inscription was mentioned as a deciple of a Jain monk *Pattini Bhattarar* logically lead us to conclude that he was a Jain. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai’s claims regarding Varaguna’s association with Hinduism on account of his father’s patronage to it cannot be accepted<sup>391</sup>. On account of that, the title *Kerala Chandragupta* is more apt for Varaguna than the already attributed one as *Kerala Asoka* on the ground of his land grant to the Buddhist monastery *Srimoolavasam*.

The content of the second Chitharal record dated to the 21<sup>st</sup> regnal year of the same king (906 CE)<sup>392</sup> says that the shrine for the *Tiruchcharanam Bhattariyar* was constructed during the 17+4<sup>th</sup> year of king Varaguna by one *Moottavala-Naranakuttiyar*. Besides, she made an arrangement for a perpetual lamp in front of the deity for which she endowed certain quantity of land and a golden lamp along with a golden flower to the *Bhattariyar*. On the basis of this record some researchers inferred that the Chitharal (*Tiruchcharanam* alias *Tirucharanathu Malai*) Jain temple was established during the reign of Vikramaditya Varaguna<sup>393</sup>. On the contrary, Tiruchcharanam hill and its cave shelters appear to have been famous among the Jain monks and nuns even before the alteration of the main cavern into a structural temple. The caves at Tirunelveli, Madura, and Arcot regions of Tamil Nadu were used as shelters by Jain monks from ancient period onwards support this hypothesis. We have clear cut epigraphical evidences which reveal the linkages between the *Tirucharanathu Malai* and other ancient Jain centers of Tamil Nadu<sup>394</sup>. Here the third Chitharal inscription<sup>395</sup> records the sculpting of certain Jain images by one Viranandi Adigal of the *Melaippalli* at Tirunarungondai (Tirukkoyilur taluk, Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu). An inscription from the Chandranatha shrine in the Appandainathar temple in Tirunarungondai register a land grant to the two Jain temples called *Periyapalli* and *Melaippalli* for the purpose of perpetual lamps by a Chola commander named Yakkan Rama Devan who hailed from Venadu (Travancore)<sup>396</sup>. An Inscription from Kalugumalai (Kovilpatti taluk, Thoothukudi district, Tamil Nadu) refers to one *Milaloor Kurattikal* of *Tiruchcharanam* caused to be sculpted an image on the Kalugumalai hill<sup>397</sup>. Two more Kalugumalai records refer *Kurattikal* (Jain nuns) from *Tiruchcharanam* made certain contributions to the god of the Kalugumalai temple<sup>398</sup>.

Thus it becomes clear that the places like Kalugumalai and Tirunarungondai were already famous for Jain settlements right from ancient period onwards. Some of the inscriptions discussed above were dated to the period before the reign of Ay Varaguna. On the basis of all these facts, it seems reasonable to assume that the conversion of the main cave at *Tiruchcharanam* as a structural temple probably happened during the time of Varaguna.

A Majority of the fourteen inscriptions discovered from the Chitharal temple, speaks of different contributions made by the kings, saints and other followers to the temple. King Vikramaditya Varaguna caused to be sculptured certain images in the Chitharal temple<sup>399</sup>. In the 28<sup>th</sup> regnal year of this King, one *Gunandangi Kurattikal*, deciple of *Arettanemi Bhattara* donated some gifts of gold to the deity of *Tiruchcharanam*<sup>400</sup>. Some images were caused to be sculptured by Jain monks namely *Achchanandi*, *Uttanandi Adigal*, and *Viranandi Adigal*<sup>401</sup>. A lady named *Vijayabhadra Vipaschit* set up a stone entrance to the shrine of the 'excellent deity' of Chitharal<sup>402</sup>.

One of the Chitharal inscriptions refer to a saint *Uttanandi Adigal* of *Kattamballi*<sup>403</sup>. The famous Jain monastery at *Kurandi* has been frequently mentioned as *Thirukkattamballi* by a number of inscriptions from Settipodavu, Pechchi Pallam, and Uttamapalaiyam regions of Tamil Nadu<sup>404</sup>. The prominent Jain monks of south India like *Kurandi Atta* (Ashta) *Upavasi Bhattara*, *Gunasena Deva*, *Kanakanandi*, *Ashtopavasi* and his pupil *Arishtanemi* are mentioned in the inscriptions of Uttamapalaiyam, Muttupatti, Settipodavu, and Pechchi Pallam were from the *Kurandi Thirukkattamballi*<sup>405</sup>. Here the *Kattamballi* in the Chitharal inscription<sup>406</sup> could be the same *Kurandi Thirukkattamballi* of other records<sup>407</sup>. An inscription from Chalapandiyapuram (Cholavandipuram, Tirukkoyilur taluk, Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu) contains reference to *Gunavira Bhattara* of *Kurandi*, a well-known Jain saint of the medieval south India<sup>408</sup>. A large number of Jain inscriptions<sup>409</sup> from Kalugumalai mention the place name *Kurandi*. P.B. Desai located *Kurandi* in the Madura region of Tamil Nadu, specifically in Settipodavu<sup>410</sup>, while K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar located it in the Travancore region<sup>411</sup>. Our sources are more supportive for the observation of Subrahmanya Aiyar because some of the records from Kalugumalai, Muttupatti, and Settipodavu specifically refers to *Kurandi* situated in *Venbu Nadu*<sup>412</sup>, can be identified as Venadu, the ancient name of Travancore. Based on the above, the famous *Kurandi Thirukkattamballi* can be identified as the present Kurandi village in Rajakkamangalam taluk of Kanyakumari district, which once was part of the Ay kingdom. The discussion on the identification of 'Korati' mentioned some inscriptions from Kerala and Karnataka as Kurandi will follow.

## Jainism under the Western Gangas

In the previous chapter we have discussed the crucial role played by the Western Gangas in the spread of Jainism in south India. Most of the researchers have not understood the importance of and decisive role played by this dynasty in the history of Kerala region, as in the case of the Kadambas and Pallavas. It can be said with confidence that Kerala Jainism was greatly influenced by the Gangas, the principle Jain dynasty of south India which also unveils the fact that right from the early days of the Gangas most parts of the Kerala country were under their political sway<sup>413</sup>.

The Ganga expansion in to the Punnada and Palakkad regions of Kerala during the reign of Avinitha and his son Durvinita<sup>414</sup>, and the influence of *Punnada sangha*, one of the early *Jain sanghas* over the Malabar region of Kerala has already been discussed above. Alathur in Palakkad conquered by Durvinita<sup>415</sup> is famous for its medieval Jain vestiges of a temple and settlement along with a Vatteluttu inscription assigned to 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Century CE, which refers to the *Nalpattennayiravar* organisation, one of the celebrated trade cum labour guilds of Deccan which looked after the affairs of the Jain temple at Alathur<sup>416</sup>.

The Nonamangala grant issued in the 1<sup>st</sup> regnal year of Avinitha Ganga refers to a gift comprising of one-fourth of the *karshapana* (coin) collected from external duties, as *deva-bhoga* (temple endowment) to the Jain basti of *Evani-adigal* of Perur<sup>417</sup>. There are a number of places with the name Perur, especially in the Coorg region of Karnataka; Coimbatore and Palakkad regions of ancient Tamilakam including Kerala. One tradition regarding the origin of the Ganga dynasty speaks about a Perur which is identified by researchers as *Ganga-perur* in Kadapa district of Andhra Pradesh<sup>418</sup>.

The term *Adigal* suffixed with *Evani-Adigal* in the Nonamangala inscription is important in this context. *Evani-Adigal* could be a founder of Perur *basti*. The suffix *Adigal* (*Adikal* in Malayalam) was generally used as a respectful title or an honorific suffix which literally mean 'slave of the god'. Thus the word *Adigal* during earlier period can be taken to denote the Jain monks.



The name *Kavundi Adigal*, a Jain nun mentioned in *Silappadikaram*<sup>419</sup> shows that the suffix *Adigal* was applied to women saints also. *Pattini Kuratti Adigal* in the Vilapakkam inscription<sup>420</sup> was a Jain nun. *Adigal*, Nattadigal Siddhavadavan, and Nadalvar Ilanko *Adigal* in two Tirumalai inscriptions<sup>421</sup>, Singanandi Kurava *Adigal* in a Kalugumalai inscription<sup>422</sup>, Acharya Vajrasinga Ilamperuman *Adigal* in a Tondur rock bolder inscription<sup>423</sup>, Kanakavira Siddha *Adigal* in a Tirukkoyilur inscription<sup>424</sup>, and Vardhamana Periya *Adigal* in an Ananthamangalam record,<sup>425</sup> are some of the examples which support this observation.

The present day Trissur was earlier known as *Trichivaperur*, which evolved from three words *Thiru +Shiva+Perur*. The *Thiru Perur* in the Kollam Rameswaram inscription<sup>426</sup> of Chera Rama Kulasekhara could be another name of Trichivaperur. The terms *Tiru* and *Siva* must have been affixed due to the influence of medieval bhakti movement of Adi Sankara. It is sure that Trissur and adjoining areas during ancient and medieval period were main centers of Jains in Kerala. Kodungallur, Pattanam Neeleswaram, Mathilakam (*Kunavayir Kottam*), Palayur, Koodalmanikyam in these areas are some such examples. As mentioned by *Silappadikaram*, it is believed that the Kannaki image consecrated in Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple by Chenguttuvan Chera is located close to Trichivaperur. The possibility for the Sramana affiliation of the Kodungallur temple was already observed by some scholars<sup>427</sup>.

Interestingly, the priest of the Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple is addressed as *Adikal*. In the present day Kerala society *Adikal* is one of the sub-castes of the Nair community. Tradition says that they were the degraded Brahmins due to their priesthood in the Bhadrakali temples offering flesh and liquor to the goddess and also consuming them<sup>428</sup>. Their population is mainly found in Palakkad, Trissur and Malappuram districts. In the Travancore region they are known as *Adishens* or *Adichan* Nairs. The term *Adichan* is commonly found in medieval inscriptions, which later came to signify one of the sub-castes of the Nairs of Kerala. *Adichan Kothai*, governor of the Munni-nadu is referred in a Perunna inscription<sup>429</sup>; *Iravi Adichan*, minister (*Amaicchi/Amatya*) of the Chera king Kotha Ravi alias Kotha Kotha Kerala Kesari (c.913-943 CE) is mentioned in the Trippunithura inscription<sup>430</sup>.

In medieval Kerala, the Jain deities, temples, rituals, and cults synchronised by the Jain term '*Adigal*' were assimilated in to Hinduism. Thus the term *Adigal* began to be used by the elite Hindu social strata, particularly the newly emerging ruling classes of the Nairs who were absorbed and accommodated from Jainism. Subsequently, '*Adigal*' assumed more secular tone and began signify the honorific title. The term '*Perumanadigal*' was used to denote either god or king during the period of medieval Perumals<sup>431</sup>. The Thirunelli inscription of Chera king Bhaskara Ravivarman refers him as *Adikal Puraikilar* of Puraikil-nadu (Puranadu or Kottayam near Kannur)<sup>432</sup>.

Remarkably, certain Chera records tell us that the term '*Kilan Adikal*' was adopted by the Chera princesses also. Thirunadhikkara Inscription states that *Kilan Adikal* alias Iravi Neeli was the daughter of the Chera King Kulasekhara Deva alias Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara (c.844-883 CE)<sup>433</sup>. The Thiruvorriyur inscription of the Chola king Parantaka I (c.907-950 CE) refers to another *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli*, daughter of the Chera king Vijayaraga Deva alias Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga (c.883-913 CE)<sup>434</sup>. The Trikkakara record of the Indesvaran Kotha alias Indu Kotha (c.943-962 CE) speaks of certain gifts made by the Chera princess *Sadirasikhamani* alias *Kilan Adikal*<sup>435</sup>, either wife or daughter of the ruling monarch. Interestingly if the word *Adigal* was of a Jain origin, the name '*Neeli*' in the '*Iravi Neeli*' is a common term largely used by the Nair women folk of Kerala. The history of the Jain *Neeli* and its conversion as Nair *Neeli* will be discussed in the following pages.

The Kallil Bhagavati temple (Fig.7) in Perumbavoor near Trissur was also a shrine of Padmavati Yakshi of Jain pantheon. The hereditary owners/custodians of the Kallil temple are also a Samantha Nair sub caste (*Amabalavasi* or temple dwellers) called *Pisharody*. *Pisharody* could be derived from two words such as Tamil *Pichai* (Sanskrit/Malayalam *Bhiksha*) and *Adigal*. *Pichai* means food and other basic needs obtained in the form of alms by Jain and Buddhist monks. In this derivation, *Adigal* who obtain *Bhiksha* became *Pisharody*. On the basis of our discussion on *Adigal* and *Perur* it is not unreasonable to suppose that both of them are closely related to the present day Kerala country. Perur temple established by *Evani-Adigal* should be located in the present Trissur alias Trichivaperur.

## Sripura of Sripurusha

Another important subject under our present discussion is the identification of the city of 'Sripura' mentioned in the inscriptions of the Ganga ruler Sripurusha (c.726–788 CE). His Selam, Baradur, Hosur, Devalapura, and Devarahalli grants attest to his political authority over the Tamil and Kerala countries. Three of his records mention the endowment of *Brahmadeya* (grant to Brahmins) villages and the remaining ones are associated with Jains<sup>436</sup>.

The Hosur plates speak of the endowment of four villages, Viz., *Elam-Gudalur*, *Mariyachi-Gudalur*, *Paruvi*, and *Sripura (Sripuram)* to Madhava Sarman, hailing from *Tholur*<sup>437</sup>. The first two places were already identified by the scholars with the present Gudalur region of Tamil Nadu, which share boundaries with Malappuram and Wayanad districts of present Kerala. *Sripura*, also mentioned in the Devarahalli plates<sup>438</sup>, was located by scholars as either to the west of the Gudalur or in the border areas of Wayanad. We have the village *Ada-Gudalur*, possibly a sub-division of Gudalur in Nilagiri region mentioned in a 14<sup>th</sup> Century Hoysala record<sup>439</sup>. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the ancient *Sripura*, the famous Jain *palli* after named Sripurusha was situated in the present geographical territory of Kerala. Regarding the identification of *Tholur* in the Hosur record, the home town of the donee Madhava Sarman, there are two historical villages with that name: one near Selam in Tamil Nadu another near Trissur of Kerala. Both are Brahmin settlements from ancient period onwards.

We have another land grant record issued by Sripurusha in his first regnal year (726 CE)<sup>440</sup> to Bana Sarman, a resident of *Vatapi* (Badami). The donated land was located in *Baradur* of *Tagattur Vishaya*. Baradur could be the present Varadur in Wayanad. *Tagattur* must be the Tagadur near Nanjangud taluk in the south of the Mysore. Importance of *Tagadur* in the history of the Deccan rulers is evident from a number of records from Mysore and other regions of Karnataka<sup>441</sup>. Probably during the reign of Sripurusha the entire Wayanad region formed part of the administrative division *Tagadur vishaya*, because the earliest reference about *Bayal-nadu* (Wayanad) region as a separate Ganga province appears only from the time of Ganga king Ereyanga

Neetimarga II and his sons Rachamalla III (c.933-938 CE) and Butuga II (c.938-961 CE)<sup>442</sup>.

The word *Pallam* suffixed with the places mentioned as the boundaries of the donated land in the above inscription such as to the east *Dutumbur Pallam*, to the south *Paradagere Pallam*, to the west *Kamuntegundi Pallam*, and to the north *Gottegere Pallam* again emphasizes the probability to locate Baradur in Wayanad. *Pallam* is a very common word in Malayalam to denote the low wetland land lying between rivers (or streams) and main cultivable land; fertile due to the presence of alluvial soil<sup>443</sup>. The above Sripurusha's record is an excellent example for the establishment of Brahmin settlements by the Ganga rulers in the south of the Mysore, specifically in the Kerala country.

The Devarahalli Copper plate inscription<sup>444</sup> (Nagamangala taluk, Mysore district) deserves special mention. This lengthy Sanskrit-Kannada record dated Saka 698 (776 CE) containing six copper plates was issued by Sripurusha from his camp at Manyapura in his 15<sup>th</sup> regnal year. Manyapura is identified as Manne, a village in Nelamangala taluk in the Bangalore rural district<sup>445</sup>. This record speaks of a line of Jain *Acharyas*, who belongs to the *Eregittur Gana* of *Pulikar Gaccha*<sup>446</sup>. *Eregittur gana* is the sub *Gana* of *Sri-Mula Gana*, and *Pulikar Gaccha* is the sub *Gaccha* of the *Nandi-sangha*. The holy line of *Acharyas* is: *Chandranandi*; his disciple *Kumaranandi*; his disciple *Kirttinandi Acharya*; his beloved disciple *Vimalachandra Acharya*. *Vimalachandra Acharya* is mentioned as an adviser of a family of feudatories called *Bana-kula* of *Nirgunda-nadu*.

The record further says that, in this Bana family of *Prithivi-Nirgunda-Raja* alias *Paramagula* was born *Dundu* alias *Nirgunda Yuvaraja*. *Paramagula*'s wife is *Kandachchi*. She was the daughter of a Pallava queen and Maruvarman of *Sagara* family. *Kandachchi* caused the construction of a Jain temple known as *Lokatilaka* on the northern corner of *Sripura (Sripuram)*<sup>447</sup>. At the request of *Paramagula*, *Sripurusha* donated the village *Ponnalli* in the *Nirgunda-Vishaya* to this Jain temple. The grant was endowed in the presence of *Ashtadasa-prakritayah*<sup>448</sup>.

It has already been pointed out that Sripura was identified by the scholars<sup>449</sup> on the eastern border region of Kerala, close to Gudalur. The Hosur plates of the same ruler speak of *Elam-Gudalur* and *Mariyachi-Gudalur* along with *Sripura*<sup>450</sup>. We have another Jain record from Mysore belonging to the regnal period of Sripurusha dated 750 CE recording a land grant in Gudalur made by a Jain lady *Arattiti* on behalf of her son Singam who has taken *Jina diksha* (consecration)<sup>451</sup>. It also refers to *Madi-ode*, the ruler of Gudalur fort. The Jain vestiges of Wayanad, Gudalur, Gundlupet, Heggadadevankote, Nanjangud, and other southern regions of Mysore are sufficient enough to understand Jain prominence in those expanses from ancient period onwards. Probably Sripura was named in honour the king Sripurusha. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Sripura was situated inside the present geographical territory of Kerala country; most probably in the Malabar region.

The chief land grant to the Lokatilaka basti is a village named *Ponnalli* in the *Nirgunda-nadu*, which can be identified as the *Ponnani* near Gudalur. The *Nirgunda-nadu* was mentioned in a 12<sup>th</sup> Century Hoysala record of Vishnuvardhana, which clearly says that it situated in the vicinity of Nilagiri<sup>452</sup>. Some other villages from where lands were granted to the Jain basti by Sripurusha like *Paleya-Erenallur*, and *Koyilgotta (Koyilgoda)*<sup>453</sup> deserve special mention. The word *Paleya* in the *Paleya-Erenallur* is a Tamil word means ‘old’ and the *Erenallur* could be the present Eranellur in Trissur district, about twelve kilometres away from the Tholur<sup>454</sup>. *Koyilgotta* in the Malayalam -Tamil linguistic context should be read as *Koyilkotta* meaning ‘fortified palace’ or temple. Thus, the place *Koyilgotta/Koyilkotta/Koyilgoda* could be the present Kozhikode. Some scholars have identified the ancient name of Kozhikode, the chief town of northern Kerala as *Koyilkotta*<sup>455</sup>.

The witness of the grant, the *Ashtadasa-prakritayah* also deserves special remark. This Sanskrit term *Ashtadasa-prakritayah* has been generally interpreted as “the body of eighteen subjects”<sup>456</sup>. This body is the same as *Pathinettu-nattar* of the Alathur Jain vatteluttu inscription (c.11<sup>th</sup> Century CE) from Alathur near Palakkad<sup>457</sup>. Much earlier, *Pathinettu-nattar* was also mentioned in the *Vazhappally* copper plate grant dated c.830 CE<sup>458</sup> and two Nedumpuram Tali records of the Chera period dated c.960 CE and c.996 CE<sup>459</sup>. Gopinatha Rao interpreted it as ‘The Eighteen Nadus,’ T.K. Joseph as ‘The eighteen classes of the people’ and M.G.S. Narayanan as ‘The

eighteen residents of the place'<sup>460</sup>. Most probably *Pathinettu-nattar* could be the body of eighteen important personalities of a particular village or town like the *Nattukootam* (village assembly) of Tamil country which have some administrative rights including legal and revenue.

*Erepuligere*, *Panyangere*, *Olagere*, *Perggere*, and *Belagalligere* are some other places mentioned in the record which should be read in Malayalam as *Erepulicherry*, *Panyancherry*, *Olacherry*, *Percherry*, and *Velachallicherry*. *Erepulicherry* and *Velachallicherry* could be Cherpulassery in Palakkad district and Valanchery in the Malappuram district respectively.

*Eregittur Gana* (*Ere+Kittur*) of *Pulikal-gaccha* which the Vimalachandra Acharya and his ancestors belongs might have had certain affiliation with the *Kittur-sangha* mentioned in a record from Shravanabelagola<sup>461</sup>. The celebrated Jain sages Harisena and Jinasena claim that they belong to *Punnada-sangha*<sup>462</sup>. Kirttipura, the capital of Punnada country subsequently came to be known as Kittur<sup>463</sup>. Punnada-sangha could be the *Kittur-sangha*. *Eregittur Gana* of *Pulikal Gaccha* might be a prominent Jain monastic group of the south Mysore including Malabar region of Kerala and Nilagiri region of Tamil Nadu. From the above discussion, western Ganga presence in the Kerala country and their patronisation to Brahmanas and Sramanas is thus clearly established.

During the rule of Sivamara II (c.788–816 CE), son of Sripurusha, we have certain evidences regarding the latter's supremacy over Tamil and Kerala countries. A Tamil Vatteluttu record from Navalai (Dharmapuri district, Tamil Nadu) mentions Sivamara II as the ruler of *Puramalai-nadu*<sup>464</sup>. This administrative unit, mentioned in the Sangam classics, could have formed part of the present Dharmapuri district in Tamil Nadu, Mysore and Chamarajanagar districts of Karnataka and some portions of Malabar region. His Vijayapura (near Talakad) stone inscription speaks about a grant to the *mahajanas* of *Kirupelnagara* made by one *Manala-arasa*, the ruler of *Koombadi* and *Kilale-nadu*<sup>465</sup>. *Koombadi* could be the same *Kudambadi* in the Thazhekavu Vatteluttu Jain record discovered from Pulpalli in Wayanad<sup>466</sup>. *Koombadi* alias *Kudambadi* could be the same *Paadikumbam* of Sulthan Bathery Mariamman temple inscription<sup>467</sup>. It can be tentatively identified as the present

Kariyambadi in the Sulthan Bathery taluk which indicates that the extent Sivamara's empire comprised the present Wayanad region of Kerala as well.

Some of the copperplate inscriptions from Kudalur, Gattavadi, and Kerehalli say that Ereganga Neetimarga II alias Ereyappa (c.907–921 CE), another prominent Ganga ruler fought a furious battle with one Mahendra and slew him like Indra slew Bala<sup>468</sup>. He swiftly captured the unreachable hilly fortresses like Nadugani, Sulisailendra, Midige (Midigesi), Tipperu, and Penjaru (Pemjara). *Nadugani* can be identified as the present Nadugani near Nilambur. Nadugani is the main pass connecting Nilambur region of Kerala and Gudalur-Ooty regions of Tamil Nadu. *Sulisailendra* could be the Udhagamandalam (Udhagai or Ooty). At the present state of knowledge it is hard to identify the ruler namely Mahendra who was defeated and killed by Neetimarga II.

Bayal-nadu or Wayanad played a crucial role in the political history of the later Ganga rulers. A lithic inscription from the Basava temple at Kattemanuganahalli in the Heggadadevankote (HD Kote) taluk belonging to Ereganga Neetimarga II dated 910 CE clearly speaks about the dominance of the Gangas over Bayal-nadu, and it says that Ereyappa was the ruler of Nugu-nadu and Navale-nadu and also mentions about the war fought at Bayal-nad by his chieftains against cattle lifters<sup>469</sup>. The place Nugu-nad must be comprised of the region around the two banks of the river Nugu (which demarcates the political boundary between Kerala and Karnataka), a tributary of the river Kabani originating in the Pakramthalam hills in Wayanad.

During the rule of Narasimha (c.921–933 CE), son of Neetimarga II by Chalukya princess Jakamba, we have evidences regarding his capture of Kerala country<sup>470</sup>. Another inscription belonging to the same dynasty from the Somesvara temple at Haranandi dated 930 CE indicate that both Rachamalla III alias Kachchaya-Ganga (c.933–938 CE) and Nanniya Ganga alias Butuga II (c.938-961 CE), other two sons of Neetimarga II claimed rights over the throne and at this juncture the former was in Bayal-nad, and Butuga went there and proposed to divide the country and treasury, but Rachamalla's five chieftains and perggades (officers) said that "we do not wish any other than Rachamalla to rule over the Kingdom of Bayal-nad"<sup>471</sup>. All these descriptions attest to the importance of Bayal-nad in the internal politics of the western Ganga family. However, the Atakur stone slab inscription (949-50 CE) says

that Butuga II killed Rachamalla, possibly with the help of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III and became the lord of Talakad<sup>472</sup>.

A later record dated 1077 CE discovered from Nagar near Hosanagara in Shimoga district says that Butuga II captured *Ezimalai* and *Chitrakutam*<sup>473</sup>. Ezhimala was the ancient and medieval abode of the *Nannans* of *Ezhimalai*, the ancestors of the *Kolathiris* of Kannur. Chitrakutam must be one of the royal seats of the Chera Perumals. The legendary account *Keralolpathi* speaks of the establishment of *Chitrakutam* by a Perumal at Mushaka country<sup>474</sup>. After the decline of the Perumals of Mahodayapuram, Chitrakutam palace at Perumpadappu village in Vanneri in Malappuram district became the seat of the Cochin royal family. Tradition says that one of the family members of the Perumpadappu married a sister of the last Perumal Rama Varma Kulasekhara. The *Perumpadappu Swarupam* or Cochin Royal family had their seat at *Chitrakutam* palace up to 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>475</sup>. These evidences are sufficient to understand the Ganga presence in the Kerala country.

However, here we have to note a crucial factor that the later Cheras or the Perumals of Kerala came into power during c.9<sup>th</sup> Century CE under Rama Rajashekara (c.800-844 CE). There is an improperly filled gap (from 913 CE to 943 CE) in the period of rule between Kota Ravi Vijayaraga (c.883-913 CE) and Indu Kota (c.943-962 CE)<sup>476</sup>. Neetimarga II Ereyappa reigned the period between c.907-921 CE. It is reasonable to assume that during the reign of Neetimarga II northern part of Kerala and the Coimbatore/Selam region of Tamil Nadu were under the dominance of the Gangas.

We have the list of the successors of Butuga II, like Marulaganga Neetimarga (c.961-963), Marasimha II Satyavakya (c.963-975), Rachamalla IV Satyavakya (c.975-986), Rachamalla V (c.986-999) and Neetimarga Permmnadi (c.999). But after Butuga II, we did not have any records involving Ganga affiliation with the Kerala country. During the time of Chola glory, the territories of Gangas were conquered by Rajendra Chola at the command of his father Rajaraja Chola in 1004 CE and after that the region of Mysore comprising Gangavadi began to be called as Mudikondachola-mandala and the southern part of it called Gangaikondachola-valanad and the Talakad was named as Rajarajapuram<sup>477</sup>. The present day districts of Wayanad and other parts of Nilagiri valley including Ooty, Gudalur, Nadugani, and Nilambur might have



formed part of the Gangaikondachola-valanad. But on the basis of the records of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad,<sup>478</sup> it is interesting to note that their reign started during the same period of the Chola imperialism and the resistance against it by the Cheras under Bhaskara Ravivarman alias Bhaskara Ravi Manukuladitya (962-1021 CE).

To sum up this discussion, the western Ganga presence in the Kerala country during ancient and medieval period was certainly a genuine fact. The patronisation of Jainism by this family was also another unquestionable truth. The Alathur Jain establishment in the district of Palakkad became prominent during the reign of Durvinita and Avinitha. Identification of Sripura Jain settlement in the Malabar region of Kerala is an interesting benchmark to the study of Jainism in Kerala. Political sway over Wayanad region during major part of the Ganga rule certainly contributed much to the spread of Jainism in this region. After the Gangas, the Hoysala dominance in the Wayanad helped this Noble Faith to survive; though it had faded away from rest of the state. The Jaina sangha as *Punnad-sangha* or *Kittur-sangha*, must have played a major role for the propagation of this faith in the Kerala country.

### **Jainism under the Kadambas of Banavasi**

In the previous chapter the emergence of the independent Kadamba rule over the region west of Mysore, north and south Canara and other parts, between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE was discussed. Their administrative headquarter was Banavasi (Vanavasi) also called Vijayanti. Mayuravarman (c.325-360 CE) was the real establisher of the Kadamba kingdom. From 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards the prominence of the main Kadamba line began to decline due to the emergence of the Chalukyas of Badami and finally they forced to accept the authority of latter. At the same time, a number of offshoots of the Kadambas survived up to 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE ruling from Manjarabad, Hanagal, Goa, and Bayal-nadu (Wayanad). The Kadambas of Bayal-nad mainly concentrated in the Heggadadevankote (HD Kote) taluk of Mysore and the Wayanad region of the present Kerala state.

Like the Gangas of Talakad, the Kadambas are also famous for their patronisation to *Sramana* faiths like Jainism and Buddhism along with Hinduism. In the case of Jainism, inscriptional evidences of Kakusthavarman (c.435-455 CE),

Marigesvaravarman (c.400-480 CE), Ravivarman (c.484-519 CE), and Harivarman are conspicuous. Krishnavarman I (c.475-485), founder of the collateral branch of the Kadamba family reigned from Triparvarta. He was also were great patron of Jainism. Before discussing the Kadambas of Banavasi and Kerala Jainism, we have to probe into the unrevealed history of the Kadamba presence in Kerala.

### **The Mayurasarman (Mayuravarman) Tradition**

The Talagunda inscription<sup>479</sup> of Santhivarman narrates a story that Mayurasarman, the founder of the *Kadamba Kula* was a Brahmin and he went to Kanchi for the completion of his Vedic learning. Due to some quarrel with the Pallavas he cannot complete his mission. To take revenge he makes himself a Kshatriya and took the sword against his enemies and defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied in the forest of Sriparvata<sup>480</sup>. However, the conflicts continued and finally it leads to peace and he was permitted to enter the Pallava service and gradually received a country “extending from the *Amara* ocean (western ocean) to the borders at the *Premara* (Malwa).” There is a possibility that the territory got by Mayurasarman<sup>481</sup> might have extended up to the Western Coast including at least the Malabar region of Kerala. Some of the native traditions also attest the hypothesis related to the political supremacy of Mayuravarman over Kerala.

### **Keralolpathi tradition**

The Canarese tradition based on a legendary work *Gramapaddhati* speaks about the Kadambas, particularly the ruler Mayurasarman or Mayuravarman (350-360 CE) and about the establishment of Brahmin settlements in Tulu country along with Kerala deserves special mention here. The Canarese tradition says that Mayuravarman “introduced Brahmin colonists from *Ahichchatra*, and distributed the country below the Ghats into sixty four portions, which he bestowed upon them. During the reign of his son *Kshetravarman Chandranatha* or *Trinetra*, these Brahmins attempted to leave the province, but they were brought back; and in order prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to leave unshorn, a lock of hair on the forehead as a distinguishing mark. During the reign of *Mukanna*, a kinsman named *Chandrasena*

ruled the country south of Tuluva land and the Brahmins were spread into those parts”<sup>482</sup>.

The Kerala Nambuithiri Brahmins had their own tradition of *Keralolpatti* and *Keralamahatmya* chronicles. According to *Keralolpatti* chronicle<sup>483</sup>, the legendary hero *Parasurama* established 64 Brahmin villages on the Western Coast of which 32 were in the Tulu country and the rest in Kerala proper and that *Ayyapuram* or *Ahichchatra* was the ancestral home of the migrant Brahmins. *Keralolpathi* refers that the surnames *Varman* and *Sarman* were affixed to their names by all Kerala rulers on account of Mayuravarman’s reign in the *Malayala* country<sup>484</sup>. It is interesting to note that some ruling families of Kerala like Nilambur Kovilakam nowadays also using ‘Kadamban’ with their name<sup>485</sup>. These legends regarding Mayuravarman indicate the supremacy of early Kadamba rulers over the Kerala country and corroborate the legend of the Talagunda pillar inscription.

During the time of Ravivarman (c.484-519 CE) and his cousin Vishnuvarman we have clear-cut inscriptional evidences regarding their presence in the Kerala country. The Nilambur copper plate inscription of Ravivarman endowed in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year, discovered from near the palace of Nilambur ruling family is sufficient to ascertain the inference regarding Kadamba prominence in the Kerala country<sup>486</sup>. The record mentions about the grant of a *palli* named *Multagi* including *Malkavu* (*multagi-namadheya-palli-malkavu-sahitam*) to one Brahmin Govindasvamin of *Kasyapa* gotra, an expert in Yajurveda. The Nilambur plates will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

We have a short label stone inscription mentioning the name of Vishnuvarman in the Edakkal cave at Wayanad. Edakkal cave carvings and inscriptions were discussed by the Scholars from the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. Fawcett reported this site in 1896 and published his findings in 1901. The short label Sanskrit inscription was deciphered by Hultzsch as “*sri-vishnuvarmma[nah] kutumbiya-kulavar[d]dhanasya li[kh]itha[m]*” (*the writing of the glorious Vishnuvarman, the elevator of the Kutumbiya family*)<sup>487</sup>. Hultzsch opined that the script belongs to the Early Chalukya or pre-Chalukya period 500 CE. C.A. Innes also agreed with Hultzsch<sup>488</sup>. Raghava Varier called the script as an evolved form of Brahmi common

to the Early Kadamba inscriptions<sup>489</sup>. M.G.S. Naryanan assigned it to 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Century CE and also passingly mentioned that this inscription belongs to the Kadamba king Vishnuvarman<sup>490</sup>.

Hultzsch translation of the word '*Kutumbiya-kula vardhana*' may rightly be read as '*Kadambiya-Kula-vardhana*'. We have a number of epigraphic evidences related to the frequent use of '*Kadamaba-Kula*', their family name in the Kadamba records. The famous Talagunda pillar inscription of Santhivarman twice uses the word *Kadamba-Kule*<sup>491</sup>. The Nilambur inscription of Ravivarman mentions the same as '*kadambakula-bhyantaragatonyo*' (member of the Kadamba Family)<sup>492</sup>. The epithet '*Kadamba-Kula Kamala-Marthanda*' (sun to the lotus the Kadamba family) can be found in more than six inscriptions from Belur in Hassan district, and two from Sorab taluk of Shimoga district<sup>493</sup>. A number of other epithets starting with Kadamba-Kula like '*Kadamaba-Kula-Tilakam, Kadamba-Kula-Kumudin, Kadamaba-Kulojvala, Kadamaba-Kula-Vira, Kadamaba-Kula-Gaganagabhastima, Kadamba-Vamsa-Vardhana, etc*'<sup>494</sup>. Vishnuvarman of this short label inscription could be the ruler belonging to the collateral branch of the Kadamba dynasty. He was the son of Krishnavarman I, founder of the Triparvarta<sup>495</sup> branch and also was the contemporary and cousin of Ravivarman of the main branch Kadamba house ruling from Banavasi. The Birur copper plate grant of Vishnuvarman<sup>496</sup> dated c.450 CE clearly shows that he was the provincial governor of the southern province under his father Krishnavarman and became the first independent ruler of this branch after his father.

Perhaps during Kakusthavarman, the Kadamba kingdom was divided into two portions among his two sons, Viz., Santhivarman and Krishnavarman I. The southern part of the Kadamba kingdom including Mysore, Malabar, and Tamil regions came under the dominance of Krishnavarman I, who started to rule from his capital at Triparvarta (Halebidu). The Gangas of Talakad ruled as the Kadamba feudatories. From their inscriptions we know that the sister of Krishnavarman (and Santhivarman) was married by the Ganga king Tadangala Madhava alias Madhava-III (c.430-469 CE)<sup>497</sup>. Krishnavarman accepted the authority of his elder brother Santhivarman, who ruled from their traditional capital at Banavasi. After the death of Krishnavarman I, his son Vishnuvarman became the independent ruler of the south. Political hunger for the capture of Banavasi from his cousin Ravivarman by Vishnuvarman made this

period as the era of crooked diplomacy and bloodshed. The traditional enmity of the *Kaduvettis* of Kanchi (the Pallavas) against the main line of Kadambas was utilised by the former, but the ultimate victory was on the side of Ravivarman.

From the Talagunda inscription, we are informed about the hostility between the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Kadambas during the time of Mayuravarman. Conflicts with the Pallavas during the rule of Mrigesavarman were also testified by inscriptions<sup>498</sup>. By the time of Ravivarman and Vishnuvarman they became bloodier. Possibly the region to the south of the Mysore including Kerala and Tamil Nadu witnessed these skirmishes. An un-dated<sup>499</sup> early Pallava copper plate record issued in the 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Simhavarman from *Palakkada* mentioned Vishnuvarman as the subordinate general of the Pallavas<sup>500</sup>. Hebbata grant mentions that Vishnuvarman was installed on the throne by a Pallava ruler along with Santhivarman<sup>501</sup>. The place ‘*Palakkada*’ from where Simhavarman endowed grant could be the modern Palakkad in Kerala<sup>502</sup>.

However, inscriptional evidences attest that the ultimate victory was on the side of Ravivarman. A copper plate grant by Ravivarman dedicated to god Jinendra says “that mighty king, the Sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas-who having slain Sri Vishnuvarman and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and uprooted Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi, had established himself at Palasika....”<sup>503</sup> An undated Kadamba record also says that Mrigesavarman became “a fire of destruction to the Pallavas and Ravivarman as having conquered the whole earth by slaying Vishnuvarman and other kings”<sup>504</sup>.

If we give credence to the legendary account of Talagunda pillar inscription, the Kadamba-Pallava conflict seems to have a historical origin. The later records discussed above proves the fact that their enmity was perpetuated from generation to generation. On the basis of these records, we cannot negate the role of Mayurasarman tradition in the history of the establishment of Brahmin settlements in Kerala. On account of that, we have to rethink the statement of P.C. Alexander that the “*Mayuravarman must have been responsible for introduction of Brahmins in his territories, viz. Banavasi, in fact there are strong historical traditions to prove that he*

*encouraged the Brahmin colonization in his regions*”<sup>505</sup>. This discussion however helped us to identify and locate the presence of Kadamba rulers in the Kerala soil.

### **Ravivarma Kadamba and Kerala Jainism**

Ravivarma Kadamba (c.484-519 CE) was not only a great conqueror but a great patron of all the known sectarian faiths, particularly Brahmana and Sramana faiths. We have many inscriptions<sup>506</sup> speaking about his endowments to Brahmins, Jains, and Buddhists. When we enumerate the number of grants bestowed by Ravivarman to different faiths, Jainism appears to be the most preferred one over others.

The Nilambur record enlightens us with certain hints regarding Jainism in Kerala. The core content of the record is the endowment of a *palli* named *Multagi* including *Malkavu* (*Multagi-namadheya-palli-malkavu-sahitam*) situated on the eastern side of the village named *Kirupasani* in the *Mogalur Vishaya* to a Brahmin named Govindasvamin<sup>507</sup>. The name *Multagi* is mentioned in another copper plate inscription from Mercara issued by a Ganga ruler Kongani Mahadhiraja which mentions that it formed one of the boundaries of the village namely *Badaneguppe*, granted to the Sri-Vijaya-Jinalaya of Talavananagara. Mercara record also mentioned a place namely *Dasanuru* as another boundary of *Badaneguppe*<sup>508</sup>. *Badaneguppe* could be the place with the same name situated near Gundlupet. *Dasanuru* could be the modern Dasanur village in the Nanjangud taluk of southern Mysore, not far from the north eastern border of Kerala. It is probable that the place *Multagi* of the Nilambur plates could be the present Muthanga near Sultan Bathery in Wayanad district, which is one of the entry points to Kerala from Karnataka. The word *Muthu* in Dravidian languages signify ‘Pearl’ and the place name Muthanga might be derived from *Muthangadi* which means the ‘street of pearls or market of pearls’<sup>509</sup>. Muthanga and nearby places like Edathara Kotta, Noolpuzha, Nellur Vayal, Moolankavu, and Sulthan Bathery of Wayanad contain extensive Jain remnants which have close affiliation with Karnataka Jainism. Jain temples along with cultivable lands attached to tanks, ponds, canals and other irrigation facilities are clearly visible from these areas. The present researcher discovered a dilapidated Jain temple with a stone slab containing a Kannada inscription and Jaina motifs from Moolankavu, which can be assigned to the medieval age (Fig.23).

Another term *Palli*, in this record was generally used during ancient and medieval times to denote the *Sramana* or non-Aryan settlements or worshipping places and we also can find number of place names in Kerala which begin or end with *Palli* like *Pallipuram*, *Pallikunnu*, *Kunnappalli*, *Pulpalli*, *Karunagapalli* etc. Iravatham Mahadevan views that “*the literal meaning of palli or ‘sleeping place’ is applied to the cave shelters with stone beds and was later extended to hermitages or temples built of brick and mortar. This term came to mean a ‘school’ or a ‘hermitage’ from the earliest times.*” In literary works and later inscriptions, the term *palli* came to denote a non-Vedic pace of worship”<sup>510</sup>. In the Tamil and Kerala region *palli* mainly used to denote the hamlets of Jains. The Jain inscription discovered from Alathur near Palakkad mentioned the Jain temple as *Palli*<sup>511</sup>. The medieval Vatteluttu inscription (Fig.16) from Kinalur in Kozhikode district designates the temple at *Kunavaynallur* (Kinalur) as *Vijayaragiswaram Palli*<sup>512</sup>. The Pallies of ancient Kerala thus comprised of Jain worshipping places, education centres, and settlements. In the words of M.G.S “*Palli in Tamil and old Malayalam stood for a small hamlet as in Pali and other Prakrit languages and this was distinguished from the Brahmin settlements called Agrahara or Brahmadeya or simply Grama in inscriptions and literature*”<sup>513</sup>. All these evidences prove that the word *palli* in the Nilambur record is used to indicate a *Sramana* or non-Aryan settlement and in that sense *Multagi* or Muthanga was a street of Pearl traders (Muthangadi) particularly the Jains. Wayanad has been a well-known Jain settlement from ancient period onwards. Simultaneously the Jain communities of south India were famous for their inland pearl, Diamond, and gold trade.

*Puthangadi* (*Muthangadi* or pearl market) was the old name of Panchavayal, another place in Wayanad located on the important highway connecting the ancient/medieval trade route from Karnataka to Kerala. This place is famous for two dilapidated Jain temples such as Vishnu Gudi (Fig.26) and Janarthana Gudi (Fig.24) which are in Deccan architectural style and their decorative features support the aforesaid observation. *Jainamedu* (Fig.15) in Palakkad district is famous for Chandranatha Jain basti and its nearby places also had the old names as *Muthupattanam* (Pearl Town) and *Manikyapattanam* (Diamond Town)<sup>514</sup>. The term *Malkavu* of the present record could be derived from the expression ‘*Kavu*’. *Melkavu* and ‘*Kizkavu*’ are very familiar terms in Kerala, used to denote non-Aryan worshipping centres<sup>515</sup>. There is a probability that the present Moolankavu near Muthanga has its earlier name as

Malkavu or Melkavu. As per the inscription, the endowment is mentioned as ‘*multagi-namadheya-palli-malkavu-sahitam*’ (Multagi named Palli together with Malkavu).

The *Mogalur Vishaya* of this record was the administrative division of the Kadambas and it included parts of the present day Kerala. This can be identified as the *Mogur* or *Mohur* and its chieftain *Pazayan* finds mentioned in some *Sangam* and later Tamil literary works like *Akananuru*, *Kuruntokai*, *Maturaikkanchi*, *Silappadikaram* etc.,<sup>516</sup>. Gudnapura pillar inscription of the same ruler (Ravivarman) also mentioned *Mogalur* as *Moguru*<sup>517</sup>. Ramaswami Ayyangar and Seshagiri Rao, maintain that *Mogur* in the *Sangam* and post-*Sangam* literature “should either be Palakkad or Mohoor in the south Arcot district”<sup>518</sup>. *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy mentions a place namely *Magour*<sup>519</sup> which might be the same Mogalur.

*Akananuru*, *Purananuru* and *Kuruntokai* speaks about the defeat of Mogur chief in the hands of *Vamba Mauryas* (might be the Mauryas of Konkan) immediately after defeating the Nannans on their southern expedition<sup>520</sup>. Nannan is celebrated in the Tamil classics and he must be of the Mushaka kingdom of Ezhimalai and their territory comprised most of the present day Malabar region of Kerala. *Akananuru* elucidates that immediately after defeat of Nannan the army of the Mauryas “cut into the mountains with white waterfalls and created paths for their chariot wheels to roll smoothly to attack the king of Mogur”<sup>521</sup>. Some Hoysala records show that *Mogur* was near to Tagadur<sup>522</sup> in the Nanjangud region on the Kerala-Karnataka boarder. This description help us locates *Mogalur* or *Mogur* in the Western Ghats between Kasaragod up to the Palakkad gap, which including Coorg, Wayanad, Gudalur and the Nilagiris.

The whole area of Nilagiri valley including Wayanad, Palakkad, Malappuram and Gudalur were under the control of Nilambur Kovilakam (Nilambur royal family) up to the implementation of land reforms during second half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>523</sup>. The Nilambur inscription was found nearby the residence of Nilambur royal house and the members of this family nowadays also using ‘Kadamban’ with their name. Another interesting point to remember here is that none of the place names cited in the Nilambur record, except Multagi, was mentioned in any other inscription of either the



Kadambas or the later dynasties. Descriptions about *Malkavu* inside the *Multagi* in the Mogalur Vishaya shows both of them must have located in the present day geographical territory of Kerala on account of the Kavu cult, which is the unique and surviving feature in Kerala only.

Whatever it is, the presence of Jain vestiges dated from ancient period onwards in Wayanad, Gudalur, Gundlupet, Heggadadevankote, Nanjangud, and other southern regions of Mysore is established. These evidences along with the term *palli* in the Nilambur plates lead us to confirm the hypothesis that during or before the reign of Kadamba Ravivarman, Kerala had several Jain *pallis* and *basties*. On account of that it seems reasonable to state that the Nilambur plates or Ravivarman Kadamba is the earliest native record attesting to the Brahminical and Jaina settlements in Kerala.

### **Gudnapura Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman**

The Gudnapura pillar inscription<sup>524</sup> of Ravivarman shed further light on the Jain-Kadamba affiliation in Kerala. This record inform us that Ravivarman caused to be built an attractive temple for lord *Manmatha* on the left side of his royal place along with two *nrityashalas* (dancing halls ) near *anthapura* (harem). The site where the inscription has been found could have been the pleasure place (summer palace) of Ravivarman. Gudnapura pillar could be a *Vijayastambha* (*Kirtistambha*) or victory tower erected by the king after his glorious victory over the southern country once dominated by the Pallavas and their ally Vishnuvarman, his cousin. It also registers certain land grants to three Jain temples, Viz. temple of *Kama* (situated near the pillar and the remnants of the royal residence), another temple of *Kama* at *Hakinipalli*, and temple of *Padmavati* of *Kallili*. The record has not yet been assigned any date and may belong to the last decades of Ravivarman's reign (First quarter of 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE).

This inscription provides us with the genealogy of the Kadambas of Banavasi starting from one Virasarman to Ravivarman. It mentions that Ravivarman killed one Vishnudasana for obtaining the kingdom. Vishnudasana could be the same Vishnuvarman mentioned in the Edakkal cave record. He also routed one Balaraja, a Pallava king. We already know from some other inscriptions that Ravivarman was the

slayer of Vishnuvarman along with the lord of Kanchi, named Chandadanda<sup>525</sup>. Balaraja could be another name of Chandadanda<sup>526</sup>. The inscription further says that the rulers of *Punnadas*, *Alupas*, *Kongalavas*, *Gangas* and *Pandyas* are his subordinates. We have already identified the geographical location of Punnada country to the south of Mysore, perhaps comprising some parts of Malabar region as well, and their capital was at Kittur (which later became the capital of the Kadambas of Wayanad). Alupas were the rulers of the Konkan coast and their territory probably comprised the extreme northern part of Kerala including Mangalapuram and Kasaragod regions. Kongalavas were a small ruling family in the Kodagu region of Karnataka sharing boundary with the Kannur and Kasaragod regions of Kerala. Pandya kingdom shared border with the south eastern part of the Kerala country. Some of the places in the present geographical territory of Kerala were under Pandya sway. During the Kadamba supremacy in south India, all these minor dynasties including the Pandyas were the feudatories of the Pallavas. On the basis of the Palakkada and Dasanapura inscriptions of the Pallavas, corroborated with the Edakkal cave record of the Kadamba Vishnuvarman and the Nilambur copperplates of the Kadamba Ravivarman, the present researcher concludes that most of the present day Kerala territory was under the sway of the Pallavas before it was captured by the Kadambas under the able ruler Ravivarman<sup>527</sup>. With the defeat of the Pallavas in the hands of the Kadambas, their feudatories began to accept the authority of the latter. Subordination of above said kingdoms under Ravivarman subsequent to his victory over Pallavas, helped the Kadambas of Banavasi in gaining control of at least the north and the central parts of the present Kerala country along with its rich trading ports and the coastal towns. The Nilambur plates and the Edakkal cave record along with the reference regarding land grant to the Kallil Jain temple of Perumbavoor in Ravivarman's inscription further support this hypothesis.

The Gudnapura record registers certain land grants. In the first part, it lists out the villages namely *Idiura*, *Kantararyapati*, and *Kallangoda* for the conduct of worship in the temple of *Kama*, designated as *Kama Jinalaya*<sup>528</sup>. In addition to it, he also granted a newly developed cultivable land watered by the lake called *Guddatataka* to the south of the village *Moguru*. Kama temple also got some more pieces of cultivable lands in different parts of the country like *Sattura* village, *Dahraka-venguli*, *Mahaenguli*, under the lakes of *Ambilakundi* and *Padma-tataka*, and river *Esara*. The

temple of *Kama* could be the same ‘beautiful abode of Manmatha’ built by Ravivarman near to his royal residence<sup>529</sup>.

The *Moguru* in the record could be the *Mogalur*, one of the administrative divisions of the Kadambas mentioned in the Nilambur plates. It could be the *Mohur* of the *sangam* classics<sup>530</sup>, *Magour* of Ptolemy<sup>531</sup>, and *Mogur* of the Hoysala records<sup>532</sup>. Certain Hoysala records clearly reveal that *Mogur* is situated close to *Tagadur* in the Nanjangud region, not far from the present day Wayanad<sup>533</sup>. The lake named *Ambilakundi* probably situated inside the present Kerala or Tamil region<sup>534</sup>. Place names starting with *Kundi* are very familiar in ancient and medieval Kerala. A Hoysala record dated 1234 CE belonging to the period of Narasimha II speaks about Bhadrakali of *Kudukundi* (Koyilandi) in the *Kolamuka Pattana* (Koyilandi-Kollam) of Kerala country<sup>535</sup>.

Further, the Gudnapura inscription speaks about the grant of another village named *Mukundi*<sup>536</sup> for the purpose of the worship of the temple of *Kama* at *Hakinipalli* and *Padmavati* of *Kallili*. (“*hakinipalli-kama-devalayasya-puja-samskarartham-kallili-gramam-padmavatyalayasya-puja-samskarartham-mukundy-anvayaya-sarwanamasyam...*”)<sup>537</sup>. No historian has properly identified these places<sup>538</sup>. It seems probable that the temple of *Padmavati* at *Kallili* could be the present *Padmavati* of Kallil near Perumbavoor in Ernakulam district. Dravidian-Malayalam term *Kallil* means ‘in stone’. Study of some other Kannada inscriptions further ascertains this hypothesis. A Rashtrakuta grant (813 CE)<sup>539</sup> of Govinda III (*Prabhutavarsha*) refers to a Jain *palli* named *Silagrama* being governed by the chief of the Kunangil and being protected by the Five Hundred Organization (*Aynoorbar*). This copperplate grant (popularly known as Kadamba copperplates) mentions that the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III, on the application of the Ganga king Chakiraj, endowed the village of Jalamangala to the Jaina muni Arkakirti, on behalf of the Jain temple at *Silagrama*, in recognition of his service in warding off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimaladitya, the governor of the Kunangil district<sup>540</sup>. The *Kunangil Aynoorbar* (*Aynoorvar* or *Annuttuvar*) which was administrated by Chakiraj-the governor of the Ganga king-could be the *Kunavaynallur* alias Kinalur and the Jain temple of *Silagrama* could be the Kallil. The Sanskrit word *Silagrama* is the rendition of the Dravidian term *Kallil*.

An inscription from Hassan (1149 CE) belonging to the reign of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana praises one of his generals Sankara for defeating “*Malayalar, Pallikarar, valiant sons of kings, adalajas who were masters of the horse, and generals of the feudatory kings*”<sup>541</sup>. It also mentions the names of some places like *Kunangil, Korati, Kantapura, Tamarecharu, Aranimale*, etc., where Sankara erected Vishnu temples. The term *Malayalar* must be denoting the people of Kerala and *Pallikarar* possibly the administrators of the Sramana temple lands because we have the term *Pallikkari* used to denote the property of goddess *Palli Bhagavati* of Nilamperur temple, a converted Sramana shrine of central Kerala<sup>542</sup>. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Pallikarar* could be the administrator/protector of the Jain *Pallikkari* of Kerala. The *Korati* and *Kantapura* were mentioned in the Kinalur Malayalam Vatteluttu Jain inscription of 1083 CE also<sup>543</sup>. The above Kinalur record mentioned Kinalur as *Kunavaynallur* and speaks about the ownership of tenancy rights by a person namely Arappan Kunchi alias Kurumpurai in *Korati, Kantapura* and some other places. *Korati* could be the *Kurandi* mentioned in a number of 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Century Jaina inscriptions from Chitharal and Madurai regions, the medieval Jain centres of south India<sup>544</sup>. *Kurandi* can be identified as ‘Kurandi’ near Agastheeswaram in southern Travancore<sup>545</sup>. *Aranimale* can be identified as the Kalugumalai (Kovilpatti taluk, Thoothukudi district, Tamil Nadu) another famous Jain hub of Tamil Nadu which was known as *Araimalai* during medieval times<sup>546</sup>. It is reasonable to identify *Kantapura* and *Tamarecharu* as the present Kanthapuram and Thamarassery near Kinalur, which are situated respectively about nine and fourteen kilometres from Kinalur near Balussery in Kerala. It is also reasonable to state that the places mentioned in the Hassan record especially *Kunangil, Korati, Kantapura, Aranimale, Tamarecharu*, etc., where Sankara erected Vishnu temples were originally had their Jain affiliation and antiquity.

Furthermore, one Rashtrakuta record<sup>547</sup> also speaks about *Silagrama* being governed by the chief of the Kunangil and protected by ‘The Five Hundred’. Another Rashtrakuta record (c.900 CE) from Devanahalli also refers to the Kunangil Five Hundred along with Salne Three Hundred (*Munnurruvar*) administrated by one Gangavasa’s son Govinda (*Gangavasana magam Govindaram salne-munnuru*

*kunungil-Aynurumam...*)<sup>548</sup>. A Hoysala record (1295 CE) from Channapatna also mentions Kunangil as Kunugil<sup>549</sup>.

Epigraphic evidences clearly proves that the numerical appellations like the *Munnuttuvar* or *Munnurruvar* (the Three Hundred), *Annuttuvar* or *Aynoorvar* (the Five Hundred), *Arunurruvar* (the Six Hundred), *Ezhunnuttuvar* (the Seven Hundred), *Ayiravar*, (the Thousand) *Muvayiravar* (the Three Thousand), and the *Ayirattirunurruvar* (the Thousand Two Hundred) played a prominent role in the history of medieval Kerala<sup>550</sup>. The Kadaba grant<sup>551</sup> of Govinda III also speaks of another numerical organisation Kunangil-70 (*Elpadimbar*)<sup>552</sup>. The Seventy mentioned in this grant could be the Seven Hundred (*Ezhunnuttuvar*) mentioned by certain vatteluttu records discovered from Kerala<sup>553</sup>, because the numerical bodies like *Annurruvar* or *Ezhunnurruvar* are not comprised of the exact number mentioned like Ayiram (Thousand) equal to thousand members or *Annurru* (Five Hundred) equal to the five hundred members, but it might have comprised of multiples of ten: Thousand equal to ten thousand and Five Hundred equal to five thousand<sup>554</sup>.

The Kinalur Malayalam Vatteluttu Jain inscription (Fig.16) refers to *Ezhunnurruvar* (The Seven Hundred) and *Muvayiravar* (The Three Thousand) in association with the Kurumpurai ruling family<sup>555</sup>. A Thirunelli record (1021 CE) also refers to the *Ezhunnurruvar* of Kurumporainadu of the Kurumpurai rulers<sup>556</sup>. This record mentions that the *Ezhunnurruvar* belongs to the heir apparent or senior prince (*Mootthakoor*)<sup>557</sup>. In addition to the chief one under the heir apparent, most of the junior princes called *Elamkoor* or *Elayakoor* as well kept their own militia<sup>558</sup>. Kurumbranad, Eralnadu and Venadu were some of the examples of this kind<sup>559</sup>. Size of the numeral body kept by the junior princes will be less in number than the main one led by the heir apparent. It is more evident from another Thirunelli inscription (1008 CE) which connects the Five Hundred with Puraikilanadu<sup>560</sup>. Both the Kurumporainadu and Puraikilanadu principalities had blood relation with each other and in the early phase possibly they were *Mootthakoor* and *Elamkoor*, but later becomes independent feudatories under the Cheras. Geographically, Kurumporainadu and Puraikilanadu territories were close to each other and they comprised the portions of the present Wayanad, Kozhikode and Kannur regions of Kerala. Balussery was their traditional capital and the Kinalur alias Kunavaynallur also formed a part of their capital. On account of that, both the

numeral groups, *Annuttuvar* and *Ezhunmuttuvar* were closely related Kunangil (Kunavaynallur /Kinalur).

According to the Kinalur record, Arappan Kunchi alias Kurumpurai received payment and conferred the tenancy right of one Chattanarukkati of Thiruvanchikulam at Kanthapuram, Korati and some other places<sup>561</sup>. Thiruvanchikulam of Chattanarukkati is the present Kodungallur which is situated not far from the Kallil Jain cave (Fig.7). It was also the capital of the Cheras. Furthermore, the Jain palli at Kinalur is mentioned in the inscription as Vijayaragiswaram and it is connected with the Chera king Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga<sup>562</sup>. On the basis of all these facts, the place *Kunangil* in the above records can be identified as the present Kinalur, and the Jain basti of *Silagrama* as the Kallil palli. Both Kallil and the Kinalur had close association with the Kurumbranad and Puraikilanadu chieftains along with the Cheras of Thiruvanchikulam.

Whatever it may be, the chief deity of the Kallil temple has been identified as *Padmavati Yakshi*, but now being worshipped as Hindu Bhagavati. The sculptural and iconographic features in this natural cave temple clearly proved that it was once a Jain temple. Nowadays, the chief idol of Padmavati is not visible to common devotees. But the image of Padmavati was reported and published with photos by T.A. Gopinatha Rao<sup>563</sup>. The image is made of stone which is now covered with a metal casing. Two more stone images of Tirthankaras in *Padmasana* posture representing Mahavira and either Parsvanatha or Adinatha are visible inside the sanctum sanctorum. The last one is flanked by *Sasanadevatas* on both sides. On the facade of the rock shelter also an incomplete figure of Mahavira is visible (Fig.8). Interestingly, Jain Konkani merchants who settled in the Cochin region consider Kallil as a Jain shrine and still go there for worship<sup>564</sup>. Scholars assigned this shrine to 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE. But in the light of Gudnapura record we have to push back the date of the Padmavati of Kallil to at least 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

Yakshi cult has an important role in the religious practices of the Jains and Padmavati is the most prominent of the Yakshinis and she is the *Sasanadevata* of Parsvanatha Tirthankara. It is generally believed that the Padmavati cult in Jainism was of a very late origin. The earliest available iconographic evidence of Padmavati Yakshi in India

was discovered from Meguti Jain basti at Aihole,<sup>565</sup> possibly belonging to the Chalukya period (6<sup>th</sup> Century CE). The earliest known inscriptional evidences regarding Padmavati worship in south India belong to 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> Century CE, of the Santara ruling family of Patti Pombuchchapura, the lord of northern Madura<sup>566</sup>. These records say the Santaras are the “obtainer of a boon from the goddess Padmavati,”<sup>567</sup> and she has her abode in the *lokki* tree at *Pombuchcha*, which is *Kanakapura*<sup>568</sup>. Santaras were the feudatories of the Gangas of Talakad<sup>569</sup>. Thus the reference to the Padmavati of Kallil in the Gudnapura record could be the earliest inscriptional evidence regarding Padmavati cult in south India.

Here we have to make certain crucial observations. At the present state of our knowledge the presence of Jains in Kerala can be identified on the basis of a Tamil Brahmi inscription datable to 2<sup>th</sup> Century CE, engraved on a potsherd (Fig.3) discovered from Pattanam, the ancient port city on western coast which contains the word “*ammna*”<sup>570</sup>. *Amana* or *Amanan* is an evolved form of Tamil *Camana*, Prakrit *Samana*, and Sanskrit *Sramana* to denote non-Vedic monks<sup>571</sup>. But in the case of south India it was exclusively used to denote Jain monks. Unfortunately, the previous researchers have not consulted these early potsherd inscriptions for their study regarding Jainism in Kerala. Their study started with the Thazhekavu vatteluttu record (Fig.32) belonging to the latter part of 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE, discovered from Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad district, which was considered to be the oldest full-fledged Jain inscription discovered from the geographical territory of Kerala<sup>572</sup>. We have some more Jain vatteluttu inscriptions discovered from Kinalur (Fig.16), Alathur (Fig.11), and Thiruvannur (Fig.117) which belong to 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>573</sup>. Basing their observations on these inscriptions the earlier scholars have concluded that the Jains came to Kerala very lately than it happened in Tamil and Kannada countries and it did not receive any significant patronage in the Kerala country. The non-native Tamil Brahmi inscriptions from the Tamil region, belonging to the period of ancient Cheras establishes the Jain presence in the Kerala country which synchronised with the Tamil and the Kannada regions chronologically earlier to the Common Era. Besides, it is also established that most of the native rulers, Viz. Cheras were ardent followers of Lord Jina’s Noble Faith. As discussed above, the Nilambur plates and Gudnapura records of Ravivarman along with the label inscription of Vishnuvarman in the Edakkal cave clearly proves the prosperous condition of Jainism in Kerala under the

early Kadamba rulers. On the basis of these records it is safe to mention that Jainism was a prominent religion in Kerala during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE, like in the rest of the peninsular India.

### **Dancing girls of *Kama Jinalaya***

There is a general perception that the worship of *Kamadeva* or the cupid is exclusively related to Hinduism. But in the light of Gudnapura inscription we have to rethink about it. B.R. Gopal views that *Kama* or *Manmatha* temple erected by Ravivarman was dedicated to Bahubali described as one of the *Kamadevas* in the later Jain scriptures<sup>574</sup>. A. Sundara keeps neutrality and observes that the temple of Kama could be either a Hindu or a Jain temple<sup>575</sup>. Harivamasa Purana authored by Jinasena during 783 CE speaks about installation of the idol of *Kamadeva* and *Rati* in Jain shrines to attract people to this Noble Faith<sup>576</sup>. On that account, it is reasonable to accept the fact that the *Kama Devalaya* constructed by Ravivarman near his residence in Gudnapura must be the earliest *Kama Jinalaya* in the history of south India as a whole<sup>577</sup>. Moreover, this inscription also mentions about Padmavati, the *Sasanadevata* of Parsvanatha Tirthankara. The *Kama* temple at Hakinipalli also was dedicated to Jain *Manmatha*, the Jain lord of love.

Presence of dancing girls in a Jain temple must be another interesting subject in our study. It has been generally accepted that the temple dancers or *Devadasis* were exclusive to the medieval Hindu sectarian faiths. The Gudnapura record of our present discussion, mentions the construction of two dancing halls (*nrityashalas*) near to the *Kama Jinalaya* along with the *anthapura* (harem) or the female residence. From these descriptions it becomes clear that the temple dancers were in existence even during Kadamba period, connected to the Jain temple. An inscription belonging to the period of the Hoysala king Ballala II (c.1173–1220 CE) records that in the year 1195 CE a Hoysala minister Nagadeva constructed a dancing hall in front of the god Parsvanatha at the *Kamatha Parsvadeva basti* on the Shravanabelagola hill<sup>578</sup>. The name of the god in the basti such as *Kamatha Parsvadeva* is interesting. *Kamatha Parsvadeva* could be a '*Kama (Manmatha)*' or 'cupid' form of the Parsvanatha Tirthankara. The word *Kamatha* could be the evolved form of both '*Kama*' and '*Manmatha*' (*Kama* + *Manmatha*), denotes 'the god of love' or 'cupid'. Another



record (1296 CE) of the Hoysala period also speaks of the importance of Kamatha *Parsvadeva basti* of Shravanabelagola<sup>579</sup>. These two Shravanabelagola inscriptions further attest the Jain affiliation of *Kama Jinalaya* or the Manmatha Jinalaya of Ravivarman in the Gudnapura inscription.

### ***Pugal Aruvaani* of *Chovareyyoor* in the Unpublished Mathilakam inscription**

Some descriptions in an unpublished fragmentary Vatteluttu inscription (Fig.4-5) recently discovered from Mathilakam near Trissur in Kerala have to be discussed at this juncture. On palaeographical grounds this record can be assigned to 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Century CE. The present researcher with the help of an expert read this inscription as ‘*amana-vadaikkirukai.....nnangalukku-vaychatu-chera-pukazharuvaani-chovareyyoor-na....*’<sup>580</sup>. Two words in the record such as *Amana* and *Vadakkirikal* undoubtedly unveils its Jain association. The word *pukazharuvaani* (*Pugal Aruvaani*) of *Chovareyyoor* is also significant. It has already been pointed out that the word *Amana* is an evolved form of Tamil *Camana* or Prakrit *Samana* to denote Jain monks particularly in ancient Tamil country<sup>581</sup>. *Vadakkirikal* is a Jain holy practice in which the devotee will invite death voluntarily by fasting. The exclusive Tamil-Malayalam term *Vadakkirikal* was mentioned in the *Sangam* classics like *Akananuru* and *Purananuru*<sup>582</sup>. The descriptions of *Pugal Aruvaani* of *Chovareyyoor* in the Mathilakam record further nurtures our suspicion related to Jain temples and its association with temple dancers and courtesans. The fragmentary descriptions in the record indicate that either the temple has witnessed the *Vadakkirikal* of a Jain monk (*ammna* or *amanan*) or it has been erected to commemorate the *Vadakkirikal* of a monk. The temple was either caused to be built by a *Pugal Aruvaani* hailing from *Chovareyyoor* or she endowed something to this temple.

*Chovareyyoor* must be *Chovaram* of the medieval records, which can be identified as the modern Sukapuram in Edapal taluk of Malappuram district. The Tamil-Malayalam word *Pugal* means famous and the *Aruvaani* means prostitute. The *Pugal Aruvaani* thus denotes a famous dancing girl or a courtesan. The word *Aruvaani* could be derived from two words ‘*ara*’ and ‘*vaani*’. *Ara* means stage and *Vaani* means ‘speaking or performing very dramatically on the stage’; simply the word signifies a dancer or stage performer. At the same time ‘*ara*’ has also the meaning as room and

‘*vaani*’ can be traced from *Vanijya* or *Vanibham* means trade or business. So, *Aruvaani* in the later period began to be identified as a female who sell something inside the room (a prostitute or courtesan). The temple dancing girls (*Devadasis*) were subsequently looked down upon as prostitutes. Nowadays in Kerala, *Aruvaani* became an abusive word to designate a lady of immoral conduct of life similar to prostitute<sup>583</sup>. But during the medieval period they were held in high esteem as women with highly proficient in arts and letters. The medieval *Manipravala Champus* of Kerala like *Unniyachi Charithram*, *Unniyadi Charitham*, *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham*, and *Unnuneeli Sandesam*, describe such *Aattakkaries* (dancing girls) belonging to the Nair community, in glorifying terms<sup>584</sup>.

Scholars have already identified the modern Mathilakam as the ancient *Thrikanamathilakam* or *Kunavayir Kottam*, from where Ilango Adigal, the royal Jain saint authored his celebrated epic *Silappadikaram*<sup>585</sup>. They also identified it as the *Trikunavay* mentioned in some Jain inscriptions discovered from different parts of Kerala. We have an early medieval unpublished fragmentary inscription from Mathilakam refers to *Trikunavay* (Fig.6). The Medieval Sanskrit/Manipravala literatures like *Kokasandesha*, *Sukasandesha*, *Bhramarasandesha*, and *Unniyachi Charita* called *Thrikanamathilakam* as *Gunaka*, or *Kunaka* or *Kunavay*<sup>586</sup>. *Kokasandesha* describes *Kunaka* situated inside the *Mathilakam*<sup>587</sup>. Taking all these references together the historians have arrived at the inference that *Thrikanamathilakam* or *Kunavayir Kottam* or *Gunaka* was a famous ancient/medieval Jain centre which was the model of all other Jain temples of Kerala<sup>588</sup>. But another notable factor that *Kokasandesha* and *Sukasandesha* describe *Gunaka* or *Kunaka* as the abode of Siva<sup>589</sup>. Scholars like M.G.S. observes that the poets misunderstood Jain temple at *Kunavay* as Siva shrine because they probably have no intimate knowledge regarding Jainism<sup>590</sup>. But these literary works belongs to the late medieval period, by which time this Jain temple was converted in a Siva temple as it happened in the case of the temples at Kallil, Chitharal, Paruvasseri, and Koodalmanikyam (Fig.7-8, 14, 18-19)<sup>591</sup>.

*Sukasandesha* is the earliest known Sanskrit *Sandesakavya* (message poem) authored by Lakshmidasa which provides some interesting description of the prominence enjoyed by the dancing girls cum courtesans of *Gunaka* alias *Mathilakam*<sup>592</sup>. The following account regarding city of *Gunaka* given in the *Kavya* is sufficient to

understand the status of dancing courtesans of that city. It says: *“The city of Gunaka will appear like a favourite child of the earth being surrounded by moats resembling the oceans and being the receptacle of precious things like jewels. The brilliant walls are made up of the golden mount Meru which was reduced to this shape by Siva who made use of the mount for churning the milky ocean using serpent as rope. The young swans fly up to the top of the mansions to meet their elders mistaking the sound of the anklets of women for the sound produced by their clan. Being unable to reach the top, these young ones fall back into the lake because of the height of the houses. There the palatial houses as white as the fame of cupid and brilliant as the crest jewel of the serpent Sesha. They are cool as the mount Himavan. The moon noticing the beautiful faces of women atop the mansions having more brilliance than his own orb deviates from his trip to the east and goes back to the west for setting. The dancing halls seem to clasp each other with the hands of fluttering flags for fear of falling down since they are trodden often by the feet of dancing girls. Nearby there are flower gardens accosted by humming bees which shed the pollen in an effort to give a new body to the cupid whose form was reduced to ashes by Siva. Seeing the beauty of lovers who move about the endless streets of the city, cupid might feel gratified that his body had already been reduced to ashes. The citizens there never go for jewels of rare qualities and brilliance. Instead they hug and embrace the beautiful women who are more shining than ordinary jewels. The brilliance of the seasons is seen in beauties, since various flowers like lotus, Jasmine, etc., are represented by their limits. The courtesans going out to meet the paramours at night are frightened by the thunder and hurriedly embrace the trees on the road side. By morning the trees carry the marks of their embrace since the unguents on the breast are smeared over them. The ladies deceive their lovers saying that the marks of flirtations are caused by the rut of elephants. The young courtesans arrived a little late in the morning to learn the treatises on the art of love being expounded by competent persons. The parrots preaching there question them as to why do they attend lessons since they have already shown their proficiency in the art during the previous night itself. The young ladies fret with anger and show embarrassment at the revelation. The citizens who spend the day in the company of women proficient in various art forms never realise the passing of time. The breeze acts as an attendant on the women giving a helping hand to their sexual activities, carrying fragrance and producing the music of*

*humming bees. There the god Siva, known as Gunakanatha remains aloof not being tempted by the courtesans for fear of the anger of his own consort”*<sup>593</sup>.

Apphulla (Unni-appilla) alias Rangalakshmi, the heroine of the *Sukasandesha* was also a famous dancing girl known as *Nannayar* belonging to a clan of dancers. Poet also says that the name Rangalakshmi has given to Apphulla by many poets on account of her talent in dance. She was the mother of *Unni Chiruthevi*, the heroin of *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham*. Interestingly, Unni-Apphulla hails from *Chovaram*<sup>594</sup>. We have to remember another supportive fact that *Pugal Aruvaani* in the Mathilakam record (Fig.4-5) also hails from *Chovareyyoor*, which was the medieval *Chovaram* and is the modern Sukapuram. But our heroin Unni-Apphulla is not a Jain instead a Hindu Nair royal lady. This is not only in the case of *Sukasandesha* but most of the medieval Manipravala literatures like *Unniyachi Charithram*, *Unniyadi Charitham*, *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham*, and *Unnuneeli Sandesam*, etc., the heroine are Nair women. This subject of Jain- Nair assimilation will be discussed in the following pages.

We have several grand descriptions of the art of dance and the dancing girls in Tamil Classic *Silappadikaram*<sup>595</sup>. The term *Silappadikaram* can be interpreted as ‘the story of an anklet (*Silambu*)’. Madhavi, one of the chief characters of *Silappadikaram* is a courtesan cum dancing girl from Puhar who has excelled in all the sixty four forms of art like dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, etc., to become a sophisticated woman perfect in all respects as described by Vatsayana in his *Kama Sutra*. At the same time, this is a Jain epic authored by poet-prince Ilango Adigal from his residence at *Thrikanamathilakam* alias Mathilakam<sup>596</sup>. Probably Ilango Adigal’s heroin was under the influence of the famous dancing girls (*Pugal Aruvaanies*) of *Thrikanamathilakam*.

Sexual overtones are not to be found in the extremely orthodox Jaina philosophy. The sculptural representations of the medieval era belonging to all sectarian faiths reveal extensive occurrence of the erotic element. We can find some such exquisite sexual representations in the shrines of Parsvanatha at Khajuraho<sup>597</sup> and some other places in north India. But in the case of south India, at the present state of our knowledge such sculptures are completely absent. At this juncture, our attention should go to the erotic

sculptures (Fig.25) of Janardana Gudi Jain basti in Punchavayal at Wayanad district. The present researcher noticed various erogenous figures on the pillars of this temple consisting of oral and sublime sexual scenes. Even though the temple could be the product of the Jaina-vaishnava assimilation ensued during the reign of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala of Dwarasamudra, we have to reach a reasonable conclusion that from the 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards like the Hindu shrines, some of the Jain temples of south India, including Kerala, witnessed the emergence of the Tantric sex rituals which became part of the subsequent sculptural art representations in all the sectarian temples including Jaina and Vaishnava temples.

However, the above discussion clearly divulges the fact that like Hindu shrines, once the Jain temples also witnessed the presence of dance and other kind of artistic expressions. Jain temples also got attached with dancing halls, female residences, along with theatres. A number of theatre arts might have had their genesis from Jain temples. In the case of Kerala, the traditional dance forms like *Koothu*, *Chakyar Koothu*, *Yaksha Gana*, *Koodiyattam*, etc., might have originated from the theatres attached to the Jain establishments. We have descriptions of *Koothu* in *Silappadikaram*<sup>598</sup>. The Kollam Rameswaram Koyil pillar inscription of the last Perumal Rama Kulasekhara refers to certain endowment to the *Trikunavay* temple for conducting *Thirukkoothu*<sup>599</sup>. The Kinalur Jain inscription also speaks about the concert of *Koothu* at the *Vijayaragiswaram palli* at *Kunavaynallur*<sup>600</sup>. These two findings undoubtedly tell us that in both the *Thrikanamathilakam* (Trikunavay) and Kinalur Jain temple contained a separate *Koothambalam* (temple theatre). The word *Koothu* in the aforesaid records not only just represents *Chakyar Koothu* or *Nangyar Koothu*, but could generally be denoting other kinds of dance forms as well. It is logical to say that, corresponding to the present context, the Tamil word ‘Koothu’ merely represents ‘dance’ in the ancient and the medieval age. The emergence of these kinds of dance rituals in the Jain temples could be the by-products of the acculturation process in which all the Jain temples metamorphosed into Hindu shrines during the medieval period or even earlier. The reference to the temple of *Manmatha* and the presence of dancing girls/courtesans, in the Mathilakam and Gudnapura records indicates the culmination of such a process.

## Jainism under the Medieval Cholas

During the reign of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I (10<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE) the Chola imperialism reached its zenith. The Chola era in the Tamil country is synchronous with the later Cheras (Chera Perumals) in the Kerala country. The medieval history of Kerala clearly says that except Bhaskara Ravivarman (Bhaskara Ravi Manukuladitya) (962-1021 CE), all the Chera kings ruled as the feudatories of the Cholas. After the decline of the Chola political power in the Kerala country, the vacuum was filled by the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra from the reign of Vishnuvardhana onwards, especially in the Malabar region. Subsequently Kerala country becomes the battle ground for a number of petty chiefdoms.

We have a few records of the imperial Cholas which have a bearing on Kerala Jainism. A Chola inscription at Tirunarungondai (Tirukkoyilur taluk, Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu), dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Rajaraja I (1002 CE), was engraved on a rock to the south of the Chandranatha shrine in the Appandainathar temple<sup>601</sup>. Lord Parsvanatha is known as Appandainathar in the Tamil country. The village Tirunarungondai, is well known for its extensive Jaina vestiges, and the Appandainathar temple emerged as a great Jain pilgrim centre in Tamil Nadu from the medieval period onwards. This record registers the donation of a certain quantity of land to the two Jain temples called *Periyapalli* and *Melaippalli* for the maintenance of perpetual lamps, by a Chola commander *Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan* alias *Senapati Mummudichola Brahma Marayan* for the merit of his master *Pirantakan Arumoli* alias *Mummudichola Sri Rajaraja Deva* (Rajaraja I). The donor hailed from *Brahmadeyam Seralantaka Chaturvedimangalam* in *Vennadu*, situated on the south bank of the Kaveri.

The *Seralantaka Chaturvedimangalam* in the inscription should be read as *Keralantaka- Chaturvedimangalam*. Another Chola record (1033 CE) of the reign of Rajendra Chola from Kolar district of Karnataka also refers to *Keralantaka- Chaturvedimangala* alias *Amanakudi* in *Vennadu*<sup>602</sup>. A Hoysala record from Chamarajanagar (1167 CE) belonging to the reign of Narasimha I speaks about *Keralantaka- Chaturvedimangala* of *Enne-nad*<sup>603</sup>. *Enne-nad* could be another name of *Vennadu*. The place *Vennadu* situated south to the Kaveri must be *Venadu*, the

medieval name of the Travancore state. Here we have to remember the fact that before the formation of Kerala state, Travancore kingdom comprised the present Nagarcoil, Kanyakumari and adjoining areas of Tamil Nadu. *Amanakudi* alias *Keralantaka- Chaturvedimangala* could be the present Manakudi near Nagarcoil. The Tamil word *Amana* (*amanan*) means *Sramana* and *Kudi* means settlement. Probably the place got its name on account of the settlements of *Sramana* followers, most probably Jains.

The donor of the record, Chola Senapati Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan, could be a Jain follower from Amanakudi alias Manakudi. His name indicated that he belongs to the Jain community. The ‘Yamkan Irama’ of his name (*Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan*) can be read as ‘Yakkan Rama’. Yakkan is the corrupt form of *Yakshan* or *Yaksha*. One 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE Jain inscription from Thiruvannur (Fig.17) in the Kozhikode district of Kerala mentions the name of a Jain follower as *Kanayapalli Yakkan Chellan*<sup>604</sup>. Two more 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Century Chera inscriptions from Trikkakara and Thrikodithanam mention the name *Yakkan Kurappolan* and *Yakkan Srikantan* respectively<sup>605</sup>. *Iyakkan Kovinnan* (Govindan) of Mulakkadu in another inscription, made certain gifts to the same Thrikodithanam temple<sup>606</sup>. *Manalmanrathu Yakkan Kotha* in the Nedumpuram Thali record<sup>607</sup> is also significant as a Jain or Hindu Nair. On account of all these evidences, it seems more probable to ascertain the hypothesis that the Chola Senapati Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan in the Tirunarungondai inscription was a Jain or Jain-Nair Senapati from the Chera country.

### ***Narpattennayiravar of the Chola Era***

Our discussion about the celebrated *Narpattennayiravar* organisation will start with an inscription from the Chandranatha shrine in the Appandainathar *palli* at Tirunarungondai belonging to the 9<sup>th</sup> ruling year of Chola king Kulothunga III (1178-1218 CE)<sup>608</sup>. It records the endowment of three villages: Arrur, Ullur and Enadimangalam<sup>609</sup> as *pallichantham*, to the god of *Narpattennayira Perumballi* at Tirunarungondai by King Kulothunga III. The term *Narpattennayira* definitely denotes the merchant cum workers guild. *Narpattennayiravar* can be translated as ‘The organization of Forty Eight Thousand’. The *Perumballi* (*Periyapalli*) or the big

Jain complex might have been established by this merchant guild. A Chola record from Tiruchirapalli speaks about the existence of a monastery (*Matha*) called *Narpattennayiravan Tirumadam* probably constructed by the same guild<sup>610</sup>. Another inscription from the same region also refers to the construction of a monastery called *Narpattennayiravan-madam* by one Avurudaiyan Solakon<sup>611</sup>. Inscriptional evidences clearly state that during the period of the imperial Cholas, *Narpattennayiravar* was a powerful and influential guild organisation of south India including Kerala. Its presence and role in Kerala is attested by the Poothadi Jain inscription (Fig.32)<sup>612</sup>, from Thazhekavu near Pulpalli in Wayanad. The record refers to the establishment of a *Nagaram* (city) by the celebrated *Narpattennayiravar* organisation and it was attached to the Jain temple from where the record has been found. Another inscription<sup>613</sup> from Alathur in Palakkad also reveals the clear cut administrative authority of the *Narpattennayiravar* over the Jain *Pallies* of Kerala.

The members of the guild attached the term *Narpattennayira* with their name. *Narpattennayira-Bhatta*, the superintendent of the *Matha* called *Madapattiyam* is mentioned in one Hoysala record (1110 CE)<sup>614</sup>. The *Kakku Nayaka Bhatara* alias *Narpattennayira Bhatta*<sup>615</sup> and *Mundan Arangan* alias *Narpattennayira Vanmahesvara Mayilatti* in the Chola records<sup>616</sup> are some more examples of this kind. *Narpattennayira Pillai* in a Pandya record of the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan I was a Siva devotee<sup>617</sup>. The *Narpattennayira Perunderuvu* or ‘the big dwelling Street of the *Narpattennayiravar*’ mentioned in some inscriptions indicate the exclusively residential areas of the members of this organisation<sup>618</sup>.

Certain inscriptional evidences clearly show that the *Narpattennayiravar* was not just a trade organisation but maintained its own militia as well. A Tamil inscription from Arkeswara temple at Channapatna in Karnataka (1247 CE) register an endowment to the God *Arumolisvaram Udaiya Nayanar* by *Narpattennayira-Chchenapati* and one *Virudakandaiyar Panar* of the *Narpattennayiravan Tirukkavanam* in the temple of Sri Kailasam Udaiyar at Kudalur alias *Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam* in *Kilalai-nadu* of *Rajendra Chola Valanadu* in *Mudikonda Chola Mandalam*<sup>619</sup>. *Chchenapati* (Senapati) denotes the commander of an army or militia. Another inscription from a pond in the Kudalur village also refers to another grant by *Narpattennayira-Chchenapati* and his daughter to the temple<sup>620</sup>.



The military history of the trading guilds of Kerala certainly is an interesting chapter. In order to protect their precious merchandises from the wayside robbers these groups gradually organised militias like *Annuttuvar*, *Arunuttuvar*, *Ezhunnuruvar*, *Ayiravar*, etc., comprising of armed men of Five Hundred, Six Hundred, Seven Hundred, Thousand, etc. M.G.S Narayanan observes that, sometimes the militia actually would contain the strength multiple of ten than the mentioned one like Thousand equal to Ten Thousand<sup>621</sup>. However, slowly but surely, in addition or beyond their primary duty, this warrior class began to extend support even to the kings during the war time in lieu of the patronisation to their profession and faith. Gradually, fighting became their primary profession instead of trade. The Nair community of Kerala must have emerged from such a trade guild/militia background.

Though, *Narpattennayiravar* was never an exclusive guild of Jains, it comprised of members who professed various religions, particularly Hinduism, as indicated by the plethora of endowments to the Hindu shrines. The Arkeswara temple of Kudalur, and the examples from the Pandya records are discussed above. Another Pandya record belonging to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I mentioned a Hindu temple named *Narpattennayira Vinnagar Emberuman* at Thirukachur possibly established by the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation<sup>622</sup>. A record of Kulothunga Chola mentions about the gift of 30 *kasu* for a Hindu temple by the daughter of a *Narpattennayiravan* (a member of the *Narpattennayiram* body)<sup>623</sup>.

The Arkeswara temple record contain the name of one donor as *Virudakandaiyar Panar Narpattennayiravan* of *Tirukkavanam* or one of the members of the *Narpattennayiravar* at *Tirukkavanam*<sup>624</sup>. The term *Tirukkavanam* has been find mentioned some medieval south Indian inscriptions<sup>625</sup>. Certain scholars interpreted it as an assembly hall or a garden. *Tirukkavanam* in the Arkeswara record could be a place name from where the donor Virudakandaiyar Panar hailed, and he was also a member of the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation of the same place. There is certain possibility to read the *Tirukkavanam* of our present record as *Tirukkunavay*, the term exclusively used in medieval Kerala to denote a famous Jain temple. *Tirukkunavay* was the biggest Jain establishment of Kerala which acted as a model for all other Jain centres of Kerala<sup>626</sup>. The Alathur and Thazhekavu Jain records (Fig.11, 32) link the

*Narpattennayiravar* with the *Tirukkunavay*. According to the Thazhekavu record after one hundred and thirty seven years of the establishment of *Tirukkunavay* temple, the *Narpattennayiravar* founded a *Nagaram* (city?) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god<sup>627</sup>. The fragmentary Alathur record speaks about one agreement made between *Narpattennayiravar*, two servants, and the representatives of the *Tirukkunavay* temple (“*swasti-sri-narpattennayiravarum-padakal-iruvaram-tirukkunavay-tevar-atikararum...*”)<sup>628</sup>. *Trikunavay* was mentioned in two more medieval Jaina Vatteluttu inscriptions from Thiruvannur and Kinalur in Kerala<sup>629</sup>. The medieval Sanskrit/Manipravala literatures like *Kokasandesa*, *Sukasandesa*, *Bhramarasandesa*, and *Unniyachi Charita* called *Trikunavay* as *Gunaka*, or *Kunaka* or *Kunavay*<sup>630</sup>. *Kokasandesa* describes *Kunaka* as located inside the *Mathilakam*<sup>631</sup>.

It is reasonable to suppose that the *Virudakandaiyar Panar* of the *Narpattennayiravan* of *Tirukkavanam* in the Arkeswara temple record could be the *Virudakandaiyar Panar* of the *Narpattennayiravan of Tirukkunavay*; that could be located within the present geographical territory of Kerala. *Kokasandesa* describes *Tirukkunavay* as a hub of *Vaniyar* or traders<sup>632</sup>, further indicate the presence of the *Narpattennayiravar* of *Tirukkunavay*.

The Arkeswara temple records the *Narpattennayiravan Senapati* and *Virudakandaiyar Panar* of the *Tirukkavanam* alias *Tirukkunavay* made gifts to the Siva temple (*Sri Kailasam Udaiyar*) at Kudalur<sup>633</sup>. It seems interesting to note that, the medieval *Manipravalam* Kavyas particularly *Kokasandesa* and *Sukasandesa* describe *Kunaka* (*Tirukkunavay*) as the abode of Siva<sup>634</sup>. *Kokasandesa* speaks of the presence of a big temple (*perumkoyil*) of *Purari* called as *Kunaka Thampuran* (Lord of *Kunaka*) in *Mathilakam* (“*chelvam-cherenna-kkunakayilakam-pukku-nee-tekkunokki-chellunneram-tiraviya-perumkoyil-kanam-puraree*”)<sup>635</sup>. Scholars like M.G.S. observes that the poets misunderstood Jain temple at *Tirukkunavay* as Siva shrine because they probably have no intimate knowledge regarding Jainism<sup>636</sup>. But these literary works belongs to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Century CE, by which time possibly Jain shrines might have been transformed into a Hindu shrines, as it happened in the case of certain other Jain temples of Kerala<sup>637</sup>.

The term *Panar* attached with the name of *Virudakandaiyar Panar* of the *Narpattennayiravan Tirukkavanam* could be his community name. *Panar* (*Pana*) is a prominent bard community of Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil, and Tulu regions. These brads played a prominent role in the ancient and medieval history of peninsular India. Many poets who authored the *Sangam* songs belonged to this community.

Members of the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation created public utilities also. An inscription dated in the 27<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1096 CE) of Kulothunga Chola I from Bangarapet (Bowringpet, Kolar district, Karnataka) records the digging of a tank by one Adichan Kappadevan alias *Narpattennayira-nila* of Kannavidu Mukkannangudaiyan in Arumoli deva Valanadu of Chola Mandala<sup>638</sup>. Adichan is one of the sub-castes in the Nair community of Kerala largely concentrated in the Travancore region, with a conspicuous Jain affiliation.

The *Narpattennayiravar* organisation with several branches across peninsular India flourished during medieval period. During the Chola imperialism in south India possibly this organisation became well entrenched. Besides being an organisation of skilled professional's organization it maintained militia for protecting the valuable merchandise and probably had the parallel authority to maintain law and order in a particular region of its territorial existence. Its members resided in particular streets which were exclusively reserved for them. They even extended military support to the rulers in times of war. They made generous gifts to the temples, Jain *pallies* and constructed public utilities. However, here we have to remember that Jains were the most prominent trading community of south India and on account of that we cannot ignore the crucial role played by the Jains in this organisation. The construction of big Jain related establishments and monasteries by the members of the *Narpattennayiravar* hint at this fact. There is a good probability to trace the Jain origin of the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation in its early stage. The large scale conversion of Jain traders into Hinduism probably acculturated this guild as well.

In the case of Kerala Jainism, the Thazhekavu and Alathur inscriptions (Fig.11, 32) are sufficient to understand the importance of *Narpattennayiravar* in the Jain temples. The *Nagaram* established and attached with the Jain temple at Poothadi must have been an important trading centre of that region. Thazhekavu alias Poothadi was

located at the junction of the prominent trade route connecting Kerala and Karnataka regions. The Alathur record also attests the relation of the *Tirukkunavay* temple with the *Narpattennayiravar* body. Kerala coast and coastal trade were more valuable for all the traders and their organisations of south India. The *Narpattennayira Pillai*, a Siva devotee find mentioned in a Pandya record belongs to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan reveals the prominent role played by the Nair community in the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation. The *Pillai* is a sub caste of the Vellala community in the Tamil country. At the same time in the Kerala country *Pillai* became a sub-caste of the Nairs. Tamil Vellalar and Kerala Nairs enjoyed equal caste status in the society similar with the Karnataka Shetties. Possibly, all those groups had certain Jain affiliation in the past.

### **Jainism under the Hoysalas**

The medieval Kingdom of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra was a powerful one that decided the historical transformations of not merely Kannada-Deccan region but some extent the Tamil region as well. Their chequered regime over the Kannada country has extended between the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the first half of 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Previous studies have failed to recognise the potentiality and significance of the inscriptions of the Hoysalas for reconstructing the medieval political and religious history of Kerala. We have a large number of inscriptions which significantly expose the political supremacy of the Hoysalas over Kerala country from the time of Vinayaditya (c.1047-1098 CE) onwards, continued by most of his successors up to Ballala III (c.1292-1343 CE). The Jain related mythical stories of this dynasty discussed in the previous chapter were also attested by a large number of inscriptions<sup>639</sup>.

A Nagamangala record belonging to the reign of Ballala II proclaims that Vinayaditya's kingdom included Talakad and Bayal-nadu<sup>640</sup>. The place *Bayal-nadu* must have comprised the present day Wayanad district and some other parts of the Kerala state<sup>641</sup>. Certain Inscriptions from Shravanabelagola clearly testify that Vinayaditya (c.1047-1098 CE) was a patron of Jainism<sup>642</sup>.

During the succeeding reign of Ereyanga (c.1098-1102 CE), son of Vinayaditya, parts of the Kerala region were invaded by him. A Belur inscription says that “*the burning of Baleya-pattana on the sea-shore by the flames of king Ereyanga's anger, brought to mind the appearance of the waves of the sea when consumed by Rama's fiery arrow*”<sup>643</sup>. This *Baleya-pattana* is the present *Valapattanam*, the coastal town in Kannur district which was once the abode of the *Mushaka* rulers otherwise known as *Nannans* of Ezhimalai. According to *Mushakavamsa Kavya*, a Sanskrit work which gives the genealogical history of this dynasty, the city *Baliapattanam* (*Valabhappattanam/ Valarpattanam*) was built by the *Mushaka* ruler Valabha II during 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>644</sup>. Ereyanga (c.1098-1102 CE) was also known for his Jain patronisation as evidenced by some Shravanabelagola and Hale-Belagola inscriptions<sup>645</sup>.

One of the records of Hoysala Ballala I (c.1102-1108 CE) says that the boundaries of his kingdom embraced Wayanad alias Bayal-nadu as well<sup>646</sup>. Two more inscriptions from Nagamangala and Arsikere in the Hassan district of Karnataka further testify Ballala's political supremacy over the Cheras<sup>647</sup>. Ballala's Jain affiliation is irrefutably evident from certain inscriptions from Shravanabelagola<sup>648</sup>.

A number of inscriptions belonging to Vishnuvardhana alias Bitti-deva (c.1108-1152 CE) clearly indicate that his kingdom not only extended over the Pandya and Chola territories but of the Cheras as well. A record (1117 CE) from Chamarajanagar says that Bitti-deva's general Punnisa Raja once after getting the order from his lord “*seized Niladri (Nilagiri), and pursuing the Maleyalas, captured their forces and made himself master of Kerala before showing himself again in Bayal-nadu (Wayanad)*”<sup>649</sup>. Certain other inscriptions describe Vishnuvardhana as “*a lion to the Chera elephant-herd,*” “*a royal lion to the elephant Chera,*” “*a lion to the royal elephant Cherama,*” and so on<sup>650</sup>. A Shravanabelagola record (1123 CE) says that he captured *Baleya-pattana* fort,<sup>651</sup> which must be the same *Valapattanam* of the *Mushaka Nannans* which was once burnt by Ereyanga Hoysala. However, the complete subjugation of *Mushaka* territory along with *Kongu* (Coimbatore) is evident from another inscription of Shravanabelagola dated 1135 CE<sup>652</sup>.

Many later inscriptions also recorded the political achievements of Vishnuvardhana over the Chera country. An inscription from Arsikere (1197 CE) glorified him as “*a devouring epidemic to Chera*”<sup>653</sup>. Another record from the same place (1177 CE) says that he was “*a pursuing Makali (Goddess Kali) to eat him up*”<sup>654</sup>. The Channarayapatna record (1190 CE) describes that king Vishnu in glorious terms as the one who “*broke down the bones of Chera-Kerala*,”<sup>655</sup> and two records from Arsikere (1161 CE) and Belur (1161 CE) claims that he uprooted the Chera Kingdom completely<sup>656</sup>.

Some more inscriptions claim that he captured *Elumale*, *Anamale* along with *Bayal-nadu*<sup>657</sup>. *Anamale* could be the present Anamala on the Western Ghats sharing boundaries with Kerala and Tamil Nadu. During this period probably Anamala was a petty kingdom under the Chera kings. In the case of *Elumale*, it must be the same *Ezhimala* near Kannur, the abode of Mushaka rulers<sup>658</sup>. A Belur record (1185 CE) mark out the boundaries of his kingdom: Kongu on its south, Kanchi on the east, Rivers Krishna and Venna on the north, and the Arabian Sea on the west, where he is “*setting up piles (of stone) as marks of the permanent limits of the land*”<sup>659</sup>.

Jainism was in a flourishing condition up to the reign of Vishnuvardhana. His conversion into Vaishnavism under the influence of Ramanuja Acharya led to a little loss of royal patronage to the Noble Faith in his country. However, records show that even after his conversion he had an encouraging attitude towards his previous faith; certain inscriptions clearly talk about the erection of Jain temples and making endowments to them<sup>660</sup>. Furthermore, these records enlighten us that the elite strata of the society including royal family members, subordinates, chieftains, generals and their family members made fabulous donations to the Jain establishments. Besides, we do not have any inscriptional evidences that speak about the persecution of the Jains after the conversion of Vishnuvardhana in to Vaishnavism. The number of contributions made by Vishnuvardhana’s minister Ganga Raja<sup>661</sup> and queen Santala Devi<sup>662</sup> indicate the sustained support to Jainism from the royal house itself. Shravanabelagola, the most important Jain centre of south India continued to flourish due to the munificent endowments made by Ganga Raja and his family.

## Vishnuvardhana and the Jain Chera Perumal

The association of Vishnuvardhana with Kerala can further be traced through an inscription from Arsikere (1142 CE) which speaks about the setting up of a new *agrahara* village in Kellangere (near Arsikere) for certain Brahmin refugees who previously had land at *Kodanganur* which they received as *Janameejaya*<sup>663</sup>. Kodanganur must be the same Kodungallur, which was once an integral part of the Perumal's capital Mahodayapuram. The term *Janameejaya* can be read as *Janmidēya* which is similar to *Brahmadeya*<sup>664</sup> in other parts of India. The Brahmin-temple-land oriented medieval feudal system of Kerala is known as *Janmi* system and the landlords known as *Janmies*<sup>665</sup>. The content of this record help us to formulate a hypothesis on the cause of this Brahmin migration to Hoysala country.

Here we have to note some important factors regarding Hoysalas and Cheras of Mahodayapuram. At the present state of our knowledge Rama Kulasekhara was the last Perumal of Mahodayapuram whose rule covered the period between 1089 to 1122 CE, and after that the great empire has declined<sup>666</sup>. Around the same time the Hoysalas established their empire under their expansionist king Vishnuvardhana (c.1108-1152 CE). It was also at the same time that the Cholas lost their political clout in the south except in their core region i.e. the Thanjavur territories. Inscriptional evidences clearly show that the Cholas and the Pandyas were totally defeated and they became subordinates of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana<sup>667</sup>. Contemporaneity of all these historical facts and events leads us to formulate some new hypotheses regarding the collapse of the second Chera Empire. Here we have to take note of the opinion of M.G.S.Narayanan who said that “meanwhile something strange appears to have happened to the Chera kingdom though the wars against the Pandyas and the Cholas apparently did not produce anything more than a stalemate with slight occasional gains and losses. How far this new phenomenon was internal and how far it was related to external invasions and the impact of wars cannot be assigned in the present state of our knowledge”<sup>668</sup>.

We did not have any solid evidence regarding the causes for the decline of the Chera Empire except certain kind of traditional accounts and narrations. The popular tradition like *Keralolpathi* attests that the last Perumal embraced Buddhism, then

Islam and went to Mecca<sup>669</sup>. The Muslim tradition according to *Tuhafat Ul Mujahideen* by Sheikh Zeinuddin too testifies the partition of the kingdom among governors by the last Perumal and his conversion to Islam and his journey to Mecca<sup>670</sup>. But on the basis of the Kollam Rameswaram temple inscription corroborating with other evidences we found out the Jain affiliation of Rama Kulasekhara<sup>671</sup>. At the same time, Rama Kulasekhara's worry to please the Brahmins and to make amends for having offended them could be found reflected in the *prayaschitta* (compensation) which he offered to the Brahmins by the Kollam pillar inscription<sup>672</sup>. This record clearly says that he is living at the *Panainkavu* palace in *Kurakkeni Kollam*, “*sitting in council with Ariya Brahmins*,” made amends for some offence against them by donating paddy for their daily feeding<sup>673</sup>.

The interesting issue to be probed here is why king Kulasekhara left his traditional capital at Mahodayapuram in the central Kerala and living Kollam in the South? Definitely the ruler must have faced some severe external attacks most probably from Vishnuvardhana, the powerful Hoysala emperor and the emerging saviour of Brahminical faith. A record (1178 CE) from Nagamangala says that king Vishnu captured a number of forts including *Karukankollam*.<sup>674</sup> This must be the same *Kurakkeni Kollam* (Kollam alias Quilon) in the Rama Kulasekhara's *prayaschitta* grant<sup>675</sup>. These two instances: Rama Kulasekhara's *prayaschitta* to the Brahmins at Kollam along with the accommodation of Brahmin refugees at Kellangere by Vishnuvardhana support the traditional accounts of the former's conversion into another religion. At the same time, on the basis of the Kollam pillar inscription it seems safe to say that Rama Kulasekhara was a Jain; afterwards, if we accept the tradition, he must have converted into Islam. Vishnuvardhana's invasion ultimately forced the Chera king to transfer his capital to a safer place in the southern part of Kerala, Viz., Kollam alias *Kurakkeni Kollam*.

### **The Hassan Inscription of Vishnuvardhana**

A crucial record<sup>676</sup> from Hassan (1149 CE) speaks about one of the Vishnuvardhana's generals Sankara who defeated “*Malayalar, Pallikarar, Valiant sons of kings, adalajas who were masters of the horse, and generals of the feudatory kings*” and gives a list of villages where he built Vishnu temples such as *Aranimale, Kunangil*,



*Korati*, *Kantapura*, *Tamarecharu*, *Kolala*, *Areyatti-Bagalatti*, and *Halasur*, and a temple to God Kesava in the *Honnava Arahara* in *Nirgunda-Nadu*. The term *Malayalar* in the record must be denoting the people from Kerala; and the term *Pallikarar* could be the administrator of Jain *palli* lands. We have the term *Pallikkari* used to denote the property of goddess *Palli Bhagavati* of Nilamperur temple, a converted Sramana temple of central Kerala<sup>677</sup>. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Pallikarar* could be the administrators/protectors of the Jaina *Pallikkari* of Kerala. The *Pallikarar* in the Hoysala record could be the same kind of militia attached to the medieval Jain temples of Kerala like the *Arunurruvar* of Thiruvannur, *Ezhunnuruvar* and *Muvayiravar* of Kinalur, *Ayiravar* of *Trikunavay* and Kodungallur temples<sup>678</sup>. The present *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* claims their origin from the *Pallikarar* of the Kodungallur temple. *Pallikarar's* chief responsibility might be the temple administration and protection from the external threats. It is not unreasonable to infer that the places mentioned in the Hassan record like *Aranimala*, *Kunangil*, *Korati*, *Kantapura*, *Tamarecharu*, *Kolala*, *Areyatti-Bagalatti*, *Halasur*, and *Nirgunda-nadu* where Sankara erected Vishnu temples already might have some Jain affiliation. This issue will be discussed in the following pages.

### **The Identification of Korati as Kurandi**

The place *Korati* in the Hassan and Kinalur records<sup>679</sup> can be identified as *Kurandi*, the famous Jain establishment of south India which is mentioned in a large number of inscriptions from many Jain centers in Tamil country like Muttupatti, Settipodavu, Pechchi Pallam, Uttamapalaiyam, Cholvandipuram, and Kalugumalai<sup>680</sup>. *Kurandi* has also been mentioned in six inscriptions from Kalugumalai<sup>681</sup>. The Jain monastery in the Kurandi is called *Thirukkattamballi* by certain inscriptions from Settipodavu, Pechchi Pallam, and Uttamapalaiyam<sup>682</sup>. An inscription from Cholvandipuram (Cholvandipuram, Tirukkoyilur taluk, Villupuram district) contains reference to *Gunavira Bhattara* of *Kurandi*, a well-known Jain saint of the medieval south India<sup>683</sup>. The prominent monks who hailed from Kurandi are *Kurandi Atta* (Ashta) *Upavasi Bhattara* of two Muttupatti inscriptions; *Gunasena Deva* and *Kanakanandi* of *Kurandi Thirukkattamballi* mentioned in Settipodavu and Pechchi Pallam inscriptions; *Ashtopavasi* and his pupil *Arishtanemi* of *Kurandi Thirukkattamballi* of Uttamapalaiyam inscription are important<sup>684</sup>. An inscription from Chitharal near

Thiruvananthapuram refers to a saint *Uttanandi Adigal* of *Kattamballi*<sup>685</sup>. Here the *Kattamballi* could be the same *Kurandi* or *Thirukkattamballi* of the above inscriptions<sup>686</sup>. Historians have differences of opinion regarding the identification of the location of *Kurandi* or *Korati* in these records. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar identified it as the place with the same name *Kurandi* near Agastheeswaram in Southern Travancore<sup>687</sup>. P.B. Desai located Kurandi in the Madurai region of Tamil Nadu, specifically in Settipodavu<sup>688</sup>. Some of the records from Kalugumalai, Muttupatti, and Settipodavu clearly refer to Kurandi as located in *Venbu Nadu*<sup>689</sup>. *Venbu Nadu* can be identified as Venadu or Vennadu, the medieval names of Travancore state. It could be interesting to note that the *Kurandi* attached with certain individual's names like *Kurandi Yakkan Kadi*, *Kurandi Chathan*, and *Kurandi Nakan* of *Venbu Nadu* are mentioned in the Kalugumalai inscriptions<sup>690</sup> are more popular names in medieval Kerala. According to the Kinalur record,<sup>691</sup> a lady namely Chattanarukkati of Thiruvanchikulam got tenancy right at Korati alias Kurandi from the hand of a Chera feudatory Arappan Kunchi Kurumpurai. This finding further helps us to locate Kurandi in the Chera territory. The setting-up of Vishnu temple by Sankara, the minister of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana after defeating the Cheras (*Malayalar*), and the *Pallikarar* (protectors of *Sramana Pallies* in the Kerala country) further help to locate Kurandi (Korati) in the Chera country. The identification by K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar regarding the location of Kurandi as the same Kurandi village in the Agastheeswaram region of medieval Travancore state seems to be logical. Unfortunately there are no Jain vestiges present Kurandi village in Rajakkamangalam taluk of Kanyakumari district. The above study clearly tells us that during medieval period, the Jains of the northern Malabar and the southern Travancore region had recurrent contacts, and that these regions were part of the Jain network of Tamil and Kannada regions as well.

### **Kunangil alias Kinalur**

Coming back to the Hassan inscription<sup>692</sup>; there are very few native evidences to identify *Aranimale*, *Kunangil*, *Kantapura*, *Tamarecharu*, *Kolala*, *Areyatti-Bagalatti*, *Halasur*, and *Nirgunda-nadu*. The place name *Kunangil* in the Hassan record can be identified as the *Kunavaynallur* in the Kinalur inscription. The Kinalur vatteluttu inscription (Fig.16) mentions about the Jain settlement at Kinalur called

*Vijayaragiswaram palli*<sup>693</sup>. A Rashtrakuta grant (813 CE)<sup>694</sup> of Govinda III (Prabhutavarsha) refers to a Jain *palli* named *Silagrama* being administrated by the governor of the Kunangil and got protected by the Five Hundred Organization (*Annuttuvar* or *Aynoorbar*). We have already identified the *Silagrama* Jain temple in the record as the *Kallil palli* (Fig.7) near Perumbavoor in Kerala. The *Kunangil Aynoorvar* led by the governor of the Ganga king Chakiraj could be the *Kunavaynallur*.

Another Rashtrakuta record (c.900 CE) from Devanahalli refers to the Kunangil Five Hundred of one Gangavasa's son Govinda<sup>695</sup>. A Hoysala record (1295 CE) from Channapatna mentions Kunangil as Kunugil<sup>696</sup>. Rashtrakuta grant<sup>697</sup> of Govinda III speaks of one more numerical body Kunangil -70 (*Elpadimbar*)<sup>698</sup>. The Seventy mentioned in this grant could be the 700 (*Ezhunnuttuvar*) in the Kinalur record<sup>699</sup>. An inscription (1021 CE) from Thirunelli in Wayanad mentions the *Ezhunnuruvar* of Kurumporainadu belonging to the heir apparent or senior prince (*Mootthakoor*)<sup>700</sup>. Another Thirunelli record (1008 CE) mentions the *Annuttuvar* (the Five Hundred) of Puraikilanadu<sup>701</sup>. Both the medieval Chera principalities Such as Kurumporainadu and Puraikilanadu had blood relations with each other. Geographically, Kurumporainadu and Puraikilanadu were situated close to each other and shared common boundaries. Their territories comprised portions of the present Wayanad, Kozhikode and Kannur regions of Kerala. Furthermore, Balussery near Kinalur alias Kunangil was the traditional capital of them. Here it should be remembered that the junior prince (*Elamkoor* or *Elayakoor*) of the medieval principalities of Kerala also maintained their own militia<sup>702</sup>. But the size of the militia will be small in size compared to the bigger ones such as the *Ezhunnuruvar* of *Mootthakoor* versus *Annurruvar* of *Elamkoor*. Kurumbranad, Eralnadu and Venadu were some of the examples for this observation<sup>703</sup>. Here the Kurumporainadu and Puraikilanadu possibly were *Mootthakoor* and *Elamkoor* respectively<sup>704</sup> of the Kurumpurai race in the early phase, but later becomes independent principalities under the Cheras. On account of that, both the numerical groups such as the *Aynoorbar* or *Annuttuvar* and the *Elpadimbar* or *Ezhunnuttuvar* in the above records were closely related to Kunangil/Kunavaynallur/Kinalur. On the basis of the above study, it is safe to identify the place *Kunangil* in the Hassan record as the present Kinalur mentioned in the Kinalur Malayalam record as Kunavaynallur. Further, it is now clear that the Kinalur

Jain temple was also connected to the Deccan-Kannada kingdoms, especially the Kadambas, Gangas, Rashtrakutas and the Hoysalas.

### **Kantapura, Tamarecharu and Aranimale of the Hassan Inscription**

The Hassan record of Vishnuvardhana contains references to Kantapura, Tamarecharu, Aranimale and some other places<sup>705</sup>. *Kantapura* and *Tamarecharu* can be identified as the present Kantapuram and Thamarassery near Kinalur, which are situated about nine and fourteen kilometres respectively from Kinalur village where we got the Jain inscription which mentioned the places Kantapura and Korati. Unfortunately, we did not have any archaeological vestiges to substantiate Jain affiliation of Kantapura/Kantapuram and *Tamarecharu*/Thamarassery.

*Aranimale* in the record can be identified as the Kalugumalai in the Kovilpatti taluk of Thoothukudi district, another famous Jain hub of Tamil Nadu, which was known as *Araimalai*<sup>706</sup> during medieval times. We have some Western Ganga and Hoysala records mentioning this place as Nirgunda-nadu, where according to the Hassan record, Sankara set up the god *Kesava*. The *Nirgunda-nadu* was also mentioned in a 12<sup>th</sup> Century Hoysala record of Vishnuvardhana, which clearly says that it situated in the vicinity of Nilagiri<sup>707</sup>. The Devarahalli record<sup>708</sup> of the Western Ganga king Sripurusha refers to donated a village namely *Ponnalli* in the *Nirgunda-Vishaya* to a Jain basti called Lokatilaka. The village *Ponnalli* in the *Nirgunda-nadu* has been identified as the *Ponnani* near Gudalur by the present researcher<sup>709</sup>. On account of these findings, Nirgunda-Nadu can be located either nearby areas of Gudalur or Gudalur itself which share the border regions of Kerala and Tamil Nadu; comprising parts of the Chera kingdom.

Thus, places mentioned in the Hassan record definitely had certain Jain connection. At the same time, Sankara, one of the minsters of Vishnuvardhana erected Vishnu temples in all these places. The kings who were vanquished by Sankara, the commander of Vishnuvardhana were probably staunch supporters of Jainism. The Jain Chera Perumal Rama Kulasekhara of Mahodayapuram could be an example for it. The construction of so many Vishnu temples in the Jain centers by the governor of Vishnuvardhana must have been due to the religious affiliation of his master. At the

same time, the rich patronisation given by his subordinates like Gangas-Raja and his sons Echana and Boppa, his Generals like Punnisa Raja Bittiyanna, Bharatheswara Dandanayaka, and even Vishnuvardhana's queen Santala Devi indicate the healthy tolerant religious philosophy of Vishnuvardhana. We have inscriptional evidences to show that Vishnuvardhana's general Punnisa Raja used his wealth to reinstate Jain basties which were ruined during his expedition in Gangavadi possibly including Kerala also<sup>710</sup>. A Shravanabelagola record (1120 CE) says that Vishnuvardhana's minister *maha-pradhana-danda-nayaka* Ganga-Raja got that title by restoring innumerable ruined Jina temples in all places to their former condition<sup>711</sup>. Another Shravanabelagola record (1123 CE) describes the setting up of a basti namely *Savatigandhavarana* by his loveable wife Santala Devi<sup>712</sup>. These evidences prove that even after Vishnuvardhana embraced Vaishnavism, he was not against Jainism. And the inscriptions also indicate that his family members and some subordinates continued the patronisation to the Noble Faith.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Ramanuja's Vaishnava philosophy tremendously influenced the cultural and religious history of not merely the Kannada region, but Kerala as well. After it, Jain communities of Kannada region including the present Wayanad district of Kerala must have divided into two groups each professing either Jainism or Vaishnavism. But the ultimate result was the religious assimilation of these two groups. It is clearly evident from the Gowda (Gavunda) communities of Wayanad region who still they have two groups such as Vaishnava Gowdas and Jain Gowdas. These groups are maintaining close family connections including marriage alliances. Kannada is their mother tongue. Moreover, some of the Jain basties of Wayanad region clearly indicate this phenomenon. The *Janardhanagudi* and *Vishnugudi* Jain basties in Punchavayal near Panamaram reveal art and architectural forms and features of both Jainism and Vaishnavism of 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>713</sup>. As mentioned above about Vishnuvardhana's General Punnisa Raja's efforts to reinstate Jain basties which were ruined while his expedition<sup>714</sup>. The *Janardhanagudi* and *Vishnugudi* could be those rebuilt by Vishnuvardhana's general Punnisa Raja.

### Chetties of *Kolamuka-pattana*

The regnal period of Narasimha II (c.1220-1235 CE), Somesvara (c.1235-1263 CE), and Narasimha III (c.1263–1292 CE) produced some crucial records which provide a plethora of information regarding the socio-cultural and economic history of Kerala during 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE. These inscriptions are also important for the specific study of the evolution of Jainism during this period. A long inscription from the Narasimha temple in Arakere village in the Arsikere taluk of Hassan district of the period of Narasimha II (1234 CE) is vital in this regard<sup>715</sup>. It says: “*To the south of the Kaveri, which being the residence of Sri-Ranganatha is the effectual remover of sin, is the Kerala country. Famed in the world, in the Kerala country is Kolemuka-pattana,*<sup>716</sup> *filled with Brahmans, and with wealthy houses of Vaishyas-faithful adherents of the goddess Bhadrakali of Kudukundi and with shining ponds surrounded by gardens. And on the west of Kolemuka, the Jahnavi (or the Ganges), to think on which is the destruction of sin, from favour to other regions came down from a mountain in Kerala as the Pereru*<sup>717</sup>. *To the ruler of the city of Kolemuka, Govinda, was born Nambyakka, called Manavala, whose wife was Aucheru Nange. To them was born the world-famed Dama. Like Achyuta along with Siri in the milk-ocean surrounded with chief munis - so, surrounded by Brahmans equal to Gautama, Agastya, Vasishtha, Pulastya, Atri, Angirasa, Jamadagni, Gargya, Kapila, Bhrigu, and Kasyapa, he dwelt in happiness, the best of the Vaishya kula-Dama. On one occasion, placing the lotus feet of Hari by faith in his mind, he made gifts to the Brahmans, of food, gold, jewels, cows, fine clothes, lands and Brahman virgins, and the excellent Vaishya Dama was known as his father-in-law's lusty elephant. This friend of the good and the learned, honoured in the Poysala kingdom as Damodara-Setti, erected a Vishnu temple, and set up therein Adi-Chenna-Kesava, Narasimha and Gopinatha.*” This record then says that Damodara-Setti was “*the senior merchant, an expert in the examination of goods and animals, the benefactor of both sects of the Nana Desi (Ubhaya-Nanadesi) and of the chief Brahmins of Maleyala*”<sup>718</sup>.

*Sri-Ranganatha* of this record must be the Ranganathaswamy Temple in Srirangam near Tiruchirapalli. The famous *Kolamuka-pattana* must be the present Kollam-Koyilandy in Kozhikode district of Kerala. The same is mentioned as *Kulamuka-nagara* in another record belonging to the period of Hoysala Somesvara (1255 CE)<sup>719</sup>.

This ancient port city played a significant role in the history of Kerala. Some native medieval records refer to this port town with another name as *Panthalayani Kollam*<sup>720</sup>. This might be the same *Kollam* in the *Keralolpathi* tradition, one of the five minor principalities which were created after the partition of the kingdom by the last Perumal<sup>721</sup>. The *Kuvalayini* in the Trikkakara Vatteluttu inscription (1004 CE) of Baskara Ravivarman could be the same Koyilandy Kollam<sup>722</sup>; and the *Kawlam* near *Kalikut* (Calicut/Kozhikode), one of the chief cities of Malabar where Ibn Battuta stayed for three months due to illness<sup>723</sup>. The *Koulam Male* of Cosmas Indicopleustes also could be the same *Kolapattanam* alias Kollam<sup>724</sup>. This could be the *Kolam*, one of the harbour cities and headquarters constructed by *Kolathunadu* (*Ezhimalai*) rulers mentioned in the *Mushakavamsa Kavya*<sup>725</sup>.

If this is true, Govinda the Vaisya ruler of *Kolamuka-Pattana* of the present record must be a *Kolathiri* (King of Kolathunadu). The word *Kolathiri* and *Kollam* have some connection. *Ko* means king, *thiri* or *thiru* means an honourable or holy person. The name *Kollam* derived from the two words *Ko* and *Illam*. The word *Illam* means residence, and *Kollam* can be interpreted as the abode of the king (*Ko+Illam*). In that sense, *Kolathiri* is the honourable (*thiri*) king (*Ko*) whose residence (*Illam*) became *Kollam* (*Ko+illam+thiri=Kolathiri*). Possibly during this time the political realm of *Kolathunadu* had extended up to the present Kozhikode region. The river *Peraru* in this record (which is as sacred as Ganga) must be the same *Peraru* otherwise known as *Nila* or *Bharathappuzha*. The Tirunavaya temple situated on the northern bank of this river is styled as the ‘Kasi of south India’ is enough to estimate its sacredness.

The goddess *Bhadrakali* of the record is doubtlessly the goddess *Bhagavati* of the *Pisharikavu* and the place *Kudukundi* must be the same Koyilandy. This goddess is also mentioned in another Hoysala Somesvara record (1255 CE)<sup>726</sup>. The importance of this temple is evident from the discovery of a stone slab inscription (1089 CE) there belonging to the last Chera ruler Rama Kulasekhara<sup>727</sup>. The present Nair family having traditional ownership over the temple is locally known as *Ravari*. Tradition says that they were famous for diamond trade. The word *Ravari* could have been derived from *Viyapari* means trader and the letter ‘R’ simply denotes the word *Rathnam* means gem or diamond. In short, the *Rathna Viyapari* or gem trader becomes *Ravari*. According to our present Arakere record, Dama alias Damodara-

Setti, the senior merchant from *Kolamuka-pattana* who constructed Narasimha temple was an expert in the examination of costly trading goods and animals. More interestingly, another Hoysala record from the Hiriyur Kunjesvara temple in Arakere (1255 CE) says that Kunjanambi, younger brother of Damodara-Setti, “*the promoter of the fortunes of the Maleyala family*” was “*an expert in testing all manner of gems, understanding in a moment the wishes of kings*”<sup>728</sup>.

The family deity of the *Ravari* known as *Porkali* is derived from two words such as *Por* and *Kali*. Tamil word *por* means war and *Kali* alias Bhadrakali. The *Porkali* or war deity later became the *Bhagavati* of Pisharikavu. Epigraphic evidences clearly point out a fact that the Nair commanders and soldiers of Kerala migrated into other regions and played a crucial in the armies of medieval peninsular Indian kings. We have some early records of the Cholas speaking about the active role of traders -cum-warriors from Kerala in their country and even army<sup>729</sup>. During the Chola imperialism, the capture of Talakad by Rajaraja and Rajendra made it as the hub of military aggrandisement further into the North. But Vishnuvardhana caused to flee the Thanjavur heroes from Talakad. It is reasonable to suppose that after the decline of Chera Empire, large-scale migration of warrior class ensued from Kerala particularly of Nairs to Chola and Hoysala armies. The group called Nayakas who were famous for their bravery had an important role in the Hoysala army<sup>730</sup>. Etymologically both *Nair* and *Nayaka* give the same meaning as a military commander. The name *Nayaka-Devar-Pillai* in a record (1171 CE) more evidently attests *Nair-Nayaka* integration<sup>731</sup>. The *Pillais* are a subcaste of the Nairs of Kerala. We have an inscription<sup>732</sup> in Tamil-Grantha script and old Tamil-Malayalam language (1180 CE) belonging to the time of Ballala II (c.1173–1220 CE) from Malavalli near Talakad refers to the rituals called *Pampu Thullal* and *Noorum Paalum* possibly practiced by the migrated warriors cum trader from Kerala in the Kannada country. These two rituals are still being practised exclusively by the traditional Nair families in their *Kavus* in Kerala<sup>733</sup>. On the basis of all these facts, it can be safely stated that the warrior class Nair-Nayaka assimilation was a historical reality in the Karnataka-Kerala region during the medieval period especially during the Hoysala age.

Further, the Kunjesvara temple inscription mentions about the father-in-law of Damodara-Setti and Kunjanambi namely Kunje-Setti, the resident of *Kolamuka-*



*pattana*. It says that “When the king’s (Ballala-II)<sup>734</sup> army marched and came to Uchchangi<sup>735</sup>, not approving of it, he with all his power discharged arrows, so that by himself he made the force retire as if rubbed out, and obtained the titles *virada-permme* (pride of heroes), *jasadasompam* (beauty of fame), *vairi-kolahalam* (disturber of enemies). King Ballala sending for him, and ever bowing the head to such prowess, with affection bound on him the crown of a good warrior (*subhata*), so that with his former crown of Setti in the world, he became one for the eye to rest on, the exalted hero, the brave Kunje-Setti of Padiyur, valiant in war, the disturber of enemies”<sup>736</sup>. This description is enough to understand the role of this Chetty (trader) cum warlord from Kerala.

The Arakere and Kunjesvara temple records describe that Damodara-setti and Kunje-setti of *Maleyala* family were “the chiefs of the *Ubhaya-Nana-Desi*” or both sects of *Nanadesi*,<sup>737</sup> the exclusive trading corporation of Hoysala empire. Doubtlessly these trade guilds had on their rolls both the Jaina-Chetties and Hindu-Chetties<sup>738</sup>. The Jaina relation with *Nanadesi* is evident from the records of Shravanabelagola<sup>739</sup>. In the same manner, we have a plethora of inscriptions speaking about the Setti connection with Jain faith<sup>740</sup>. According to the Arakere record, Dama (Damodara-Setti) was surrounded with chief *Munis* and Brahmanas<sup>741</sup>. The *Munis* could be the Jain monks. The present Shetty community of Karnataka and the Nairs of Kerala have the same warrior status in the society. The Shetties of Karnataka comprised both Jain and Hindu followers. The *Chetties* of Kerala did not have equal status as the *Shetties* of Karnataka, but at the same time, the Nairs enjoyed that status. Nairs enjoyed Kshatriya status in the society, but the Chetties of Kerala were considered as Vaishyas. Sometimes the term *Chetty Nair* was used by the Nairs to harass their own community members as an indication of inferior rank of the degraded Nair. Interestingly, present writer have noted an important feature that Chetty community members still have the ceremonial role in the procession of the *Kaliyattam* festival of Koyilandy *Pisharikavu* temple owned by Ravari Nairs. Every year representatives of the Chetty families from inside and outside the state will come and participate in this festival. Here we have to note another point that, according to Arakere record, Govinda the ruler of Kollam belongs to *Vaishya Kula*<sup>742</sup>. We will be confused by the names of the traders mentioned in these records belonging to *Vaishya Kula* such as *Kakara-Kanda-Nambi-Setti*, *Bandi-Nambi-Setti*, *Chandi-Nambi-Setti*, *Konda-Nambi-*

*Setti, Kunja-Nambi-Setti, etc.*,<sup>743</sup> belong to Vaishya Chetty community or the present *Nambiar* community, one among the Kshatriya Nair sub-castes?<sup>744</sup>.

### **Jainism and the Nairs of Kerala**

Here we have to keep in mind some more crucial facts regarding Nairs of Kerala. Most of the suspected Jain but converted Hindu temples of Kerala were being owned or administrated by the *Samanta*<sup>745</sup> or *Nair* families. Tradition says that once the Mathilakam alias *Thrikanamathilakam* temple and the town (chief ancient/medieval Jain centre of Kerala) were owned by two Nair families<sup>746</sup>. The place Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad famous for its remnants of a Jain temple along with an inscription, which later became the hub of *Poothapadi Padainayars* (Nair commanders from Poothadi/Poothapadi), the regally appointed protectors of the Hindu temples of Wayanad like Thirunelli and Sulthan Bathery<sup>747</sup>. We have the remnants of two Jain images (Fig.9-10) inside the rubber estate of a Nair family at Velikkad near Mundur in Palakkad<sup>748</sup>. The Paruvasseri Palliyara Jain basit but converted as Hindu shrine (Fig.14) also had the same feature of Nair affiliation and it could be associated with the Nair family of the Kannambra Nair compound. Moreover, a suspected Jain idol still resting submerged inside the temple tank which was once owned by a Nair family at Kondampalli near Koyilandy. The *Palli* in the Kondampalli itself says that it was once a Sramana centre. Further, it should be remembered that certain Jain but converted Hindu temples like Kallil (Fig.7) and Chitharal (Fig.18) are traditionally worshipped by Nairs<sup>749</sup>. The Kallil Bhagavati temple in Perumbavoor is the shrine of Padmavati Yakshi now being worshipped as Bhagavati. The hereditary proprietors of the Kallil temple is also a Samantha Nair sub caste (*Amabalavasi* or temple dwellers) called *Pisharody*. *Pisharody* could be derived from two words such as Tamil *Pichai* (Sanskrit/Malayalam *Bhiksha*) and *Adigal*. *Pichai* (Bhiksha) means food and other basic needs obtained by asking for alms largely practiced by Jain and Buddhist monks. In this logic, *Adigal* who obtain *Bhiksha* became *Pisharody*. In the present day Kerala society, *Adikal* is also one of the sub-castes of the Nair community. Tradition says that they were the degraded Brahmins due to their priestly hood in the Durga/Bhadrakali temples offering flesh and liquor to the goddess and also partaken both<sup>750</sup>. Interestingly, the priests of the Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple are called as *Adikal*. Some scholars observe that the

“*Bharani* festival in the present Kodungallur temple wherein “vulgarities are shouted and bloody sacrifices are made represents the commemoration of an attempt to drive away the Sramana monks and nuns from the place”<sup>751</sup>. Our above discussion in connection with the *Ayiram* organisation of the last Chera ruler Rama Kulasekhara and its affiliation with the present Nair organisation called *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* (The Thousand without One) of Kodungallur temple is suggesting the Jaina association. According to *Silappadikaram*, the ancient Chera king Chenguttuvan installed Kannaki stone image in the Chera capital. The general perception is that the temple of Kannaki established by Chenguttuvan is the present Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple. However, the *Adigal* community of Kerala are a few in numbers, and they mainly concentrated in Palakkad, Trissur and Malappuram districts. In the Travancore region they have known as *Adishens* or *Adichan* Nairs.

Here we have to recall the opinion of Raghava Varier that the *Vaniya* sub-caste among the Nairs, traditionally oil traders in Kerala, may have been converted Jains<sup>752</sup>. The following discussion will support the logical hypothesis formulated by M.G.S.Narayanan that the Jains of Kerala “were almost completely absorbed in the Nair community”<sup>753</sup>.

It has already been pointed out how the *Viyapari* Nairs of *Kudukundi* alias Koyilandy became *Ravari* Nairs. History of the Jains of south India says that they were famous for trade in precious stones like pearls, gems, diamonds etc. Jaina association with stone trade is evident from inscriptions even from before the Common Era onwards<sup>754</sup>. Some of the ancient/medieval Jain settlements of Kerala namely Muthanga in Wayanad denotes the resting place of Muthu traders (*Muthu vechu thangum idam*)<sup>755</sup>; Puthangadi alias *Muthangadi* (pearl market) in Wayanad, and *Muttu-pattanam* (pearl town) and *Manikya-pattanam* (diamond town) in Palakkad are enough to prove the Jain relation with the precious stone trade<sup>756</sup>. The recent discovery of semiprecious stones and beads along with a potsherd-Tamil-Brahmi inscription of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE mentioning *amana* (Sramana) from the Pattanam (Muziris?) excavations on the western coast of Kerala further confirms the present postulation<sup>757</sup>. Jains were traditionally traders, at the same time, ancient-medieval coastal towns of Kerala were also popular in the world for brisk trade. And it is hard to find any traditional Jains in the present coastal and plain regions of Kerala<sup>758</sup>.

Majority of both Jain and Hindu Shetties of Karnataka are still settled in the Tulu-Canara coastal regions of Karnataka. These Kannada-Konkani speaking Shetties can also be located in the Kasaragod district of Kerala. Only a few traditional Nair families are living there; Shetties are the substitute for Nairs in Kasaragod.

In Kerala, there was no proper hierarchical caste structure like Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra. The gradual development of caste system on the basis of occupations created hundreds of castes and sub-castes in the society. Most of the ruling families of Kerala cannot claim proper Kshatriya lineage. The surnames like the *Nambiyathiri* suffixed with the names of the Zamorin rulers are the best example. If we corroborate it with our *Nambyakka*, *Kanda-Nambi-Setti*, *Konda-Nambi-Setti*, etc., of the *Vaishya Kula*, they become Vaishyas.

The ancient Jain communities of Kerala must have had some affiliation with the later Nairs and Chetties. Jainism must be the common ancestry of both the social groups. From the early times, Jain traders organised themselves for promoting their trade leading to the formation of a number of trade guilds like *Nanadesi*, *Valanchiyar*, *Nalpattennayiravar* etc. They controlled the trade between western coastal regions of Kerala, and the neighbouring Kannada-Tamil countries, and other parts of India and abroad. Their early settlements were on the major trade route linking the coastal towns. Remnants of Jain settlements in Wayanad, Palakkad, Trissur, Kasaragod and other places are the best examples for this inference. Gradually they settled in the port cities like Panthalayani Kollam, Kodungallur, etc.

This is more evident from a 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE short label Jaina affiliated inscription (Fig.3) from *Pattanam* near Kodungallur<sup>759</sup>. Furthermore, the presence of Jain remnants in the coastal region like Pattanam, Neeleswaram, Mathilakam, Kinalur, Koyilandy, Manjeswaram, etc. supports the above observation. However, in order to protect their precious merchandise from the wayside robbers they gradually organised militias like *Muvayiravar*, *Ayirattirunurruvar*, *Ayiravar*, *Arunuttuvar*, *Annuttuvar*, etc. Beyond the primary duty, this warrior class began to lend support during the war time to the kings. Gradually, fighting became their primary profession instead of trade. In Kerala, centuries of continuous war between Cholas and Cheras made them prominent in the society<sup>760</sup>. After the decline of the Chera Empire, they largely

migrated to Pandya and Chola armies. We have a number of evidences regarding the presence of Kerala merchants cum Soldiers in the Chola country and even army<sup>761</sup>. When the Hoysalas become prominent in the south including Kerala, these warriors became part of Kannada army and sometimes reached to the position of *Nayakas* or commanders. This is clearly evident from the role played by the warriors like *Nayaka-Devar-Pillai* in the Hoysala army<sup>762</sup>. The *Nayaka-Devar-Pillai* of Kannada country naturally became *Nair-Devar-Pillai* in Kerala. The *Tirinalur-Nayaka* alias *Thirunelli-Nayaka* in the Halebidu record (1281 CE) is another example<sup>763</sup>. We have some more Hoysala records speaking about the *Nayaka* soldiers from Kerala like *Maleyala Babeya-Nayaka*, *Puliyavadambu Paramesvara-Nayaka*, *Nambi-Nayaka*, etc.,<sup>764</sup>.

The Halebidu record<sup>765</sup> of the Hoysala period says that the name of daughter of the *Nayaka* is *Ranganili*. The women's surname *Nili* or *Neeli* was very common in medieval Kerala. We have a 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE *Sandesakavya* namely '*Unnuneeli Sandesa*' according to which the royal lady *Unnuneeli* belongs to a *Nair* royal family<sup>766</sup>. Palace servants/courtesans known as *Pendiyammar* who belongs to the thirty-six *Nair* families refers to the Manuscripts of *Zamorins (Granthavaris)* also crucial in this regard<sup>767</sup>. The *Neeliyechi (Neeli +Yakshi or Neeli +Achi)* of *Vallikkattu Tharavadu* and *Itti Unnulee (Itti+Unnu+Neeli)* of *Trikkandiyur Tharavadu* in the records are again ascertaining the *Neeli* association with *Nairs* of Kerala. These records on nine occasions, repeat the name *Ittu Unnulee (Ittu+Unnu+Neeli)*, as belonging to eight different *Nair* families namely *Achaziyathu*, *Kannambrathu*, *Kongacherry*, *Padichery*, *Pullanuru*, *Vadakkathu*, and *Vallikkattu*. The history of the *Jain Neeli* and its transformation as *Nair Neeli* will be discussed in the following pages.

The peace loving ambience in Jainism was not suitable for this warrior class. Starting from the Chera period this evolutionary process elevated them to the position of *Kshatriyas*. The religious conversion by *Vishnuvardhana* possibly gave further impetus to this acculturation process. The cultural assimilation between *Vaishnavites* and *Jains* through royal support made this phenomenon easier especially in the *Malabar* region. Their worshipping centres became the abodes of both *Jain* and *Hindu* deities. The gradual absorption of *Jain Chetties* also into the *Hindu* fold led to further changes in the mode of worship. Gradually the *Jain* deities received a lower status and

some other chief deities were excluded from the shrines. The worship of *Naga*, *Yakshi*, *Yaksha*, *Nagayakshi* by the present Hindus are the best example for this sub-deity status. The *Naga* cults like *Pampu Thullal* and *Noorum-paalum* became prominent in the *Kavus* of Nairs<sup>768</sup>, to remember and perpetuate their Jain ancestry in the form of the hooded snake adorning the sculptures of Parsvanatha<sup>769</sup>. At the same time, some other prominent Jain Tirthankaras and allied deities were abandoned or shifted to rivers and ponds. In some other temples they are still being worshipped as Hindu deities. This is clearly evident from the temples at Kallil in Perumbavoor, Chitharal in southern Travancore, Koodalmanikyam in Irinjalakuda, Palliyara in Paruvasseri, Pattanam Neeleswaram, etc. Aforesaid facts are sufficient to understand the history of the adoption/conversion of a group of Jain community to Hindu Nair fold.

The declining status of Jainism in entire south India and the simultaneous domination of Hinduism attracted or forced the Jain Chetties also to relinquish their faith but keep their profession. Though they never got Kshatriya status like Nairs, the Vaishya status bestowed on them played a pivotal role in deciding their social status. In the case of Jain-Shetty traders of Karnataka, they remained as Jains and kept their profession due to the royal support even after the Hoysalas. On account of that the Karnataka Shetties still comprised both Jain and Hindu followers. But after the decline of Hoysala supremacy, Jain-Chetties of Kerala particularly of Malabar region failed to get such kind of patronization. This factor also gave further impetus to their conversion to Hindu fold to become Hindu Chetties.

Thus, Kerala trade and her traders contributed richly to the growth of the economy of the Hoysalas. These commercial transactions also transmitted social, religious and cultural elements between the two countries. These relations provided further impetus to the already continuing process of formation of two new Hindu social classes, Viz., Nairs and Chetties. Their origin can be traced from their mother sect, the Jain-Setties. The long run evolution of Jains as Jain-Setties (traders); as warriors; as ambassadors; as rulers; created new vibrations in the social sphere of Kerala. The compromising mood of both religions, absorbed them as either Nairs or Chetties.

To sum up this discussion of the Hoysala dynasty and the Kerala Jainism it is now clear that most of the early Hoysala rulers up to Vishnuvardhana were staunch Jains. The brisk trade and commercial activities with western and far eastern countries through the ports of Kerala are essential for the Hoysala rulers, which forced them to have a political control over this region. The emergence of Vishnuvardhana as the virtual emperor of the peninsular India led to a series of political, socio-cultural and religious transformations in the Kerala region also. The role played by the commandants of Vishnuvardhana like Sankara, Ganga Raja, Punnisa Raja, etc., in the patronisation of both Vaishnavism and Jainism indicated the healthy and tolerant religious atmosphere in Kerala and in the Hoysala kingdom as well. The Hoysala invasions, in political terms could be sounded the death knell to the already declining Chera Empire under the Jain king Rama Kulasekhara.

Subsequent to Vishnuvardhana's rule and the simultaneous decline of the Chera Empire, inscriptional evidences show that the cultural transmissions between these two regions through the traders and warriors were continued with great vigour. These transmissions led to the spread of Kerala's unique customs and traditions across the boundaries and reached the Kannada soil. The social and cultural differences between northern and southern part of Kerala should be read through the eyes of Hoysala sovereignty in Kerala. The large scale Kannada influence in the cultural and social spheres is particularly evident from the districts of Kasaragod, Kannur, Kozhikode and Wayanad. This influence is also to be noticed in the fields of language, place names, festivals, rituals, cults, etc. The period between 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed a series of tumultuous changes in the caste structure, language, religious philosophies and ritualistic practices in Kerala. In this background it is not surprising to find glorious description of Hoysala towns and cities in the medieval Manipravalam works like *Unniyachi Charitham* as: '*Dwarasamudra, the busting sea; Mangalapuram, the upcoming prosperous city; and Tirumarudur, the Golden city*' ('...dwarasamudram-nira-samudram,tirumaruturiti-Kanchana-Nagari,mandikrita-mangalapura-mahima.....')<sup>770</sup>.

These relations gave further impetus to the process of the evolution in the religious structures in the region. The emergence of the two caste groups: Nairs and Chetties in the Hindu religious and social order ensued during the Hoysala period. Their large

scale absorption can be traced from the Jain inland trading community and they came to be known as Jain-setties. The transformation of Jains from caravan merchants as troopers; as diplomats; finally as administrators created new socio-religious ambience in all spheres of medieval Kerala. These changes are more prominent in the Wayanad region of Kerala than in the remaining parts of the state. This region clearly unveils the composite culture of Kannada-Malayalam elements. The Gowda community of the region evolved as a new religious group as a combination of both Jainism and Vaishnavism, proving the Kannada affinity and influence. At the same time, their elevation to the position of Brahmin and Nair Janmies in other parts of the state indicates the influence of local cultural, religious and economic elements. Likewise, the Wayanadan Chetties were placed in the Vaishya strata similar to the Chetties in the remaining parts of Kerala is characteristic of medieval social stratification.

### **The *Neeli* and Her Legacy: A Study**

A detailed study of the Jaina related personal name 'Neeli' will help us in comprehending its origin and metamorphosis into different forms: its origin from the concept of fertility cult; its relation with Dravidian goddess *Kotravai*; Hindu *Kali* of the *Sakteya* cult; *Yakshi* cult in Jainism and its assimilation with Kerala Hinduism; Neelakesi of *Payyanur Pattola* and other ritual traditions; myth regarding vampire *Neeli Yakshi* still popular in Kerala and certain parts of Tamil country; the tradition regarding the Saiva woman saint *Karaikal Ammaiyar* of Tamil Bhakti tradition and her assimilation with the Neeli tradition; Kerala version of Karaikal Ammai; importance of the name Neeli among the Nair women folk of Kerala and so on.

### ***Neeli of Neelakesi***

Neelakesi is a splendid Jain philosophical work written by one anonymous author, contradicting other systems of Indian philosophies like *Buddhist*, *Ajivika*, *Sankhya*, *Vaisheshika*, and *Vedic*, etc.<sup>771</sup>. The chief concern of this work is the negation of a contemporary Buddhist work *Kundalakesi*<sup>772</sup>, a work which was interred behind the drape of time. Neelakesi is dated anterior to the period of *Tholkappiyam*, *Kural*, and *Naladiyar* which were quoted by *Neelakesi*<sup>773</sup>. One of the notable features of this Jaina masterpiece is that it elaborately speaks about the presence of *Ajivika* sect in



ancient Tamizhagam<sup>774</sup>. Chakravarti, who made a critical study of this work, on the basis of its references and descriptions of Ajivika sect in south India, assigns it to a period between 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>775</sup>. Others assigned *Neelakesi* to 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>776</sup>.

According to its anonymous author, he was influenced by goddess *Kali Neeli* of *Thenpazhayannur*, for choosing the title *Neelakesi* for his work, which was identified by some scholars as the modern *Palayanur* village near Thiruvallangadu in Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu<sup>777</sup>. The text of the *Neelakesi* derived its theme from an earlier text *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* (Jaina Householder's Code of Conduct) by Samantabhadra, who lived during 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE probably hailing from Jaina Kanchi alias Thiruparuthikundram near modern Kanchipuram<sup>778</sup>. It is reasonable to suppose that the Neeli in the *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* was also influenced by the Kali Neeli of *Thenpazhayannur*. This story was narrated by Prabhachandra one of the commentators of *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* thus: *Neeli was the daughter of a Jain merchant who was married off by trickery, to a Buddhist merchant named Sagaradatta. When asked to cook meat for a Buddhist guest, Neeli responded by making a dish out of a leather slipper. This inobedient behaviour angered Neeli's husband and her in-laws retaliated by falsely accusing her of being immoral and unchaste. Eventually, the gods themselves came forth to proclaim her pure and virtuous. A devata (deity) appeared in a dream to the king and informed him that he had fastened shut the city gates by his magical power; and they can be opened only by a chaste woman. The next morning the king ordered all the women to assemble at the city gates to try opening them. All the women failed to do so. Neeli had not been called upon to take the test because her in-laws had already branded her as unchaste. Finally when Neeli was called upon to try, her mere touch opened the gates and thus she was proclaimed as being virtuous and divine*"<sup>779</sup>.

### **The story of *Neelakesi***<sup>780</sup>

*Neelakesi* was the attendant goddess of Kali of Panchala-desa or Partti-nadu. Kali's favourite animal and bird sacrifices offered by her devotees were interrupted by the influence of a Jaina muni namely Munichandra. Munichandra asked the worshippers of Kali to offer the clay replicas of birds and animals which are enough to satisfy the goddess. Goddess Kali was dissatisfied with the decision of her devotees and appointed *Neelakesi* to drive away the Jaina Acharya from the country. *Neelakesi*

*created quite a lot of terrifying situations expecting to drive off the Acharya, in vain. She finally assuming the form of an attractive princess started to play the coquette before the meditating ascetic. She even behaved like a prostitute to disturb the spiritual mind of the yogi. She fails again. Meanwhile the Jaina Acharya told her exactly who she is and what was her intention. His plain speaking enticed Neelakesi to Jainism and she became a disciple of Munichandra to learn the fundamental principles of Jainism. Neelakesi wanted her teacher to ask for guru dakshina and he asked her to propagate this doctrine of ahimsa across the land, which is the real guru dakshina. She accepted the task to be a missionary and taken human form, started to wander from place to place, country by country and preached the doctrine of ahimsa. Neelakesi engaged scholars from other faiths like Buddhists, Ajivikas and Vedic learning, in a series of philosophical debates and defeated them.*

The medieval commentary ‘*Samaya Divakara Vritti*’ by *Samayadivakara Vamanamuni* on *Neelakesi* designates *Neeli* as ‘*Ma Daivam*’ (Mother Goddess/favourite Goddess)<sup>781</sup>. This work also mentions that *Neeli* become victorious in the great theological contests with Buddhists particularly in the one held at *Kampili*<sup>782</sup>. This traditional account reveals a fact that the name *Neelakesi* or *Neeli* have close affinity with Jainism.

### **Metamorphosis of Dravidian *Kotravai* into Jain *Neeli* and Hindu *Kali***

Another Tamil Jain work *Yasodhara Kavya* also deserves special mention here. Both *Neelakesi* and *Yasodhara Kavyam* share some common features, particularly in their opposition to animal sacrifices being offered to Goddess *Kali*. In *Yasodhara Kavyam*, king *Yasodhara* was advised by his mother to offer a sheep in sacrifice to appease goddess *Kali*. But the king was not willing to go for animal sacrifice. Finally he agreed to oblige his mother by offering a cock made of flour as a substitute, saying that “destroying of an effigy is equal to killing the actual animal”<sup>783</sup>. Furthermore, the *Yasodhara Kavyam* is telling another story which is related to *Marithatthan*, the ruler of *Rajaputra*, in *Avdeya*. It says that:

*“In the city of Rajaputra there is a Kali temple dedicated to Chandamari Devi. It was the time of great festival for this Chandamari Devi. For the purpose of sacrificing, there were gathered in the temple precincts, pairs of birds and animals, male and female, such as fowls, peacocks, birds, goats, buffaloes and so on. These were brought by the people of the town as their offerings to the Devi. The king Marithatthan, to be consistent with the status and position of Raja, wanted to offer sacrifice not merely the ordinary beasts or birds but a pair of human beings as well.*

*So he instructed his officer to fetch a pair of human beings, a male and a female, to be offered in sacrifice to the goddess kali. The officer accordingly went in search of human victims. Just about that time a Jaina Sangha consisting of 500 ascetics presided over by Sudattacharya came and settled at the park in the outskirts of the city. In this Sangha there were two youths Apaya-rusi and Apaya-mathi, brother and sister. These two young apprentices, since they were not accustomed to the rigorous discipline characteristic of the grown up monks in the sangha, were very much fatigued on account of the long travel and were permitted by the head of the sangha to enter the town for obtaining alms for themselves. The officer of the king, who went about in search of human victims, was very glad to capture these two beautiful youths and marched them to the Kali temple and informed the king of his capture. The king Marithatthan gladly went to the temple with the object of offering these youths in sacrifice. The people assembled there asked these ascetics to pray to Kali, but they smiled at this request; and they themselves blessed the king that might be weaned from this cruel form of worship, so that he might have the pleasure of accepting the noble ahimsa-dharma which would lead him to a safe spiritual haven. The king wanted to know the reason why they laughed at such a grave moment and expressed a desire to know who they were. Apaya-rusi began to answer: 'The reason why we laughed, without being in fright, was the result of the knowledge that everything that happen to an individual is but the fruit of his previous Karma. Fear to escape the fruits of one's own Karma is but the result of ignorance. Hence we were not afraid of our own fate which is the consequence of our own previous action. We have to laugh simply because the whole scene here is steeped in so much ignorance. As a result of our own conduct that we sacrificed a fowl made up of rice-flour, we had to suffer and endure for seven births, successively taking the form of lower animals and suffering all sorts of pain. Only in this period, we have the good fortune to regain our human form. We know very well that all this suffering was the result of our silly desire to offer sacrifice to Kali, though the actual victim of sacrifice was merely an imitation fowl made of flour. After realising this, when your people asked us to pray to Chandamari Devi for the prosperity and welfare of yourself and your kingdom as a result of the sacrifice of several animals and birds together with human beings, we could not but laugh at the simplicity and ignorance of the people here.' When the king heard this, he gave up the idea of sacrifice and wanted to know more about the life of the two victims who exhibited such magnificent peace of mind even in the jaws of death''<sup>784</sup>.*

Here we have to discuss the historical evolution of Dravidian *Kotravai* (*Korravai*) into the Jain *Neeli* and Hindu *Kali*. *Kotravai* was the goddess of victory frequently mentioned in the *sangam* and later Tamil classics. In her earlier form *Kotravai* was the favourite deity of the hunter communities of Tamil country.<sup>785</sup> She must be the war goddess of the *Sangam* Age who was worshiped before they leave for war or plunder. Their mode of worship was animal sacrifices along with *Koothu* or *Aattam*

(dance). She was fond of wild dance and animal sacrifices<sup>786</sup>. After the successful cattle raids by the *sangam* folks like the *Kalavar*, *Eyinar*, and *Maravar*, *Kotravai* will be offered some of the captured cattle as sacrifice. The *Perumpanattrupadai* of *Pattupattu* described *Kotravai* as “*The beauteous queen that treads the devil dance, whose great womb bore the red god well adorned with jewels, which the cruel demon killed in the sea’s white foam, may’st thou forever live!*”<sup>787</sup>. The *Nedunalvadai* of *Pattupattu* contains references to *Kotravai*. For instance the servant of a lonely wife implores *Kotravai* that “*mother, grant him victory great, and end the war, and thus remove the thoughts that greatly pain the loving lonely wife*”<sup>788</sup>. In another instance the hero in the *Tirumurugattrupadai* exalts her “*Thou son of the daughter born of the king of mountains, where big bamboos grow! Thou death to foes! Thou son of Kotravai! Victorious over foes in battlefields!*”<sup>789</sup>. Throughout the epic *Silappadikaram*, *Kotravai* was depicted as the goddess of victory<sup>790</sup>. All these instances prove her crucial role as war goddess during Sangam age.

Subsequently, the *Dravidian* *Kotravai* become *Kali* or *Mahakali* in Hindu pantheon,<sup>791</sup> and heralds the Shakti cult which must be the final assimilated form of mother goddess/ fertility cult. In the process of this transformation from *Kotravai* to *Kali* in Tamil region including Kerala, there were no major changes in the rituals and customs. The *Neeli* become the Jain version of *Kotravai* or *Kali*. She, as per the stipulations of Jain doctrines, is against bloody sacrifices. Some scholars were of the view that *Neeli* is “apparently so closely linked with violence” similar with *Kotravai*<sup>792</sup>. In the Jaina perspective, *Neeli* was a passive goddess but when she became *Kali* in Kerala and southern part of Tamil Nadu she is the embodiment of evil spirit. This kind of transformation also can be seen in the portrayals of Saivite bhakti saints. There the *Neeli* along with the *Yakshi* become the ghost goddess and the heroine of vampire stories. This subject can be discussed in the following pages. One of the intentions for the compilation of the works like *Neelakesi* and *Yasodhara Kavyam*, no doubt, was to popularize the principle Jaina doctrines, such as ahimsa. These works clearly convey the message against the animal sacrifices which were prevalent in the ancient Tamizhagam and later percolated into the Hindu belief systems.

Interestingly, the Jain concept of ahimsa influenced Hindu revivalists during later period, especially Saivite bhakti saints. The author of *Neelakesi* in his portrayal of Neeli seems to have been influenced by the *Kali-Neeli* of *Thenpazhayannur*, which has been identified by some scholars as the modern *Palayanur* village near Thiruvallangadu in the Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu<sup>793</sup>. The story of ‘the Kali of Palayanur’ described in the *Sthala Mahatmyam* (The sacred/mythical history of a place) of the Thiruvallangadu, follow the same path of *Neelakesi*. In this story the Hindu Kali finally abstains from animal sacrifice.

The story is as follows: “*Kali of Pazhayannur surrounded by her large army of smaller Devatas was a terror all around since she created havoc among men and animals in the surrounding area. Even the gods found her intolerable. They all appealed to Vishnu for protection, but Vishnu told the Devas that they must go to Siva for help. For, this Kali of Pazhayannur had the favour and patronage of Parvathi, Siva’s wife. According to Vishnu’s advice, they all went to Siva and appealed to him to protect them from the intolerable cruelty of Kali. Siva instead of waging an open war against Kali decided upon a stratagem to vanquish her. He challenged her to a contest of dancing to which she readily consented, in the presence of Devas who acted as umpires, the dancing contest was begun. In the beginning Kali proved to be quite equal to Siva and sometimes even excelled him and the umpires were not in a position to decide in favour of Siva. Finally, Siva had recourse to the Chanda dance. In this dance the dancer had to lift up his leg and whirl round. Kali being a female goddess could not follow Siva in this Chanda dance by lifting up her leg in the presence of Devas. Hence she had to admit her defeat and recognize Siva as the Victor of the dance-Nataraja*”<sup>794</sup>.

The above story about the Kali of Palayanur in the *Sthala Mahatmyam* could be the product of the Saivite movement in the Tamil country. The Tevaram bhakti poets refer the *Amman* (mother goddess) of Pazhayannur as *Vandarkuzhali*<sup>795</sup>. The term *Vandarkuzhali* is the exact Dravidian translation of the Sanskrit *Neelakesi*. The cosmic dance of Siva in the Thiruvallangadu was illustrated by Sekkizhar in his *Periyapuranam* through the story of Karaikal Ammaiyar one of the three women saints among the Sixty three Saiva Nayanars of the bhakti tradition<sup>796</sup>. The centre of action of both Neeli and Karaikal Ammaiyar are is Palayanur in Thiruvallangadu. The crucial transformation of Neeli into *Karaikal Ammaiyar* can be seen in the following discussion.

On the basis of all these traditions we have to reach certain conclusions. The Pazhayanur Kali temple which influenced the author of the *Neelakesi* during the *Sangam* age was a temple of Goddess Kotravai. Subsequently it was converted into a Jain shrine which was against all kinds of blood sacrifices. During the Saivite Bhakti Movement it was again converted as a temple dedicated to *Vandarkuzhali*, the Siva's Consort, equivalent of the Sanskrit *Neelakesi*. The local legend regarding Kali shows that the Jain concept of *ahimsa* continued even after its transformation into a Hindu temple. This kind of Dravidian-Jain-Hindu religious assimilation was not unique to the Palayanur temple but can be identified in entire Tamil country including Kerala.

Most of the Kali and Bhagavathi temples of Kerala could be reflecting such a metamorphosis. The rituals and customs performed in the Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple are the best examples of this transformation. The Jain epic *Silappadikaram* speaks of the installation of Kannaki or Pattini image, the goddess of Chastity at the Chera capital Vanji<sup>797</sup>. It is believed that the Kodungallur temple contained the Kannaki idol installed by the ancient Chera king Chenguttuvan. Our above discussion in connection with the *Ayiram* organisation of Rama Kulasekhara and its affiliation with the *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* (The Thousand without One) of Kodungallur temple is suggesting the Jaina association. This is one of the very few ancient temples still observing the ancient religious traditions and customs. Until recently, Cocks and sheep were used to be sacrificed in thousands to the Kodungallur Amma by the devotees to fulfil their vows.

### **The Neeli Yakshi**

The crucial role played by the Jain nuns in the propagation of their faith in south India during the medieval period is attested by a number of inscriptions in the temples of Chitharal in Travancore, Kalugumalai in Kovilpatti, etc. The Jain nuns are addressed as *Kurattikal* in these inscriptions. *Kuratti* is the Tamil word to denote a female teacher<sup>798</sup>. In the medieval temple inscriptions the term *Kuratti* is found attached with more than twenty seven personal names of the Jain lady teachers of Kerala and Tamil Nadu<sup>799</sup>. Some of the *Kuratties* mentioned in the Chitharal and Kalugumalai records are *Tiruchcharanam Kuratti*, *Pichchai Kuratti*, *Sangakkuratigal*, *Mammai Kuratti*, *Tiruparutti Kuratti*, *Nalkur Kuratti*, *Mialur Kuratti*, *Nalkur Kuratti*, *Perur Kuratti*,

*Tirumalai Kuratti, and Gunandangi Kuratti*<sup>800</sup>. *Silappadikaram* mentions the female Jain nun as *Kavundi*<sup>801</sup>. The story of *Neeli* in the *Neelakesi* also speaks about the conspicuous role played by the Jaina nuns in the Tamil country including Kerala. Moreover, the importance of Yakshi cult in Jainism furthermore ascertains this fact. We know that every Tirthankara have his own Yakshi like *Kali, Jwalamalini, Ambika, Chakreshwari, Padmavati*, etc. Definitely there was some crucial connection between the emergence of the prominence of Yakshi cult and the Jain nuns in the ancient Tamil society including Kerala.

### ***Neelakesi of Payyanur Pattola***

The *Payyanur Pattola* or the *Payyanur Pattu* (Pattu = song) also called *Neelakesi Pattu* (The song of Neelakesi), is the ancient legendary song related to the historical city of Payyanur in the Kannur district Kerala. Payyanur was the first among the 32 Brahmin settlements described by the *Keralolpathi* tradition. It was the major commercial center in the *Mushaka* kingdom and the succeeding *Kolathiris*. Translation of the available part of *Payyanur Pattu* by Gundert is as follows<sup>802</sup>:

*“Neelakesi, a woman of good family, an inhabitant of a place called Sivaperur (Trichivaperur or Thrissur) a town famous for female beauty, could not obtain a son though married to several men. She resolves therefore to do penance by wandering about as a beggar, and comes to the famous emporium Kachil Pattanam (Kavvayi), where the chief of the place, a merchant named Nambu Chetty (Chombu Chetty), enters into conversation with her, advises her to perform certain vows, and then takes her to his palace as his lawful wife. A son is born, and receives the name of Nambusari Aren, and a feast of rejoicing is celebrated on the 41<sup>st</sup> day on the plains (maidanam) of Payyanur. At that time Neelakesi’s brothers happened to go up the coast in a ship. They hear the music, and disembark to see the play. But as they climb up a wall of the temple, some spectators expostulate with them. They call themselves Koolavanier (grain merchants) who cannot be expected to know the customs of the place, and appeal to the chief (Nambu Chetty). He comes but applies his rod to the head of one, a scuffle ensues, and the strangers are killed.*

*Neelakesi when acquainted with the murder of her brothers, leaves the palace and her son, and again wanders forth begging. The son grows up and receives instruction in all the arts of trade and ship-building (given in interesting detail, full of obsolete words). The ship being at length launched and manned with Vappoorawas (?), Pandyas, Chonakas, Cholias, and also with one Yavanaka, the merchants start*

*fearlessly on a voyage first to Poom Pattanam, round Mount Eli (Ezhimala), then passing the Mala Dives (Mala Islands) into the Tani-punul-aruvu river (Thamravarnan Nadhi)<sup>803</sup> to the town Poovenka Pattanam, proceed farther on to the Kaveri, from whence they sail into another sea to other shores, till they reach the gold mountains (Ponmala) where they exchange all their cargo for gold, return and land their goods in Kachil Pattanam, store them in a new magazine, and dismiss the mariners with their shares. After this, when the father and son are enjoying in playing chess, a female devotee is announced who is not satisfied with alms, but wants to see the young merchant. Then follows a long and mysterious conversation. She invites him urgently to be present at a night-feast of women at Payyanur. He promises, but cannot afterwards persuade his father to give him leave, who fears a plot and danger; but the son persisting in importuning him, and at last prostrating himself, he consents. Son: 'I swear by thee, O father, I must go.'*

*The Father: 'I have opposed thee to the utmost, but now I must not prevent thy going-thou goest far away like dying men-strong guards (or companions) are now required-take the children of the Govatala Chetty, of Anchuvannam and of the Manikkiramam, people who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns.'*

*They took of the four classes of colonists, the sons (or servants) of the town-lord (Pattanasvami) in that country, fourteen companions, a noble household, not to be outwitted (or defeated) by any in this country (and, says the son) 'though I should be dragged by the foot, I shall return (tomorrow) to Kachil Pattanam, nor shall this eye sleep (tonight.)''<sup>804</sup>.*

The same published song was later reread and published with certain corrections by Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer<sup>805</sup>, who assigned these songs to 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Century. The legacy of the *Payyanur Pattu* can be traced from certain ritualistic songs<sup>806</sup> such as *Gandharvan Pattu*, *Kentron Pattu* (*Konthron Pattu*), *Vannan Koothu*, *Aadivedan*, *Karakadothi*, *Velakkiri Uzhiyal*, etc., of the Hindu community of Kerala. The lost part of the *Neelakesi Pattu* or *Payyanur Pattu* can be drawn from the *Gandharvan Pattu* which is performed as a part of the *Yakshi-Gandharva* cult in the region<sup>807</sup>. According to the *Neelakesi Pattu* of the *Gandharvan Pattu*, the vampire Yakshi Neelakesi beaten Nambusari Aren in gambling and chess then guillotined him.

*Payyanur Pattu* reveals certain aspects related to the Kerala region, particularly the sea trade activities of the coastal towns and ports. Descriptions of the seafaring endeavours like the ship-building and the presence of workers from different regions



like Pandya, Chola, Yavana, etc., are remarkable. It also refers to the existence of some trading organisations like *Anchuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* in the medieval Kerala country.

There is good reason to assume that the place name Pazhayannur of the Neelakesi could be the ancient name of Payyanur in Kannur, the most prominent ancient Brahmin settlement of Kerala described by the Keralolpathi tradition. Thus the identification of Pazhayannur of the Neelakesi with the modern *Palayanur* (a village near the Thiruvallangadu in the Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu) by some scholars stands corrected with further evidences. However, the similarity between the Pazhayannur of Jain work Neelakesi and Payyanur of the *Neelakesi Pattu* of *Payyanur Pattola* help us to find out the relation between both these works<sup>808</sup>.

### ***Neeli in the Hindu Tradition***

The traditions regarding Neeli have been illustrated by some of the medieval Hindu devotional literatures, such as the *Tevaram* poetry of Thiru Gnanasambandar and elaborated by Sekkizhar in his *Periyapuranam*<sup>809</sup>; the latter one may be dated to 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>810</sup>. But here the story of Neeli encountered dynamic variation from the Jain traditions (of Neeli) illustrated in the *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* and *Neelakesi*. Here Neeli became the personification of evil spirit. She becomes the icon of fear, and transforms into lady vampire roaming with thirst for human blood. The story of Neeli explained by Sekkizhar<sup>811</sup> is as follows:

*In the city of Pazhayannur, situated on the banks of the river Paali there was a Brahmin living with his wife. He was attracted by the charms of a prostitute and gets trapped. He lost all the property and finally killed his wife and child. In the next birth he was born as a rich merchant (Chetty). A prominent ascetic of that area advised him to avoid commercial trips to northern region because something bad is waiting for him on account of his misdeeds in his previous birth. The ascetic gives him a sword which will protect him from any kind of misfortune. Once he went to Pazhayannur, where he lived in his previous birth. Now this place is a haunted one where the ghost (Pisacha) of Neeli who was his wife in his previous birth whom he brutally murdered, is wandering. Now she changed her form as a beautiful woman with an infant whom she materialized from a branch of Kalli plant (cactus). Neeli appeared in front of the assembly of elders comprised seventy members (assembly of*

the Vellalar)<sup>812</sup> who constituted the court of justice and sued that: “oh! Nobleman, this merchant is my husband. This child is born to him. He has discarded me, and has been living with prostitutes ever since. Please restore him to me”<sup>813</sup>. Both of them decanted their claims and the elders told them to stay in hut for that night and in the morning appear again before the assembly. Crooked Neeli requested them that the sword in the possession of the merchant be deposited in the assembly otherwise he will kill her with that in the night. The merchant refused to deposit the sword citing risk to his life. The elders assured that anything happened to him the assembly would be responsible for that. During the midnight Neeli unveiled her real face to the merchant and kills him and leaves the place. Sekkizhar explains the subsequent events thus:

“Vellalars of Pazhayannur,  
Who, when dishonour came on them,  
Weighed the merit to be gained,  
By honouring their word given to a merchant,  
Against saving their lives,  
And saved their word,  
And sacrificed their lives”<sup>814</sup>.

### **Karaikal Ammai Tradition**

The hagiography of Karaikal Ammaiyyar (Karaikal Ammai), one of the three women saints among the Saiva Nayanars, provides us another remarkable instance of the strange transformation of the ghost (pay) Neeli of the previous tradition into a Peyar (the revered demon) of Karaikal<sup>815</sup>. The legend of Karaikal Ammaiyyar given by Sekkizhar in his *Periyapuram* is as follows:

“Karaikal is a prosperous coastal town, laden with wealthy and virtuous merchants. Punitavati was the daughter of Danatattan, a progeny born after her parents performed numerous penances. Like the later Nayanar Mangaiyarkarasi who is described as possessing the beauty of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, Punitavati was also beautiful. She displayed a deep devotion to Siva since her childhood which only augmented with passing times. At the appropriate age, she was given in marriage to Paramatattan resident of Nagapattinam. Punitavati being his only child, Danatattan requested his son-in-law to live in a splendid house, next door to his house at Karaikal, which he had lovingly constructed for his daughter. Punitavati continued to live an arduous life of austerity. One day, Paramatattan received two mangoes from his business client which he sent home. That afternoon, before Paramatattan could come home for lunch, a famished Siva servitor came to their house. As Punitavati had only cooked rice, she fed the servitor one of the mangoes

and the cooked rice. She served the remaining mango to Paramatattan who was struck by its unusual taste and sweetness. Hence, he ordered for the other fruit also. A trembling Punitavati prayed to Siva who miraculously dropped a fruit into her hands. Now, the sweetness of the second fruit surpassed the first. When Paramatattan asked her for the truth, Punitavati made a frank confession. Paramatattan sceptically asked her to produce another mango. When she did it, Paramatattan realized the divinity embedded within his wife and inwardly renounced all conjugal ties with her. On the pretext of business, Paramatattan left Karaikal for another town, where he flourished in his trade. He married another woman and begot a daughter whom he named as Punitavati. Meanwhile, Punitavati continued to live an austere life, as she remained blissfully unaware of the facts regarding her husband's life. When her parents discovered the truth, they took her to Paramatattan who fell at his wife's feet since she epitomized divine grace. When Punitavati realized that Paramatattan no longer considered her as his wife, she decided to renounce her present life as a grihastini (house holder) in quest of a life of eternal salvation at the feet of the Lord. She prayed to Siva to take away her beauteous appearance and instead bestow on her a ghoulish form. Her wish was immediately granted much to the benedictions showered on her by the celestials, although mortals feared her visage. With surging devotion, she composed her *Arputa Tiruvantati* ("Sacred Linked Verses of Wonder") and *Tiruvirettai Manimalai* ("Sacred Double Garland of Verses"). She undertook a pilgrimage to the Himalayas to see Siva and Parvati, walking on her hands up Kailasa, so as not to defile the abode of God. She was greeted there as *Ammai* (Mother) by Siva. He beckons her to witness his cosmic dance at Thiruvallangadu. She reached the place with her head and watched Siva's *oorthuva tandava* (wondrous dance), sang the *Thiruvallangadu Muta Tirupatikangal* (Sacred Senior Songs of Thiruvallangadu) and remained forever his adoring servant"<sup>816</sup>. So she began to be known as Karaikal Ammaiyar (Mother of Karaikal). We have to note here that the center of action of both Neeli and Karaikal Peyar was the Pazhayannur in Thiruvallangadu.

### ***Karaikal Amma of Kerala***

In Kerala also the *Karaikal Amma* tradition is still popular with some significant alterations. The myth related to *Karaikal Amma* is known in Kerala as *Parayi Petta Panthirukulam* (Twelve clans from a single mother)<sup>817</sup>. The gist of the myth narrates the emergence of twelve different castes conceived in a single *Paraya* (a caste) mother's womb by a Brahmin saint Vararuchi. The twelve children were brought up by people of various castes and they were recognized with the corresponding castes of their concierge. *Karaikal Amma* is the only girl child among the twelve children of the *Paraya* lady and Vararuchi. Some traditions say that Karaikal Amma belongs to

Kshatriya caste<sup>818</sup>. The eldest son of Vararuchi was a Brahmin Mezathur Agnihotri. It is believed that the *Kadambur mana* (Brahmin family) of Ottappalam was the offshoot of the Mezathur Agnihotri of *Parayi Petta Panthirukulam*. The *Kavalappara Moopil Nair* (Nair chieftain) family of Ottappalam also associates their lineage with *Karaikal Amma*<sup>819</sup>. Interestingly, both *Kavalappara* and *Kadambur* families still preserve and share certain traditions and customs. If any one of the elder members of the family died both families inform each other and observe the traditional purification bath (*Pula*). This observation by K.K.N.Kurup brings out the historicity of the *Karaikal Amma* tradition in its Kerala version.

Here we have to note a decisive fact that, in one tradition, the flexible *Neeli* metamorphosed from a prostitute to an evangelizing Jain nun to the pious *Saivite Nayanar Peyar*. In Kerala, *Karaikal Amma* became a mythical Nair heroine, one of the twelve children belonging to different castes from Brahmin to Sudra, given birth by a Paraya women and a Brahmin saint. It is nothing but the result of an acculturation process which took place between two conflicted religious faiths in the Tamil-Kerala country during the medieval age. The thrust to accommodate the Jain followers into Hindu mother fold must have led to such kinds of transfigurations.

### ***Yakshi Neeli in the Vampire Tradition***

In the present day Hindu community of Kerala *Yakshi* is the symbol of evil spirit. Most of the temples have the sub-idol or shrine for *Yakshi* worship and they believe that she would pacify any impending misfortune. In every region of the state *Yakshis* are connected with the vampire legends. The *Yakshi*'s chief victims are the elite class of the society because of whom she met with tragic death. The *Yakshis* wearing white dress seduce their prey with the play of coquette. The abodes of the *Yakshis* are either Pala trees (*Yakshipkala/ devil tree*) or Palm trees (*Arecaceae*). At the end the *Yakshi* will kill her prey and suck his blood. They never attack women. Most of the *Yakshis* in their previous lives were brutally murdered and took rebirth to take revenge against the men who killed them. The victims of the *Yakshis* generally belong to the upper strata of the society. There are various version of *Yakshi* folk tale/ballad/tradition still prevalent in Kerala<sup>820</sup>. One such story still popular in Kerala, particularly in the southern part, is that of *Kalliyankattu Neeli* (*Neeli* who had her abode in the cactus

forest). This is one of the favourite themes of *Thekkan Paattukal* (southern ballads) and *Villadichanpattu* (song sung to the strumming of the Villu-a big bow with a tout string) prevailing in the Travancore region<sup>821</sup>. One version of the story of Neeli is as follows:

*There was a village 'Pazhakannur' near Nagarcoil in which a Devadasi (temple dancing girl) named Karveni lived along with her beautiful daughter Ally and a son Ambi. Ally falls in love with Nambi, who was the priest of a nearby Siva temple and later they got married. Nambi was a crooked and delinquent person. Karveni understanding his character drives him away from home. Ally also went along with him. In their journey Ally was murdered by Nambi to grab her jewellery. On hearing the tragic news of the death of his only sister, her brother Ambi, also commits suicide.*

*Both of them were reborn as the children of a Chola king as Neelan and Neeli. After their birth many ghastly incidents happened in the kingdom such as the disappearing cattle. On the advice of an ascetic, the king left both the babies in Panchavankadu (Panchavan forest) in Pazhakannur near Nagarcoil. Now the Pazhakannur village became the haunt place of the vampire Neeli and Neelan. The village elders comprising seventy members with the help of a sorcerer could drive away the ghost of Neelan but failed to do so in the case of Neeli.*

*Priest Nambi was reborn as a merchant namely Anandan in Kaveripoompattinam in the Chola country. In one of his commercial trip to Muziris (Kodungallur) he passed through the Panchavan forest, the abode of the ghost of his former wife Neeli. While crossing the forest, the revengeful Neeli attacked him but failed to kill him on account of the protection from a magic stick in his possession given by an ascetic. Then Neeli assumed the form of a beautiful woman with an infant and placated the village assembly of Pazhakannur that the merchant is her husband as well as the father of her child. Village assembly heard both sides and though confused, stood in favour of Neeli because of Neeli Kanneer (tears of Neeli)<sup>822</sup>. They ordained Anandan to take care of them both in the night and declared that if something happened the assembly will be responsible for that. But during that night ghost Neeli brutally killed Anandan. To stand on their word all the seventy members of the village assembly commits self-immolation. Tradition says that after this incident Yakshi Neeli started to dwell on the Yakshippala tree, and subsequently began to be worshiped as a mother goddess.*

Another story regarding *Kalliyankattu Neeli* connects her with the Nambuithiries of *Surya Kalady Mana* in Kottayam in the central Travancore<sup>823</sup>. This story is as follows:

*Soorya Kalady means the feet of the Sun. It is believed that Surya Deva himself had blessed the chief Nambuithiri of that family with his divine presence and gave some*

*powerful sacred mantras to transcend the darkness. This family became famous for their power to ward off evil spirits through Mantravata (witchcraft). For generations, people of Kerala sought protection in Surya Kalady to ward off or expel the evil spirits. Kalliyankattu Neeli Yakshi is fond of human flesh and blood and roamed around the country. Neeli lived in Kalliyankadu forest, in which her abode is the palm tree. She was the leader of all other Yakshis. She was possessed with such supernatural powers like changing the form within seconds. People are scared to cross the Kalliyankadu forest even during daytime. Sometime the caravan traders also became her prey.*

*Once, the chief of the Surya Kalady Mana namely Surya Kalady went to attend the Thrissur Pooram festival with his friend. Surya Kalady's wife was pregnant and requested him not to go away. But due to his interest in Pooram festival he neglects the tears of his wife. His friend kept Bhagavadgita in his hand with the belief that it will protect from any evil forces including Neeli. By the evening they touched Kalliyankadu forest where Neeli was living on a palm tree. The Brahmin who kept Bhagavadgita in hand advised Surya Kalady not to cross the forest. But he neglected the words of his friend. When they began to cross the forest on the wayside they were received by two beautiful women with astonishing attires. Both the Brahmins were attracted by the beauty of them and they were invited to their home for spending the night. But inside the bedroom Surya Kalady perceived the real face of Neeli and gets killed by Neeli. His friend was asked by Neeli to putdown the Bhagavad Gita but he refused to do so and continuously chant the mantras and thus survived. In the morning he found that he was sitting on the top of a palm tree and everything happened in the previous night appeared as an illusion. He found the remaining parts of the body of Surya Kalady such as his teeth, bones and nails near the palm tree.*

*Surya Kalady's pregnant wife gave birth to a son. He decided to avenge Neeli for killing his father. He was a brilliant one learned all holy scriptures of Mantravata. To gain more mystical power of the mantras the Junior Surya Kalady started severe penance to please Sun God. Finally the Sun God was pleased with his penance and appeared in front of him and granted some more mantras which have the power to kill anyone, but with a warning that it should not be used to kill anyone. But the revengeful Surya Kalady forget the words of God and began to conducted 'ant sacrifice' involving dropping ants in the Homa Kunda (fire altar). On account of his powerful Mantravata all the Yakshis in the netherworld forced to appear in front of him and he asked to them 'are you the one caused the death of my father?' Finally Neeli appeared and agreed that she had killed Surya Kalady. With the power of his mantra, the sacrificial fire washed out Neeli but her final word nailed as a curse on his heart that "Oh Brahmin, may you die on the forty first day from today." After sometime while doing witchcraft against one Gandharva, he was again cursed that he will die without being able to pass urine! Neeli's curse became true and on the forty first day from the removal of Kalliyankattu Neeli, Surya Kalady II died due to the failure of renal system. His body was found near the bathing ghat of the Surya Kalady*

temple. Tradition says that Surya Kalady died without being able to pass urine and it is believed that there are some marks in the roof of the bathing ghat of the temple made by his head when he was jumping in pain<sup>824</sup>.

There are some more ghostly stories related to *Isakki* (Tamil form of Yakshi) prevalent in the Nagarcoil and Kanyakumari region associated with *Natukkattu Yakshi* (Natukkattu near Nagarcoil) and *Tenkanputur Yakshi* (Tenkanputur in Nancilnatu near Kanyakumari)<sup>825</sup>.

It is interesting to note many such vampire stories associated with *Yakshis* and *Yakshi Neeli* are rampant mainly in Kerala and the southernmost parts of Tamil Nadu. The *Yakshi* cult in southern India was largely practiced and transmitted by Jains. In Jainism, *Yakshis* are their favourite deities following the Tirthankaras, occupying almost the same exalted position in the shrines. In the Hindu shrines *Yakshis* are generally worshipped as a sub deity rather than main deity. The large scale adaptation of Jaina followers into Hinduism during medieval period could be one of the reasons for this sub deity status accorded to the *Yakshis* and the *Yakshas* in their shrines. In Kerala, *Yakshi* has been mostly connected and worshipped as a symbol of fear. The reason behind the *Yakshi* assuming a fearful form needs to be investigated. Nonetheless, *Yakshi* cult in Kerala Hinduism can be identified as a derivative from Jainism.

### **Nair Neeli**

The early Jain scripture *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* by Samantabhadra (c.1-2<sup>th</sup> Century CE) provides the earliest account of the name *Neeli*. The text of the *Neelakesi* derived its theme from the *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar*. The author of *Neelakesi* (c.1-5<sup>th</sup> Century CE) also says that he was influenced by the *Neeli* of Pazhayannur while compiling his work. The *Neeli* in the *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* also could be influenced by the *Kali Neeli* of Pazhayannur. The *Samaya Divakara Vritti*, a medieval commentary on *Neelakesi* by *Samayadivakara Vamanamuni*, terms *Neeli* as his own favourite god (*Ma Daivam*). In the later Hindu folk stories, *Neeli* became the symbol of an evil spirit. Subsequently she started to be worshiped as goddess *Neeli* or *Neeli Yakshi*.

Interestingly, during the medieval period, the name Neeli becomes one of the favourite names for the Nair women folk of Kerala. According to the story in the historical novel *Marthanda Varma*, vampire Neeli was a Nair lady in her pervious life<sup>826</sup>. The 14<sup>th</sup> Century Manipravala literature *Unnuneeli Sandesa* highlighted the importance of the name Neeli in the medieval Nair fold. According to the poem, royal lady *Unnu Neeli* belongs to a *Nair* family<sup>827</sup>. Queen and princesses in the Chera-Perumal court had their common title *Iravi Neeli* alias *Kilan Adigal*. Thirunadhikkara Inscription states that *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli* was the daughter of the Chera King Kulasekhara Deva alias Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara (c.844-883 CE)<sup>828</sup>. According to the present record Iravi Neeli made certain donations to the temple of the *Thirunadhikkara Bhattara*. The Thiruvorriyur inscription of the Chola king Parantaka I (c.907-950 CE) refers another *Kilan Adikal* alias *Iravi Neeli*, daughter of the Chera king Vijayaraga Deva alias Kotha Ravi Vijayaraga (c.883-913 CE)<sup>829</sup>. The Trikkakara record of the Indesvaran Kotha alias Indu Kotha (c.943-962 CE) also speaks of certain gifts made by the Chera princess *Sadirasikhamani* alias *Kilan Adikal*<sup>830</sup>, perhaps either wife or daughter of the ruling monarch. The Jain Adigal and Hindu Nair Neeli titles used by the Perumal princesses is remarkable, and made us to think about the relationship of the early Perumal rulers with the Noble faith. At the same time through the above study, we have clearly established the Jaina affiliation of the ancient Chera rulers, especially kings like Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan and Cheran Chenguttuvan. In addition, the continuation of the ancient Chera lineage in the medieval Chera dynasty and their blood relationship is also established. The same is the case with the Jaina association of the Perumal rulers including Vijayaraga, Rajaraja and Rama Kulasekhara, which is a continuation of the ancient Chera patronage to this Noble faith.

The Ilayidam Kollam-Koyilandi inscription of an unknown *Chera Kon* (Chera king) records the gift of an extensive land to one *Isvaran Neeli*, the daughter of Pollamma the Nayattiyar of Chiyamana in Mangalapuram<sup>831</sup>. Nayattiyar is the feminine gender of Nair. *Isvaran Neeli* could be either the wife or the concubine of the Chera king. A Hoysala record (1281 CE) mentioned one *Ranga Neeli* (possibly a temple dancing girl), daughter of a Nair soldier from Thirunelli (Tirinalur Nayaka) in Wayanad<sup>832</sup>



who made a donation of two gold coins (*Gadyana*) to the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebidu.

Some of the names in the *Granthavaries* (Manuscript records) of the Zamorins of Calicut belonging to 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century CE give the list of the palace servants/courtesans known as *Pendiyammar* who hail from thirty six Nair *Tharavadus* (families) deserves special mention<sup>833</sup>. The name *Neeliyechi* (*Neeli* + *Yakshi* or *Neeli* + *Achi*) of *Vallikkattu Tharavadu*, and *Itti Unnulee* (*Itti*+*Unnu*+*Neeli*) of *Trikkandiyur Tharavadu* make certain the Neeli association with Nairs of Kerala. This record repeats the name *Ittu Unnulee* (*Ittu*+*Unnu*+*Neeli*) as belonging to eight different Nair families such as *Achaziyathu*, *Kannambrathu*, *Kongacherry*, *Padichery*, *Pullanuru*, *Vadakkathu*, and *Vallikkattu*.

The evolution of a Jain name *Neeli*, as the family name among the Nairs of the Hindu fold indicates the assimilation of Jain Nairs into the Hindu fold. The *Kavus* belonging to the Nair *Tharavadu* (hereditary ancestral home of Nairs) began to enshrine *Yakshi* as an important deity on par with the *Nagas* (snakes). The term '*Achi*', denoting the Nair wife could be derived from the *Yakshi*. Certain personal names of Nair women's name like *Neeliyechi* could be comprised of two words, *Neeli* and *Yakshi/Achi*.

### ***Yakshi on the Tree***

Another important factor related to *Yakshi* cult in Kerala, is its association with trees and plants. All traditions regarding *Yakshis* of Kerala identify her as living either on the Pala tree or Palm tree, and in the case of Tamil country it is exclusively palm tree. The Pala tree came to be known as *Yakshipala* because it associated with the *Yakshi* legend. The association of women with trees appears to have begun right from the Indus valley civilization, where seals contain representation of horned female figure in the midst of trees, possibly the prototype of *Yakshi* occur<sup>834</sup>. World over mother goddess worship is closely related to fertility cult of the animals and plants kingdoms. The *Yakshi* associated with tree must be the evolutionary form of this fertility cult.

Some references in the *Mahabharata* give the description of *Yakshis* associated with tree as the symbol of beauty instead of fear<sup>835</sup>. Regarding the *Yakshachaitya* (abode of

Yakshas and *Yakshis*) in the Buddhist and Jain works, Coomaraswamy observed that they denote sacred trees and Yaksha and Yakshi figures in the sculptural art of both Buddhism and Jainism shared common features<sup>836</sup> being connected to trees like Asoka, Sala (Sal), Mango, etc. The semi or nude Yakshi figures associated with trees from Barhut, Sanchi, and Bodhgaya are some of the examples of Buddhist tradition<sup>837</sup>. The Sanchi *Salabhanjika*<sup>838</sup> Yakshi of 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE embraces branches of a mango tree with her arms with her right leg wrapped around its trunk<sup>839</sup>. *Malavikagnimitram* of Kalidasa elucidates that the Asoka tree will bloom only when it got a kick from the foot of a woman<sup>840</sup>. This concept can be identified in the *Salabhanjika* Yakshi image of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BEC from Barhut known as *Asoka Dohada* who is shown clasping the Asoka tree with her right hand and leg twisted like a creeper around its trunk<sup>841</sup>. The *Chandra Vrikshika Yakshis* (2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE) from Barhut along with *Amra Vrikshika Yakshi* of Sanchi (1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE) also attest the crucial association of *Yakshis* and trees in the spiritual history of ancient India<sup>842</sup>. Ananda Coomaraswamy views that the curling of the limbs of the dryads, as in the case of the Bodhgaya pillar represents “deliberately or unconsciously” the concept of tree marriage. In the case of Lumbini in Nepal tradition says that Buddha was born under a Sala tree and his mother herself clasps with right hand on to the tree branch for care<sup>843</sup>.

Regarding the association of Jain *Yakshas* with trees we have plenty of evidences from all parts of India including south India. The association of Asoka tree and Yaksha worship is illustrated in the *Aupapatika Sutra*<sup>844</sup>. The Prakrit Jain work *Vasudevahindi* (5<sup>th</sup> Century CE) described that “*there was, in Saliggama in the Magadha Janapada, an Udayana called Manorama. Therein was the Jakkha Sumano, whose stone-plaque or platform (Sila) was placed there under an Asoka tree, the Sila was known as Sumana. There the people worshipped this Yaksha*” (*tattha-sumano-nama-jakkho-tassa-asogapayavasamsiya-sila-sumana-tattha-nam-jana-puyanti*)<sup>845</sup>.

*Silappadikaram*, the Jain epic also speaks about the Importance of the Asoka tree. The tenth canto of the work speaks of visit of the city of Puhar by Kannaki and Kovalan where after paying due respects to a Buddhist and Vishnu temple they reached to the holy abode of Jina where “*they worshiped, and went round the highly shining Silatala (stone basement) jointly built by the Jaina householders for the benefit of the*

*Charanas who would assemble, on festive days, such as the day of the first freshens (in the Kaveri) and of the car-festival, under the entrancingly cool shade of the golden flowered Asoka tree, standing on a high platform where the great community of five (Parameshthins) converged. There gathered the men of penance who had abjured meat eating and taken the vow of speaking the truth alone, and purified themselves of all sins, understanding the true path by restraining their senses*<sup>846</sup>. On another occasion, the same text speaks about the pilgrimage of a *Kavundi* (female Jain ascetic) to Uraiur where she offers prayers in a Jain temple where “*underneath the thick shade of the Asoka tree with its hanging flowers, Kavundi worshiped the first god Arivan, more radiant than the rising sun, under the three umbrellas arranged like three moons placed one above the other, graciously spoke the good and wise words uttered by the Charanas to all the sages of the Kandan Palli in the extensive grove adjoining Arangam (Srirangam)*”<sup>847</sup>. P.B. Desai opined that Asoka tree and Jain monks/nuns had a cordial relation and these ascetics “gathered occasionally beneath its cool shade to carry out their holy mission”<sup>848</sup>.

In Tamil country including Kerala Jains had an exclusive god called *Pindikkadavul*. The Tamil word *Pindi* means Asoka tree and *Kadavul* means god; thus the word can be interpreted as ‘the god of the Asoka tree’<sup>849</sup>. The Jaina Arhat in Tamil language is known as *Pindiyan*. This deity cannot be equated with any particular Jain Tirthankara or allied deity but he/she is an exclusive Jain god unique to the Tamil and Kerala regions. We have the image of a *Pindikkadavul* from Velikadu near Mundur in Palakkad district of Kerala (Fig.9)<sup>850</sup>.

The Tamil Jain work *Perunkathai (Brihatkatha)* by Konguvel, hailing from Kongunadu (Coimbatore region) speaks about the importance of *Yakshi (Isakki or Iyakki)* and Asoka tree in south Indian Jainism<sup>851</sup>. The Jain *Yakshis* particularly *Ambika* is associated with the mango tree. Here we have to go through certain legends associated with *Ambika Yakshi*, the *Sasanadevata* of *Arishtanemi* Tirthankara. The *Ambika-devi-kalpa* of *Jinaprabhasuri* (14<sup>th</sup> Century CE) narrates the *Ambika* legend as follows:

*“In the city of Kodinar, situated in Saurashtra, there once lived a learned orthodox Brahmana called Soma who had a virtuous and devoted wife in Ambika (Ambini in*

the Prakrit text). *The couple had two sons Siddha and Buddha. Once, Soma invited several Brahmins to a dinner at his place on the occasion of the Sraddha ceremony of his ancestor. When meals were ready Ambika's mother-in-law went out for bath. In the meantime a Muni who had fasted for full one month turned up and asked Ambika to give him food to break his fast. Greatly delighted Ambika fed the Muni with dishes prepared for Brahmins. On the matter being reported by her mother-in-law to Soma, the latter became wild with rage and drove Ambika out of the house. Consequently, Ambika had to leave the place in a helpless condition along with her two children.*

*Strange miracles occurred as Ambika went on and on her weary way. Her sons, hungry and exhausted, cried out for food and water. Ambika had nothing to give. Instantly a dried mango-tree by the road-side offered them the fine ripe mangoes, and a dry lake nearby was filled all at once with water. Exhausted Ambika rested for a while under the shade of the mango tree. At home too miracles occurred. This opened the eyes of Soma and his mother, and they were filled with remorse. Soma came running after Ambika in order to restore her to the house. Poor Ambika, on seeing Soma running after her, misunderstood his intentions and looking around for a hiding place to save her from his wrath, saw a big well and jumped into it with both the sons and died”<sup>852</sup>.*

This tradition concludes with the rebirth of Ambika in a heavenly mansion called *Kohanda Vimana*, due to which she also began to be known as *Kohandi* or *Kushmandini* or *Kusmandi*. Immediately after the death of his wife, Soma also died due to remorse. He took rebirth as a lion and became her *Vahana* (vehicle).

In south India, the same legend with little variations is popular with the Digambara Jain sects. This tradition is preserved in a palm leaf manuscript entitled *Punyasrva-katha* under the custody of a Jain monk of Thiruparuthikundram near Kanchipuram. According to this manuscript Ambika's former name was *Agnila* and her husband was one Soma Sarman. They had two children *Subhankara* and *Prabhankara*. Agnila left her husband's home with two children and a faithful servant due to the same reason given by the Svetambara version. In the course of her aimless journey she finally reached Ujjayantagiri, the abode of the ascetic Varadatta whom she offered food for breaking his fast<sup>853</sup>. The *Karaikal Ammaiyar* legend of the *Periyapuranam*<sup>854</sup> seems to have been influenced by the tradition of Jaina Ambika Yakshi and the mango tree. In that story of Karaikal Ammai, Punitavati revealed her divinity to her husband Paramatattan through the mango episode.

Interestingly, iconographic representations of the Jaina Ambika Yakshi portray the events connected with the legend such as the presence of two children, bunch of mangoes which saved her children from starvation, shade of mango tree where she took rest, the rebirth of her husband as lion, etc. Ambika Yakshi sitting under the mango tree sometime on the lion or with one or two children on her lap is represented in the reliefs of the Ellora cave<sup>855</sup>. Ambika Yakshi with her two children but without the mangoes or a mango tree is represented in one of the sculptures of Khajuraho museum and another on the doorjamb of Adinatha temple at the same place<sup>856</sup>. Another image of Ambika from Dhubela museum in Chhatarpur, Madhya Pradesh shows her sitting under a tree with her presiding Tirthankara Neminatha holding a child in her left lap. One headless Ambika sculpture from Bhogapuram near Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh shows her holding some of mangoes in one hand and two children in the other is another example of the textual narrations of the Ambika legend<sup>857</sup>.

In the Meguti Jain temple of Aihole, Karnataka belonging to the period of Chalukya Pulikesi II, we have a stone sculpture depicting Ambika with the background of mango tree, lion, and children<sup>858</sup>. Similar sculpture is also identified in the Moodabidri temple in Karnataka belonging to the Hoysala period<sup>859</sup>. In northern Tamil Nadu, a carving of the same story with a mango tree, children and lion (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Century CE) can also be seen from Vallimalai in the Katpadi taluk of Vellore district<sup>860</sup>. Similar sculpture has been reported from Ananthamangalam near Kanchipuram<sup>861</sup>. P.B. Desai observes that during early period Ambika was the most prominent Yakshi primarily worshipped in Tamil country than elsewhere<sup>862</sup>. The depiction of Ambika legend in the sculptures and bas-relief clearly proves that this legend was well established well before the compilation of the works like *Ambika-devi-kalpa* and *Punyasrva-katha*.

### **The Transformation from Mango to Palmyra Tree**

The legend of Yakshi Ambika got an interesting metamorphosis in the sculptural representations, when it came to Travancore region along with some parts of Tamil Nadu. From Chitharal (Fig.18), a figure of Ambika Yakshi deserves special mention (Fig.19). Here we can see the usual features of the iconography of Ambika sculptures

such as surrounded by her children, lion, holding a bunch of mangoes in her left hand and so on. But the mango tree is substituted by *Kalpavriksha* (tree of plenty). Further, in the south Indian version of the legend of Ambika, the presence of her faithful servant is also depicted. He is shown with an upstretched hand and his facial expression indicates his awe and wonder at his lady lord's divine appearance falling on him. No doubt, this figure is the full-fledged manifestation of the essence of the legend related to the birth of Ambika Yakshi popular with the Digambara Jains of south India.

Similar relief sculptures can be identified from Kalugumalai (Thoothukudi), Anaimalai, Samanar Malai (Madurai), and Tirumalai (Tiruvannamalai)<sup>863</sup>. The substitution of mango tree with *Kalpavriksha* deserves our attention. Some scholars observed that the tree in the background of Ambika is an areca tree<sup>864</sup>. But from the sculptures it is hard to identify the *Kalpavriksha*-either as areca or coconut or Palmyra tree. But if we connect it with the Yakshi legend prevailing in Kerala and some parts of Tamil Nadu we have to reach an inference that it must be the Palmyra tree. At the same time, the importance of Pindimaram (Asoka tree) in Jainism possibly influenced the Yakshipala (Pala tree) concept of other Yakshi stories largely prevailing in Kerala.

To sum up, when we go through into the details of the goddess Neeli with a keen eye, its full-fledged tribal-Dravidian origin can be visualised. So is the case with the personal name Neeli being evolved from Jaina affiliation represented by the earlier text *Ratnakarandak Shrivakachar* and the literary work *Neelakesi*. The evolutionary processes in the religious and spiritual fields of peninsular India, especially of the Tamil and Kerala, definitely influenced the mode of worship, customs, traditions, etc. The historical evolution of the name *Neeli* should be seen from this evolutionary perspective: from Dravidian Kotravai; Jain and Hindu goddess; Jain and Hindu Yakshi; Jain and Hindu housewife; vampire like Neelakesi and Kalliyankattu Neeli of the folk tradition; Nair queen and princess in the Chera court; Nair concubine of the Chera king; Nair *Achi* (Nair wife); daughter of a Nair warrior; Nair court servants cum courtesans of the rulers of the princely state; Nair dancing girl with great social reputation etc. And precisely in the case of Kerala, in the religious perspective, Neeli's two conspicuous elements are visible: the ancient Jain and its later evolved form due to her absorption into the Hindu Nair fold.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.2.g53.

<sup>2</sup> Kanakasabhai, V.1904.p.12.

<sup>3</sup> Kanakasabhai, V.1904.pp.14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert, Vaidehi.2012.*Pathitruppathu*.Poems.13,22,23,30,73,75,78.pp.22,25-30,46-47,86-89,108-110,263,269,275; *Tholkappiyam*.2017.*Akathinai Iyal* verse.6-12.

<sup>5</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.

<sup>6</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.8; 2008a.p.19; 2008c.p.13.

<sup>7</sup> Krishna Ayyar, K.V.1938.pp.91-120.

<sup>8</sup> In the words of William Logan “one of the most striking features in the country is the great Palghat gap, a complete opening some twenty miles across this great backbone of the peninsula. Here, by whatever great natural agency the break occurred, the mountains appear thrown back and heaped, as if some overwhelming deluge had burst through, sweeping them to left and right. On either hand tower the giant Nilagiri and Anamalas, over-topping the chain of Ghats by several thousand feet, while through the gap the south west winds bring pleasant moist air and grateful shower to the thirsty plains of Coimbatore, and roads railway link the Carnatic to Kerala. Through this the thousand streams of the higher mountains found their way to the sea, and the produce of the eastern and western provinces is exchanged. The unique character-as a point of physical geography-of this gap in an otherwise unbroken wall of high mountains, six hundred miles long, is only equalled by its great economic value to the countries lying on either hand of it”. Logan, William.2004.p.3.

<sup>9</sup> Bostock, John & Riley, H.T.1890.pp.63, 65. The place namely *Nitrias* was already identified as Mangalore by the scholars. McCrindle, John Watson.1885.p.48. *Hippalus* was a Greek navigator and merchant who has credited for the discovery of the importance of Monsoon wind about 45-47 CE.

<sup>10</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1964.pp.84, 688.

<sup>11</sup> Nagam Aiya, V.2013.pp.328-329; Yule, Colonel Sir Henry.1903.p.377.

<sup>12</sup> Yule, Colonel Sir Henry.1903.p.375.

<sup>13</sup> Nagam Aiya, V.2013.p.336.

<sup>14</sup> Phillips, George.1896.pp.341-344.

<sup>15</sup> Nagam Aiya, V.2013.p.336.

<sup>16</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.1, 31.

<sup>17</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.64, 67, 258; *Vol.III*.1894.Sr.147, 148.

<sup>18</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.38.

<sup>19</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.p.39.

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<sup>20</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.p.37.

<sup>21</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.p.37; *Vol.IV*.1898.Introduction.pp.3-4.Hg.56; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.364; *Vol.V*.1984.p.140; *Vol.XII*.1984.pp.12-13; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.pp.362-363.

<sup>22</sup> McCrindle, J.W.1885.pp.180-182.

<sup>23</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37.

<sup>24</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.81.

<sup>25</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.83; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.87,91; 2013.Index.A2,6,pp.435,437.

<sup>26</sup> *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.p.13; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.p.362.

<sup>27</sup> “*sriman-ravidatta-namadheyah-kirtthi-puravaravam-adhivasati-vijayaskandavare-cherammanujneyet...*”. *IA*, Vol.XVIII.1984.pp.367-368.

<sup>28</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.2008b.p.28.

<sup>29</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147. A set of Sanskrit copper plates found by a tribal man from a place known as Gramam Kadavu on the banks of the river Chaliyar in the Nilambur taluk of Malappuram district of Kerala. It was collected from the Raja of Nilambur Mr Tacharakkavil Manavkraman Tirumulpad and published by T.A. Gopinatha Rao and G. Venkoba Rao.

<sup>30</sup> This record was deciphered by Hultzsch as “*sri-vishnuvarmma[nah]-kutumbiya-kulavar[d] dhanasya li[kh]itha[m]*” and he translated it as “the writing of the glories Vishnuvarman, the propagator of the Kutumbiya family.” *IA*, Vol.XXX.1901.p.412.

<sup>31</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.pp.50-53,154-157.

<sup>32</sup> Study of these records attested the political foothold of the Pallavas and the Kadambas on the Kerala soil. For further details, See; M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.50-68.

<sup>33</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140.

<sup>34</sup> Alantur has been mentioned as Alattur by Lewis Rice; see. Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.313.

<sup>35</sup> The Uttanur plates also speaks about Durvinita’s conquest of these places. Ramesh, K.V.1984. p.83.

<sup>36</sup> According to Lewis Rice besides Punnada, Durvinita “is described as ruling a country whose name I have read *Pannad*, though it is not clear. It looks like *Pakhad*.” *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.p.364. Some others read as *Pannada* or *Pannata*. See, *ARMAD*.1941.p.132; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83, 92.

<sup>37</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1, *IA*, Vol.V.1984.pp.134, 140.

<sup>38</sup> *ARMAD*.1925.p.98.



<sup>39</sup> “*pallavendra-abhishiktena-sri-vishnuvarmma-maharajena*”. *ARMAD*. 1925.p.98. Some of the Kadamba records say that Vishnuvarman was killed by Ravivarman and captured southern part of the kingdom. A copper plate grant to god Jinendra by Ravivarman says “*that mighty king, the sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas-who having slain Sri Vishnuvarman and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and uprooted Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi, had established himself at Palasika....*” *IA*, Vol.VI.1984.p.29-30, An undated Kadamba record published by Fleet also says that Mrigesavarman became “*a fire of destruction to the Pallavas, and Ravivarman as having conquered the whole earth by slaying Sri Vishnuvarman and other kings*”. *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50.

<sup>40</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50.

<sup>41</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.55-57.

<sup>42</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135.

<sup>43</sup> *ARMAD*.1938.pp.86, 90; Ramesh, K.V. 1984.pp.49-51.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis Rice.1897.p.313.

<sup>45</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.140.

<sup>46</sup> The *Bayal-nad* alias Wayanad can be clearly proves from the records of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad. They were the offshoot of the early Kadambas of Banavasi. Some Hale-Kannada inscriptions from HD Kote Taluk of Mysore district and a Malayalam vatteluttu record from Sulthan Bathery belongs to this dynasty clearly says that the territory between these two regions, might be beyond that were once under the control of them and their country known as Bayal-nadu which comprised two sub sections, Viz., *Bira Bayal-nadu* and *Changi Bayalu-nadu*. The present Wayanad district of Kerala included in the *Vira* or *Bira Bayal-nadu* section and the present name Wayanad must be derived from the Kannada *Bayal-nadu*. Certain later records from Wayanad also mentioned *Vira-Vayalnad* as *Peraviyanad* or *Piraviyanad*. For further details, see; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,75,77,79,80; *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor. K.K.1973.pp.134-135; Raghava Varier, M.R. 2012.pp.49-50; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.135-148.

<sup>47</sup> “...*sriman-maha-mandalesvara rajadhiraja Bira-Bayal-nada nadanga Kandavammam Bayal-nad aydu-munnuruman eka-rajya geyyutt ire Budavadi-Pandya-nayaritemum Nelala-Paniyum Terumangalada kilubaram Kerala-nada Punnad-adhigariyum Nidule-nada...ram Kandavamma-nada Punnad-adhigariyum Kikki-nad-adhigariy ada Punnad-adhigariya Pani geyyutt...*” *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56. Here the line *Budavadi-Pandya-nayaritemum Nelala-Paniyum*, there is a possibility that it erroneously read by Rice and it can be reread as *Poothapadi Padainayaritamum Nilalum Paniyum*. Aforesaid lines from the inscription can be translate as ‘Maha-Mandaleswara Rajadhiraja, lord of *Bira-Bayal-nadu*, Kandavamman, was ruling the five three hundreds of *Bayal-nadu* as a single kingdom:-Tirumangalam was placed under the responsibility (*kilubaram*) of *Poothapadi Padainayar* by *Nilal* and *Pani* of the Punnad Officer of Kerala-nadu, Punnad Officer (?) of Nidule-Nadu, Punnad officer of Kandavamma-nadu, and Kiki-nadu officer who was also a Punnad officer. For further details, See; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.141.

<sup>48</sup> *Nidule-nadu* can be identified as the same *Nanrulai-nadu* which was famous for the ‘Three Hundred’ organisation (*Nanrulai-nadu Munnurruvar*) find mentions in four Vatteluttu inscriptions belongs to 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE from Thiruvandoor Mahavishnu Temple in the district of Alappuzha along with another one belongs to 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE from the Thrikodithanam Mahavishnu Temple at Kottayam.

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M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.141; *TAS*.Vol.II-III.1992.pp.22-25; *Vol.V*.Part-I.1924.pp.32-34; *Vol.V*.Part-II.pp.181-182.

<sup>49</sup> Baji, A.R.1954.p.122.

<sup>50</sup> *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.p.342.

<sup>51</sup> *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.p.351.

<sup>52</sup> Chakravarti, A.1944.p.43.

<sup>53</sup> *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.p.343.

<sup>54</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.48-49; Chakravarti, A.1944.pp.16-17.

<sup>55</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.10; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.167; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ng.70; *Vol.V*.1902.BI.133,134; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sh.262,Nr.46,54; Rajavelu, S.2005.p.130. The monastery and other Jain establishments at Shravanabelagola belongs to the *Kundakundanvaya*, *Mula-sangha*, *Desi-gana*, and *Pustaka-gaccha*. Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.467.

<sup>56</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.69-85.

<sup>57</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.128.

<sup>58</sup> *IAR*.1973-73.No.38.p.40.

<sup>59</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.50.pp.387, 58-581.

<sup>60</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.580.

<sup>61</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Poem.48.pp.173-174.

<sup>62</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Poem.48.p.173.

<sup>63</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Poem.30.55.pp.106, 111,203.

<sup>64</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.580.

<sup>65</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.61,62,pp.405-407

<sup>66</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.117; *Pathitruppathu*.2012.p.21.

<sup>67</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.63.p.409.

<sup>68</sup> Historical importance of this city has signified by some medieval Chera inscriptions (9<sup>th</sup> Century CE), speak about temple agreement called *Tavaranur Kacham*. *Kacham* in the medieval history of Kerala seems to be the agreement governing landlord and tenant relations in respect to temple properties. The modal of *Kachams* for entire medieval Kerala known was *Muzhikulam Kacham*. There are some more *Kachams* in the history of Kerala namely *Kadamkattu Kacham*, *Kottuvayiraveli Kacham*, *Kaithavarathu Kacham*, and *Sankaramangalam Kacham*. Narayanan, M.G.S. 2013. Index.A13.C17, 20.pp.215-217,440-441,491-492.

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- <sup>69</sup> For the shifting of Chera capital and the debate, See; M.S, Dhiraj.2015.pp.310-312.
- <sup>70</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.65-67.pp.412-415.
- <sup>71</sup> One of the records mentioned the name *Pittan* alone and the other one as *Pittan antai*. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.65,66,pp.412-413,599,601.
- <sup>72</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.599.
- <sup>73</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.77.
- <sup>74</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.143.
- <sup>75</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.599.
- <sup>76</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.168-172.
- <sup>77</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.172.
- <sup>78</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.63,118.
- <sup>79</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.118.
- <sup>80</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.82.p.435.
- <sup>81</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.15-16,48,102,151,153,158,170.
- <sup>82</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.170.
- <sup>83</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.77.p.429.
- <sup>84</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.69-70.pp.417-419.
- <sup>85</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.55, 246; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.65,66.
- <sup>86</sup> *Ettuthokai-Natrinai*.2017.Poem.390.
- <sup>87</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.36,39-40,42-44,46,48.
- <sup>88</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.89.p.447.
- <sup>89</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.620.
- <sup>90</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.620.
- <sup>91</sup> The word 'Ko' sometimes used to signifies 'chief' as well. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.587, 593, 602, 611,619.
- <sup>92</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S. 1972.p.48.

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- <sup>93</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.p.77.
- <sup>94</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.17.
- <sup>95</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22.
- <sup>96</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-20; 2013.Index.A62,71,B1,23,C28.pp.465,469-470,475,484,495; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924. No.13.p.45.
- <sup>97</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20-21.
- <sup>98</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas.45-48.pp.58-60. In Malayalam, the word Mathilakam means ‘surrounded by wall’ or ‘surrounded by fort’.
- <sup>99</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22.
- <sup>100</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.88.p.445.
- <sup>101</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.125-126,618-619.
- <sup>102</sup> Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakusthavarma states that the Kadamba dynastic founder Mayurasarman was a student of the *ghatika* of Kanchipuram before he starts his political career as an emperor *EI*.Vol.VIII.1981.pp.32-34.
- <sup>103</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.135.
- <sup>104</sup> Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam.1983.p.45.
- <sup>105</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.125-126.
- <sup>106</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.85-87.pp.441-443.
- <sup>107</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.85.p.441.
- <sup>108</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.86-87.pp.442-443.
- <sup>109</sup> Hultzsch, E.1925.pp.2-3.
- <sup>110</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.128.
- <sup>111</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.12.p.334.
- <sup>112</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.pp.32-33; Sreedhara Menon.1998.pp.74-78.
- <sup>113</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56, p.395.
- <sup>114</sup> Schoff, Wilfred H.1912.pp.44,128,203-205,208,212.
- <sup>115</sup> Pliny explains that “*if the wind, called Hippalus, happens to be blowing, it is possible to arrive in forty days at the nearest mart of India, Muziris by name. This, however, is not a very desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place*”

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called *Nitrias*; nor, in fact, is it very rich in articles of merchandize". Bostock, John & Riley, H.T.1890.Vol.II.p.65.

<sup>116</sup> McCrindle, J.W.1885.pp.48,51.

<sup>117</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.57,149; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.343.

<sup>118</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.155.

<sup>119</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.p.395.

<sup>120</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.82.pp.122,435.

<sup>121</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.61-62.pp.122,405-407.

<sup>122</sup> On the basis of certain later records, Mahadevan claimed that it is not logical to interpret *Elamakan* as '*Ilaiya makan*' or younger son. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.587. But here we have to reconsider the importance of Muziri; capital of the Chera's attached with the *Kothan Elamakan* along with the probability to split the word '*Kothan*' into two as *Ko*+*Athan*, mean king Athan.

<sup>123</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.p.395.

<sup>124</sup> Mahadevan locates Nakaperur as the Nagamalai situates nearby areas of Muttupatti. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.586. The record mentions two people, one from Muziri and another from Nakaperur shows that the later one was also situated in the Chera country. Both of the donors such as *Ko Athan* of *Muziri* and *Antai* of *Nakaperur* most probably belong to the Chera country. Here *Nakaperur* definitely be village than hill range because Perur means 'big village'. Furthermore, we did not have any *malai* in the record.

<sup>125</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75; 2013.Index.B1.p.474.M.G.S read as *Nakeraporai*, but circumstantial assumptions lead as to read *Nakeraporai* as *Nagapura*.

<sup>126</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.L.6-7.p.36. In the reading and translation of the Thazhekavu inscription (Fig.32) by M.G.S.Narayanan, the word which read by M.R. Raghava Varier as "*Iyakkan*" alias Yakshan has been missing. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.

<sup>127</sup> Williams, Monier.1899.p.532.

<sup>128</sup> *ARE*-1960-1961.1986.No.239.P.195; M.S, Dhiraj.2016a.p.57.

<sup>129</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.25-28,30-32.pp.353-357,359-362.

<sup>130</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.20.p.345.

<sup>131</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.3.p.319.

<sup>132</sup> *Kal* means pearl and *athikan* means superintended. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.319.

<sup>133</sup> One of the records speaks *Pittan* of *Nalliyur* and the other one speaks of *Pittan antai* of *Nalliyur*. Both *Pittans* could be a same person. Both records discovered from the same cave ascertain this fact further. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.65,66.pp.412-413,599,601.

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- <sup>134</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.67.pp.415,601.
- <sup>135</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.77.p.429.
- <sup>136</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.77,143.
- <sup>137</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.599.
- <sup>138</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.168-172.
- <sup>139</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.168nt-172nt.
- <sup>140</sup> *KCHRAR*.2010-2011.pp.9-10.
- <sup>141</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Pathgam.1-9.p.77; Kanakasabhai, V.1979.p.208; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.17.
- <sup>142</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xxx.p.343-344.
- <sup>143</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.55, 246; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.65-66.
- <sup>144</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.65. *Sangam* classics give a vivid picture regarding the perception that the warriors getting wounded in the back during war is a blot on their heroism and the society and family members treated them as a coward one. Most of the time those warriors will commit suicide in such a situation.
- <sup>145</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.200nt-201nt, 213nt, 217nt-223nt.
- <sup>146</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.123.
- <sup>147</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.115-116.pp.471-473,632.
- <sup>148</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.12.p.334.
- <sup>149</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.pp.155, 395.
- <sup>150</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.611.
- <sup>151</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.61, 62.pp.405-407.
- <sup>152</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.117.
- <sup>153</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.82.p.435.
- <sup>154</sup> For further discussion regarding the Satavahana influences on the western coast of Kerala and the Kadamba attack against the Cheras and subsequent transfer of their capital, see; M.S, Dhiraj.2015.pp. 302-313.
- <sup>155</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.13.p.335.
- <sup>156</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.36-48.pp.369-383.

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- <sup>157</sup> Sanskrit *Gana* become Tamil *Kana* and the head of the *Gana* become Sanskrit *Ganin*, *Prakrit Gani* and Tamil *Kani*. Further details, see; Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.543.
- <sup>158</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.36,40,46.pp.369,373,381.
- <sup>159</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.70.p.419.
- <sup>160</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.74.p.425.
- <sup>161</sup> Selvakkadunko was the son of Anthuvan Cheral and he married the younger sister of the wife Neduncheralathan. *Pathitruvalu*.2012.pp.32-33 Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.pp.74-78. We have an individual's name Anthuvan who caused to be given a Jain cavern at Tirupparankunram near Madura. This record has assigned to the c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE. Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.53.p.391.
- <sup>162</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.pp.48-49,52.
- <sup>163</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.80.p.433.
- <sup>164</sup> RHYS Davids & Stede, William.1952.p.88
- <sup>165</sup> RHYS Davids & Stede, William.1952.p.88.
- <sup>166</sup> Walshe, Maurice.1995.pp.23,91-92, 96-97,427,480.
- <sup>167</sup> Hultzsch, E.1925.pp.2-3.
- <sup>168</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.59.p.399. The Buddhist presence is evident from the natural cavern where the record is engraved is still called as *Sanyasi madam*, and another cavern nearby area called *Dasi Madam*. Some scholars observe that the cave and the inscription have Jain affiliation than Buddhist. Here we have to note another fact that the term *Madam* has largely used by the Buddhist than Jains.
- <sup>169</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xv.pp.52, 214-217.
- <sup>170</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20,76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.
- <sup>171</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S. 1972.pp. 70-72; 2013.Index.A62.p.465
- <sup>172</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.pp.130,145,469; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46.
- <sup>173</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.331-332; *SII*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76.pp.106-107; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.
- <sup>174</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-78; 2013.Index.A62,B123,C28.p.465,474,484,495.
- <sup>175</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20,76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.
- <sup>176</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B23.pp.341,484.
- <sup>177</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B23.p.484.

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- <sup>178</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B23.pp.65-66,484.
- <sup>179</sup>The second known later Chera ruler Sthanu Ravi (c.844-883 CE) has been identified as the Kulasekhara Alvar, one among the twelve great devotees of Vishnu, called the Alvar saints in the Tamil *Bhakti* tradition. Narayanan, M.G.S.2015.pp.64-65.
- <sup>180</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.65, 437.
- <sup>181</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A17.pp.442-443; *SHI*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.103.pp.235-236.
- <sup>182</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.900-1901.pp.331-332; *SHI*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76.pp.106-107; Ekambaranathan & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.
- <sup>183</sup> *SHI*, Vol.I.1890.No.66.pp.94-95; *Vol.III*.Part-III-IV.1987. No.97.pp.229-230; *Vol.XIX*.1967.No.89.p.45; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.332.p.263.
- <sup>184</sup> *SHI*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76. This record was later reread from new Estampage and published by Hultzsch himself in the sixth volume of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.331-332.
- <sup>185</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.
- <sup>186</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.332-333.
- <sup>187</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>188</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.L.1,3-4,7.p.332.
- <sup>189</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>190</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.15-16,48,102,151,153,158,170.
- <sup>191</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.332-333
- <sup>192</sup> Ramachandran, Puthusseri.2011.p.381.
- <sup>193</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.35, 63-64; Sripathi Naidu, S.1981.p.72.
- <sup>194</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.35, 63-64; Sripathi Naidu, S.1981.pp.72,74; *SHI*, Vol.XII.1943.p.174.
- <sup>195</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.p.35.
- <sup>196</sup> *SHI*, Vol.XII.1943.p.174.
- <sup>197</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.115,117,118,146; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.142,Hg.121; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.
- <sup>198</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.
- <sup>199</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.331.



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- <sup>200</sup> Arokiaswami, M.1954.p.231; Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.p.34.
- <sup>201</sup> The Hoysala supremacy on the northern Tamil Nadu and southern Mysore could be forced them to change their capital at time to time; similar event resulted during the time of Rama Kulasekhara in the case of Mahodayapuram alias Kodungallur. M.S, Dhiraj.2016c.pp.640-641.
- <sup>202</sup> *SII*, Vol.XII.1943.p.174; Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.p.64; Ramachandran, Puthusseri.2011.p.381.
- <sup>203</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.p.269.
- <sup>204</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poems.231-232,235,315,390.
- <sup>205</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.59.p.399.
- <sup>206</sup> Hultzsche, E.1925.pp.2-3.
- <sup>207</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.8.Poem.78.pp.274-275,282-283; *Purananuru*.2017.Poems.87-95,97-101,103,104,206,208.
- <sup>208</sup> Arokiaswami, M.1954.p.231.
- <sup>209</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poems.96,102,392.
- <sup>210</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.158.
- <sup>211</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.230.
- <sup>212</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>213</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.8.Poem.78.pp.274-275,282-283; *Purananuru*.2017.Poems.87-95,97-101,103,104,206,208; Arokiaswami, M.1954.p.231.
- <sup>214</sup> Arokiaswami, M.1954.p.231; Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.p.34.
- <sup>215</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.pp32-33; Sreedhara Menon, A.pp.74-78.
- <sup>216</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>217</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>218</sup> Berriedale Keith, A.1923.p.61.
- <sup>219</sup> Banerjee, Gauranga Nath.1920.p.255.
- <sup>220</sup> Monier-Williams, Monier.1960.p.848.
- <sup>221</sup> Berriedale Keith, A.1923.p.61.
- <sup>222</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.2.pp.73-74.
- <sup>223</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xxviii,xxix.pp.322,335.

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- <sup>224</sup> The reference to the royal emblems of the Pandya and Chola dynasties as being held by the Chera ruler possibly indicate his political authority over those two dynasties and their territories also.
- <sup>225</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xxix.p.335.
- <sup>226</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.v.p.110.
- <sup>227</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xiv.p.201.
- <sup>228</sup> Smith, V.A. 1924.p.462.
- <sup>229</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.p.332.
- <sup>230</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI-1900-1901.p.333; *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.127.p.53.
- <sup>231</sup> *EL*, Vol.VI-1900-1901.p.333; *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.119.p.50.
- <sup>232</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.70-71.
- <sup>233</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A62.p.465.
- <sup>234</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A61, 63.p.465.
- <sup>235</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A59, 60.p.464.
- <sup>236</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.p.35.
- <sup>237</sup> There is general perception that the temple of the *Pattini* image installed by Chera Chenguttuvan is the present Kodungallur temple.
- <sup>238</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.18-19, 70-72; 2013.A.62,pp.71,72,465. This record was first published by William Logan from the text prepared by Gundert. But a detailed study of the inscription was made by M.G.S. Narayanan.
- <sup>239</sup> In the Thiruvannur record, the term *Brahmasvam* could be denotes the property belongs to the temple proprietors including priests than Brahmins. M.G.S. interpreted *Brahmasvam* in the present record as the 'Brahmin property'. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.71.
- <sup>240</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.77-78.
- <sup>241</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.10,20.
- <sup>242</sup> Mahalingam, T.V.1988.pp.348-350,369-370.
- <sup>243</sup> Mahalingam, T.V.1988.p.348.
- <sup>244</sup> Mahalingam, T.V.1988.pp.333-334; *SII*, Vol.XII.1943.No.39.p.16.
- <sup>245</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.pp.284,287; *Vol.IV*.Part-II.1923.No.40.p.148.

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- <sup>246</sup> Chatterjee, Asim Kumar.1978. p.212.
- <sup>247</sup> *SII*, Vol.XII.1943.No.42.p.17; Mahalingam, T.V.1988.p.339.
- <sup>248</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126. The renowned historian on Kerala history, M.G.S. Narayanan views that Varaguna, the deciple of the Tirucharanathu *Bhattarar* find engraved on below the votive figures in the Chitharal temple cannot be identical as the Ay king Vikramaditya Varaguna. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.342. Though, we have other two inscriptions from the same site refers Vikramaditya Varaguna, the Ay king, gives more certainty to identify him as the same Ay monarch.
- <sup>249</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.pp.284,287.
- <sup>250</sup> “*banarayara-gurugal-appa-bhavanadi-Bhattarar*”. *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.No.15.p.142.
- <sup>251</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; *Vol.IXII*.1984.pp.12-13; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.61-65.
- <sup>252</sup> Some sources read as *candanadi-bhattara*. See; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.64-65.
- <sup>253</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.2.
- <sup>254</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Kl.90; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.327-333.
- <sup>255</sup> *ARMAD*.1923.pp.114-115.
- <sup>256</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.59.
- <sup>257</sup> *EC*, Vol.VIII.1094.Nr.35.
- <sup>258</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.4; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.445-446.
- <sup>259</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.Ng.76.
- <sup>260</sup> *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.92.pp.224-225; *Vol.XIII*.1952.No.245.p.130; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987.No.357.pp.286-287.
- <sup>261</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.361.pp.290-291; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.41-42.
- <sup>262</sup> *SII*, Vol.VI.1986.No.443.p.184.
- <sup>263</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987.No.410.p.340.
- <sup>264</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987.No.503.p.428.
- <sup>265</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.1013.p.481.
- <sup>266</sup> *SII*. Vol.IV.1986.No.366.p.104.
- <sup>267</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.pp.284,287; *Vol.IV*.Part-II.1923.No.40.p.148.
- <sup>268</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.49.pp.192,196.

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- <sup>269</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.437-438.
- <sup>270</sup> *SII*, Vol.XII.1943.No.106.P.50; Mahalingam, T.V.1988.pp.581-582.
- <sup>271</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36, 38,39,42,43, 46.pp.169-171,173-175,180,182-184,187-188.
- <sup>272</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.No.47.pp.188-189.
- <sup>273</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.p.45; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A71.p.469.
- <sup>274</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135.
- <sup>275</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.65-66, 96.
- <sup>276</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II-III.p.151; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.70.
- <sup>277</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135; Maheswaran Nair, K. 1972 pp.65-66,96. Corroborating with all these facts we have to confirm that the *Poothapadi* in these records must be the *Poothadi*.
- <sup>278</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.7J.p.45; *Vol.V*.Part-II.1925.No.55, 62.pp.172-176,190; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A38, 64.p.454, 466.
- <sup>279</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.38-40, pp.173-177; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B7.p.477.
- <sup>280</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A27.p.447.
- <sup>281</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987.No.458.p.385.
- <sup>282</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72.
- <sup>283</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.318.p.122.
- <sup>284</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.412.
- <sup>285</sup> *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.97.pp.229-230; *Vol.XIX*.1967.No.89.p.45; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.331.p.262.
- <sup>286</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV.1896-97.p.136nt.
- <sup>287</sup> *SII*, Vol.XIX.1967.No.80.p.41; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987.No.493.p.418.
- <sup>288</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.322.p.254. For another different reading of the same record, see. *SII*. Vol.XIX.1967.No.301.p.149.
- <sup>289</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.25.p.26.
- <sup>290</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.361.pp.290-291; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.41-42.

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- <sup>291</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.p.48. *Aravana Adigal*, a Buddhist saint refers in the *Manimekalai* again leads us to reach another inference that this suffix has applied to other *Sramana* faiths, particularly Buddhism. *Manimekalai*.1989.Cantos.12, 28.pp.103,266.
- <sup>292</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.C22.p.493.
- <sup>293</sup> *Kacham* in the medieval history of Kerala seems to be the agreement governing landlord and tenant relations in respect to temple properties. The modal of *Kachams* for entire medieval Kerala known was *Muzhikulam Kacham*. There are some more *Kachams* in the history of Kerala namely *Kadamkattu Kacham*, *Kottuvayiraveli Kacham*, *Kaithavarathu Kacham*, and *Sankaramangalam Kacham*. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013 Index.A13, C17, 20.pp.215-217,440-441,491-492; Veluthat, Kesavan 2013.p.78.
- <sup>294</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.Plate.IX.p.130.
- <sup>295</sup> Krishna Rao, K.S.2008.p.8.
- <sup>296</sup> The annual pilgrimage to this Bhagavati temple during the *Bharani* festival in the month of March-April (ME: Minam) significant for toddy-drinking, cock-sacrificing, obscene-shouting rabbles in thousands even today. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232, 250n4.
- <sup>297</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.C42.p.500; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.36-37.
- <sup>298</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A16.p.442.
- <sup>299</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A53-54, 76.C41, 43.pp.461-462,471,499-500; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.39,49.pp.175-192; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.104.p.236.
- <sup>300</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A36.pp.452-453; *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.pp.285-290.
- <sup>301</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.47.pp.188-189.
- <sup>302</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.437-438.
- <sup>303</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20, 76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.
- <sup>304</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A17.pp.442-443; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.103.pp.235-236.
- <sup>305</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A24.p.445; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36.p.170.
- <sup>306</sup> *Kilan Adikal* could be a royal Nair lady from the Chera court, because the Thirunadhikkara inscription refers to *Kilan Adigal* Alias *Iravi Neeli* as the daughter and wife of Kulasekhara (Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara) and Vijayaraga respectively. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.437-438; *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145.
- <sup>307</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.71-72, 97.
- <sup>308</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72; 2013.A.62.p. 465.
- <sup>309</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.

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- <sup>310</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.18-19, 70-72; 2013.A.62,pp.71,72,465
- <sup>311</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75; Raghava Varier, M.R. 2012.L.6-7.p.36.
- <sup>312</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924. No.13.p.45; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013 Index.A71.pp.469-470.
- <sup>313</sup> Mundakayam, Gopi.2002.p.180.
- <sup>314</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22.
- <sup>315</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009.pp.80-83.
- <sup>316</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.167.p.70; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.C5-6.pp.487-488.
- <sup>317</sup> There is an observation that the *Chakora Sandesa* was authored by one Paramesvara, who belonged to the famous Payyur Bhatta family of Tirunavaya. Krishnamacharya, V.1948.pp.xxiv-xxv. At the same time, certain other Scholars view that the author of the *Chakora Sandesa* was Vasudeva of same Payyur family; possibly, the son of Paramesvara. *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.11-12.
- <sup>318</sup> *Sukasandesam*.1985.Unni, N.P.pp.11-12.
- <sup>319</sup> Krishnamacharya, V.1948.pp.xxiv-xxv.
- <sup>320</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72; 2013.A.62.p.465.
- <sup>321</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas 45-48.pp.58-60; *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.40-41.
- <sup>322</sup> Certain lines in the poem reveal a clear cut probability for conversion of the Tirunavay Jain temple as Siva's abode. According to the poem *Dvijas* (Brahmins) are neither permitted to enter the temple nor to see directly the god instead they can worship from outside of the shrine (*chemme-kanmanaruthu-kunakattampurane-dvijanmar-kkenrat-niyum-thozhuka-purame-ninru*). *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.48.p.60.
- <sup>323</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71. The Yaksha and Yakshi cult was popular in Tamil Nadu and Kerala regions during the medieval age. But the installation of Yaksha and Yakshi images by Yavanika (Elini) alias Cheran Chenguttuvan in the Tirumalai hill, which refer to the record of Vidukadalakiya Perumal (son of Rajaraja Chera) indicates that the cult during the early historical period itself rooted in the south Indian Jainism.
- <sup>324</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.L.6-7.p.36. In the reading and translation of the Thazhekavu inscription by M.G.S.Narayanan, Narayanan the "*iyakkanukku*" (for Yakshan) part in the lines which read by M.R. Raghava Varier as "...*iyakkanukku-vecha-vilakkinukku*" has been missing. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>325</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.318.p.122.
- <sup>326</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K. 1987. No.458.p.385.
- <sup>327</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-II.1925.No.55.p.172-176; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A64.p.466.

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- <sup>328</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A27.p.447.
- <sup>329</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A38.p.454; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.7J.p.45; *Vol.V.Part-I*.1925.No.62.p.190.
- <sup>330</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.38-39.pp.173-175; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B7.p.477.
- <sup>331</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.40.pp.176-177.
- <sup>332</sup> The reading of the one of the Trikkakara records, M.G.S finds the name of the Chera king Indu Kotha. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B7.p.477. But in the original transcript and translation given in the *Travancore Archaeological Serious* by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, either the royal signature or the king's designation has been evidently absent. *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992. No.38.p.174.
- <sup>333</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.38-39.pp.173-175; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B7.p.477.
- <sup>334</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.40.pp.176-177.
- <sup>335</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 46.pp.169-171,173-175,180,182-184,187-188.
- <sup>336</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 46.pp.169-171,173-175,180,182-184,187-188; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.18-19, 70-72; 2013.Index.A62.pp.465.
- <sup>337</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.38-40.pp.173-177; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B7.p.477.
- <sup>338</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.No.47.pp.188-189; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72; 2013.Index.A62.pp.465.
- <sup>339</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.7D,7M,7H,36-37,40,42,43.pp.38-39,42-43,48-49,169-171,176-177,179,181-184; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A24,25,26,28,30,41,45.pp.445-449,455,457.
- <sup>340</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.39.pp.174-175; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.18-19,70-72; 2013.Index.A62.pp.71,72,465.
- <sup>341</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.39.p.175.
- <sup>342</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.71.
- <sup>343</sup> But due to the identification of Vidugadalagiya perumal as the son of Rajaraja, we have to consider the latter as the last Chera monarch.
- <sup>344</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A71.pp.469-470.
- <sup>345</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46.
- <sup>346</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.20, 54,73,88-89.
- <sup>347</sup> 'anjazhi kollu- midangazhiyil mup-paththarukala nel li-ramesurathu manda-bathil [kuttang]-kudi yirunnadhil-i [vvandu] mudhal thiru [kkuna] vaikku-m thirukkuththung-kudich ch [lvadhu] {I}'. For Tamil transcription, See; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.70-79.p.45.

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<sup>348</sup> 'kittradichchuvath-thu-melodiththi .....lu-sennel-mu-ppaththaru-kalam...'. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.80-86.p.45. Both the *Kirradichchuvaram* and *Kittradichchuvaram* find mentioned in the inscription can be identified as a same temple. See; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.80-81,125-126.p.45.

<sup>349</sup> The expressions like 'kittradichchuvath-thu melodiththi...' and 'kirra-dichurathu-molodik-ku' in the record could probably means that *Melam* or orchestra at *Kittradichchuvaram*. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.80-81,125-128.p.45. The defaced part of the inscription is not conveying the exact source for the paddy to *Trikunavay* and *Kittradichchuvaram*. On the basis of the immediate flow of the lines in the record, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it is also collected as a share from the *Cherikkal* land's tenancy right which handed over to the *Cherikkal Karalan* (tenant of crown's land) namely *Kumaran Udaya varman* of *Venadu*.

<sup>350</sup> 'karala-r muvarung kudi serik-kal...karalarum thiru-kkunvathevar thirun-daiyil konu annazhi-kku okku mida [ng] kazhi-nanuru nazhi nelat-tai karalaru serikkal ko-duppathu {I}'. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.99-107.p.45. As the above lines, the word *Cherikkal* has find mentioned two times, and but it gives different meanings as 'crown's land' as well as 'king's office' or court. The word *Nelattai* (*nelat-tai*) can be divided into *nel* and '*attai*' or '*atti*,' means 'paddy' and 'stack,' can be interpret as 'stack of paddy'. At the same time, the word '*nilam*' is a common word for land, especially for paddy field in Kerala at least since medieval age.

<sup>351</sup> 'ivvann [am] mai-chchamaikku [m thiruk] ku- navayiranum ikkadai- kadamaiya-i....'. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.107-111.p.45. The '*thiruk*' in the '*thirukku-navayiranum*' in the fore lines are defaced in the published Tamil transcript, but there is a good possibly to read it as *Trikunavayiran*.

<sup>352</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71,73-75.

<sup>353</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2015.p.67.

<sup>354</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2015.pp.64-65.

<sup>355</sup> Only exemption for this hypothesis is the *Kinalur* inscription (Fig.16) dated (11<sup>th</sup> Century CE) which speaks of the sanctification of *Vijayaragiswaram* temple during *Vijayaraga*'s reign between 883-913 CE. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20, 49-50; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.

<sup>356</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A59, 60-61,63.p.464-465.

<sup>357</sup> At this juncture, it is remarkable that the first two later Chera kings, viz., *Rama Rajashekara* (c.800-844 CE) alias *Cheraman Perumal Nayanar* and *Sthanu Ravi* (c.844-883 CE) alias *Kulasekhara Alvar* established family temples of *Siva* and *Vishnu* in and around the capital city (*Tiruvanaikkalam* and *Tirukkulasekharapuram*). Narayanan, M.G.S.2015.pp.67-68.

<sup>358</sup> Description in the *Kokasandesam* that the *Dvijas* (Brahmins) are neither permitted to enter the temple nor to see directly the god instead they can worship from outside of the shrine (*chemme kanmanaruthu kunakatthampurane dvijanmar kkenrat niyum thozhuka purame ninru*) *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.48.p.60.

<sup>359</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868.pp.26-29,73-75; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.129-134.

<sup>360</sup> *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*.2005.pp.29-31.



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<sup>361</sup> Day, Francis.1863.pp.365-366.

<sup>362</sup> ‘.....ari-ya brahmana-rung kudi-yirunnada-ththu.....pakka-l.....yakking-gai-yilth-thirukkaina-naicharula-nangu-tha-liyu-ma-yi[ram-a]-ru-nurru-varum...’. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.33-47.p.45.

<sup>363</sup> ‘ivvann [am]mai-chchamaikku[m-thiruk-]ku-navayiranum-ikkadai-kadamaiya-l....’. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.107-111.p.45.

<sup>364</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-75; 2013.Index.B1, C28.pp.474,495.

<sup>365</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495. Certain inscriptional evidences clearly proves that the *Narpattennayiravar* was not just a trade organisation; instead it maintained, or performed as, a militia as well. A Tamil inscription from Arkeswara temple at Channapatna in Karnataka, dated 1247 CE register an endowment for the god *Arumolisvaram Udaiya Nayanar* of the temple by *Narpattennayira-Chchenapati*. *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21. *Chchenapati* alias *Senapati* denotes the commander of an army or militia. Another inscription from the pond at the Kudalur village in the same Channapatna taluk also refers to a donation made by *Narpattennayira-Chchenapati* and his daughter to the temple. *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21.

<sup>366</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71; 2013.Index.A62.p.465.

<sup>367</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.

<sup>368</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.

<sup>369</sup> Here, we have to remember the observation of M.G.S Narayanan that the *Ayiram* organisation was a retinue of king Rama Kulasekhara with its headquarter in the Chera capital, Makothai alias Kodungallur. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.231-232.

<sup>370</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232.

<sup>371</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.21.

<sup>372</sup> The present researcher directly collected the information regarding the story/tradition associated to the *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* from the temple authorities and from certain members of that organisation.

<sup>373</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.233.

<sup>374</sup> For a different version of the same tradition and its historical linkage connecting with the Nair commander is mentioned in the *Keralolpathi* chronicle. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.232-233.

<sup>375</sup> According to the *Keralolpathi* tradition, a conflict occurred between the last Chera Perumal and his Nair commander namely *Padamel Nair*. *Padamel Nair* was the leader of the Ten Thousand force of the Perumal known as *Akampadi Pathinayiram*. The real problem was created by the Chera queen on account of her refuted love and lust by the king’s loyal commander. The crooked queen made conspiracy against the commander. Finally, the king decided to punish the Nair at the provocation of his beloved wife. King paid the whole salary at the man’s appeal and commanded him to be sank in the river called *Azhivar*. As a commander *Padamel Nair* instructed his ten thousand soldiers (*Pathinayiram*) as well to continue their ‘*akampadi sthanam*’ (follow their master) and departed for

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heaven. The king realised his mistake when it was too late. As an atonement the king embraced Islam and went to Mecca. *Keralolpathi*.1868.pp.65-66.The numeral bodies like *Arunurruvar* or *Ayiravar* did not comprised exactly what the number mentioned as its name like *Ayiram* (Thousand) equal to thousand members or *Arunurruvar* (Six Hundred ) equal to the Six hundred members, but it will comprised multiple of Ten, means Thousand equal to Ten Thousand (*Pathinayiram*) and Six Hundred equal to Six Thousand. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232.

<sup>376</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232, 250n4.

<sup>377</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.21.

<sup>378</sup> At the present state of our knowledge about Buddhism in Kerala, did not have any archaeological remnants from the northern and central region of Kerala. At the same time, most of the prominent Jain settlements in Kerala has been concentrated in the Malabar and central part of Kerala. There is a good reason to believe that the southern part of Kerala especially in the district of Kollam, Alappuzha, and Kottayam were the main centers of Buddhism in Kerala. Simultaneously, Jainism concentrated in the central and the northern part of Kerala with its pivot at *Trikunavay* near Kodungallur.

<sup>379</sup> McCrindle, J.W.1885.p.53, 54.

<sup>380</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.25,36,45,122,126,145,196,262,322,331; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.127,130, 131,132,133,134,135,136,240,241,374,375.

<sup>381</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.pp.115-118.

<sup>382</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.114.

<sup>383</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.1.pp.19-20, 30-31.

<sup>384</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.1.pp.31-34.

<sup>385</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.12.pp.275-283; *Vol.II&III*.1992.pp.116-117.

<sup>386</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.14-16.

<sup>387</sup> The Chitharal Jain *Palli* which was located within the geographical territory of Ay kingdom is mentioned as *Tiruchcharanam* or *Tirucharanathu Malai* (Hill) in the inscriptions. At present, the Jain Padmavati Yakshi of the temple is being worshipped as Hindu Bhagavati.

<sup>388</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.

<sup>389</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.342.

<sup>390</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.284, 287; *Vol.IV.Part-II*.1924.No.40.pp.146-148.

<sup>391</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.14.

<sup>392</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.40.p.148.

<sup>393</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B. 2008.p.94.

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- <sup>394</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.321, 324,326.p.123; *Vol. VII*.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; *TAS*, Vol.II& III. 1992.p.126; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.458.p.385.
- <sup>395</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>396</sup> *SII*, Vol. VII.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987. No. 458. p.385. The *Seralantaka-chaturvedimangalam* in the inscription should be read as *keralantaka-chaturvedimangala*. The place Vennadu must be the Venadu, the medieval name of the Travancore state. The ‘Yamkan Irama’ of *Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan* in the record can be read as *Yakkan Rama*. Personal name *Yakkan* was very prevalent in the medieval Kerala which could be the altered form of Jain *Yakshan* or *Yaksha*, the male form of *Yakshi*. *Kanayapalli Yakkan Chellan* in the Thiruvannur inscription, *Yakkan Kurappolan* in the Trikkakara inscription, *Yakkan Srikantan* and *Iyakkan Kovinnan* in the Thrikodithanam inscriptions, *Manalmanrathu Yakkan Kotha* in the Nedumpuram Thali record are some of the examples for the afore statement. *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.7J.p.45; *Vol.V.Part-II*.1925.No.62.p.190; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71; 2013. Index.A27, 38, 64, B7.p.447, 454, 466, 477.
- <sup>397</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.321.p.123.
- <sup>398</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.324, 326.p.123.
- <sup>399</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>400</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.pp.284, 287.
- <sup>401</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>402</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1923.No.41p.148.
- <sup>403</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>404</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp. 57-59, 61.
- <sup>405</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-59, 61-62.
- <sup>406</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>407</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.61-62, 66-67.
- <sup>408</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.410.p.340.
- <sup>409</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 325,345,359,374,381.pp.122-123,126,128,130-131.
- <sup>410</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.p.62.
- <sup>411</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1923.p.146.
- <sup>412</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 374, 381.pp.122, 130-131; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-58. It must be interesting to note that the personal names Kurandi Yakkan Kadi, Kurandi Chathan, and Kurandi Nakan of Venbu Nadu find mentioned in the Kalugumalai inscriptions are very familiar in medieval Kerala. *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 374, 381.pp.122, 130-131.

- <sup>413</sup> Some 11<sup>th</sup> Century inscriptions from Purale, Humcha and Kallur Gudda sketching the picture of the early Gangas that “with Nandagiri as their fort, Kuvalala (Kolar) as their city, the Ninety- six Thousand country as their kingdom, Victory as their companion in the battle-field, Jinendra as their god, the Jina matha as their faith, Dadiga and Madhava ruled over the earth. The north, touching Madarkale (?); the east, Tonda-nad (present Madras region); the west, the ocean in the direction of Chera (Kerala country); the south, Kongu (Coimbatore); within these limits of the Gangavadi Ninety-six Thousand did the Gangas undertake the subjection of all enemies”. Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.310.
- <sup>414</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140. According to Lewis Rice, besides Punnada, Durvinita “is described as ruling a country whose name I have read *Pannad*, though it is not clear. It looks like *Pakhad*.” *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.p.364. Some others read as *Pannada* or *Pannata*. See; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83, 92; *ARMAD*.1941.p.132.
- <sup>415</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83. Alantur has been mentioned as Alattur by Lewis Rice. See; Lewis Rice.1897.p.313.
- <sup>416</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; 2013.C.28.p.495.
- <sup>417</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Mr.72; Ramesh read as *Chani Adigal*. Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.43.
- <sup>418</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.p.7.
- <sup>419</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939. Introduction.p.48. *Aravana Adigal*, a Buddhist saint refers in the Manimekalai again leads us to reach another inference that this suffix has applied to other Sramana faiths, particularly Buddhism. *Manimekalai*.1989.Cantos.12, 28.pp.103,266.
- <sup>420</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.361.pp.290-291; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.41-42.
- <sup>421</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.331.p.262; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.97.pp.229-230; *Vol.XIX*.1967.No.89.p.45.
- <sup>422</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV.1896-97.p.136nt.
- <sup>423</sup> *SII*, Vol.XIX.1967.No.80.p.41; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.493.p.418.
- <sup>424</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.322.p.254. For another different reading of the same record, See; *SII*, Vol.XIX.1967.No.301.p.149.
- <sup>425</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.25.p.26.
- <sup>426</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.147-148.p.46.
- <sup>427</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232, 250n4.
- <sup>428</sup> Krishna Rao, K.S.2008.p.8.
- <sup>429</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.36-37; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.C42.p.500.
- <sup>430</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A16.p.442.

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- <sup>431</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A53-54,76; C41,43.pp.461-462,471,499-500; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.No.104.p.236; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.39,49.pp.175-192.
- <sup>432</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A36.pp.452-453; *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.pp.285-290.
- <sup>433</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.437-438; *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145.
- <sup>434</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A17.pp.442-443; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.103.pp.235-236 .
- <sup>435</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A24.p.445; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36.p170.
- <sup>436</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXVII.1956.p.145; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.175
- <sup>437</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173; *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47.
- <sup>438</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.10; *Vol.IV*.1898.Introduction.p.8; *Vol.X*.1905.Introduction.p.xi; Lewis Rice, B.1878.p.138.
- <sup>439</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.71.
- <sup>440</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.145-149.
- <sup>441</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.115, 117,146; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.142,Hg.121.
- <sup>442</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.16, 103.
- <sup>443</sup> In Tamil *Pallam* denotes low land or ditch.
- <sup>444</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.155-161; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.182-189.
- <sup>445</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Introduction.p.xi.
- <sup>446</sup> *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158, 160; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185, 188. By the *Indian Antiquary*, Lewis Rice read *Pulikal Gaccha* as *Moolikal gaccha* (*Moolikalgachchhe*). *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158, 160.
- <sup>447</sup> A version of the reading of Hosur record of the same ruler refers as *Sripuram*. See; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173. Original transcript of the Devarahalli record mentioned as *Srivura*. See; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.158; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85.
- <sup>448</sup> The boundaries of the village were *Nolibela*, *Panyangere*, *Olagere*, *Kalambartti* (*Kalambetti*), and *Belagalligere*. Besides, some more lands in the villages of *Sripura*, *Dundu-samudra*, *Paleya-Erenallur*, in the middle of *Erepuligere* and *Koyilgotta* (*Koyilgoda*), and some other places were also granted to this temple. *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.158; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173.p.189.
- <sup>449</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.p.10; *Vol.IV*.1898.p.8; *Vol.X*.1905.Introduction.p.xi; Lewis Rice, B.1878.p.138.
- <sup>450</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905 Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984. p.173.
- <sup>451</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.My.25.
- <sup>452</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20.

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- <sup>453</sup> In the in the original transliteration, *Koyilgotta* has read as *Koyilgoda*. Lewis Rice read as *Koyilgoda* in the translation as well. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.186, 189.
- <sup>454</sup> Possibly, the same *Tholur* in the Hosur plates of Sripurusha. Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173; *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47.
- <sup>455</sup> Krishna Ayyar, K.V.1938.pp.2, 83; Sreedhara Menon, A.2008 p.283.
- <sup>456</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.189. 'The eighteen existing chiefs' by Lewis Rice. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.161.
- <sup>457</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>458</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A1.p.435; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.pp.13-14.
- <sup>459</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A27, 43.p.447, 456.
- <sup>460</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.223, 420; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.14.
- <sup>461</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.81.
- <sup>462</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37.
- <sup>463</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.p.4.
- <sup>464</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXXVIII.1981.p.279; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.267.
- <sup>465</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.280-281; *ASMAR*.1912.p.58; *EC*, Vol. XIV.1943.TN.252.
- <sup>466</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>467</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.p.135; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.140.
- <sup>468</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.10, 21; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.366, 378.
- <sup>469</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.
- <sup>470</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.11, 21; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.427.
- <sup>471</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.116.
- <sup>472</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.41; *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.55, 57.
- <sup>473</sup> Rice read *Elumale* or *Ezhimalai* as *Elu-Malavam* and translated as Seven *Malavam*. *EC*, Vol. III. 1894.Nr.35. But there is a good probability to read it as *Ezhimalai* because we have number of Hoysala records speak about the capture of *Ezhimalai* by Vishnuvardhana. *EC*, Vol.II. 1923. SB. 384; Vol.IV.Ng.28, 32, Hs.137; Vol.III.1894.Sr.74; Vol.V.AK.48, Hn.69, 102, BI.77, 137,170,171a.
- <sup>474</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868. p.33.

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- <sup>475</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.182.
- <sup>476</sup> For further details, See; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.67.
- <sup>477</sup> Lewis Rice, B.1909.pp.85-86.
- <sup>478</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50, 56, 73, 75,77,79,80.
- <sup>479</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.32-35; *IA*, Vol.XXV.1896.p.27.
- <sup>480</sup> *Sripurvata* is the modern Srisailem hill, having one of the important Siva temples in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh situated in the western side of the *Nallamalais*, on the right of River Krishna.
- <sup>481</sup> Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty must be the Mayuravarman in the tradition, *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.introduction.p.2.
- <sup>482</sup> Hayavadana Rao, C.1930a.pp.498-499.
- <sup>483</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868.pp.4-5.
- <sup>484</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868.p.58.
- <sup>485</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.53-57.
- <sup>486</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.94-95; M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.55; 2017.p.698.
- <sup>487</sup> *IA*, Vol.XXX.1901.p.412.
- <sup>488</sup> Innes, C.A.1933.p.33.
- <sup>489</sup> *KAS*.2010.p.14.
- <sup>490</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.103.
- <sup>491</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.v.3,8.p.32.
- <sup>492</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.L.11.p.10.
- <sup>493</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Mj.18; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.187, 221-222,262,276.
- <sup>494</sup> *EC*, Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.58, 306, 325,328,345,465,Sa.55,159; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.v.2.p.363.
- <sup>495</sup> Tripurvarta could be the ancient name of Halebidu, the historical capital of the Hoysalas. Moraes George, M.1931.p.38.
- <sup>496</sup> ‘Vishnuvarman, the elder son of Krishnavarman ruling the southern province ornate with his widely spread umbrella, and performer of the horse sacrifice...’ (“.....vikasita-sach-chhatravatamsa-dakshinapatha-vasumati-vasupaty-aswamedha-yaji-sri-kishnavarmma-dharmma-maharaja-jyeshtha-tanyena.....sri-vishnuvarmma-dharmma-maharaja.....”). *EC*, Vol.VI.1901.Kd.162. But Moraes George wrongly interpreted the content of the Birur inscription as Krishnavarman himself was

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the provincial governor of the south. Moraes George, M.1931.p.370. The village Birur is located in the Kadur Taluk of Chikmagalur district of south-western Karnataka.

<sup>497</sup> *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.364; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.54.

<sup>498</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50.

<sup>499</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil assigned Palakkada grant precisely to 486 CE. Jouveau-Dubreuil, G. 1920.p.65-66, 70,98.

<sup>500</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.53.

<sup>501</sup> “*santivaram-maharaja-pallavendrabbhishiktena-sri-vishnuvarmma-maharajena*”. We can find an unintentional mistake in the original translation of the above mentioned record such as ‘Santhivarman, a Pallava ruler’ who installed Vishnuvarman on the throne. *ARMAD*.1925.p.98. But Birur copper plate record says that Santhivarman was the elder brother of Krishnavarman and uncle (*Jyeshtha Pitha*) of Vishnuvarman. *EC*, Vol.VI.1901.Kd.162. Moreover, we don’t have any Pallava or other records which mentioned about the name of a Pallava ruler namely, Santhivarman. According to the present record Vishnuvarman was installed by a Pallava ruler but the name of the ruler is not mentioned in the record instead it using the term ‘*pallavendra*’ and the collective meaning of such lines in the above mentioned record as ‘*Vishnuvarman, the elder son of Krishnavarman was installed in the throne by his uncle Santhivarman along with the Pallava ruler*’.

<sup>502</sup> Scholars have diverse opinions about the geographical location of the place ‘Palakkada’ of the Pallava grant. Subodh Kapoor located it with the modern village of Palakaluru in the Guntur taluk of Andhra Pradesh. Jouveau-Dubreuil giving probability to Guntur district Andhra Pradesh on the basis of the differences in the alphabet from the Kanchipuram (Chandalur) grant of the same ruler and he put forward the reason for that Guntur is far from Kanchipuram. Kapoor, Subodh.2002.p.510; Jouveau-Dubreuil, G.1920.p.66. But on the basis of this view, we can make a contrary argument that the modern Palakkad also having been long distance from Kanchipuram perhaps in excess of Guntur and there is a possibility for script variation. Moreover the Edakkal inscription of Vishnuvarman has also the same cave character features of the Palakkada grant. We have another grant of Simhavarman endowed about the same period of Palakkada from a place namely Dasanapura. *IA*, Vol.V.1984.pp.154-157. Corroborate it with the Mercara plates of Ganga ruler Kongani Mahadhiraja Present writer identified Dasanapura as the Dasanuru, a village in the Nanjangud taluk which is not far from Wayanad and Palakkad. *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; Lewis Rice, B.1983.p.283; M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.50-68.

<sup>503</sup> *IA*, Vol.VI.1984.p.29-30.

<sup>504</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50.

<sup>505</sup> Alexander, P.C.1949.p.150.

<sup>506</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.94-120; *ARMAD*.1933.pp.109-114.

<sup>507</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147.

<sup>508</sup> *IA*, Vol.I.1872.1984.p.365; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; Lewis Rice, B.1983.p.283.

<sup>509</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.54; 2017.p.694.



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<sup>510</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.133.

<sup>511</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.

<sup>512</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-77.

<sup>513</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B.2008. Foreword by M.G.S. Naryanan.

<sup>514</sup> M. S, Dhiraj.2016a.p.58; 2017.p.694.

<sup>515</sup> The term *Melkavu* and *Kizkavu* are closely related to the popular Hindu culture of Kerala region which stand for Upper *Kavu* and Lower *Kavu* respectively and it also proves the existence of *Kavus* (sacred groves) at least from 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards. However the description in the inscription about *Malkavu* or *Melkavu* is not denoting a village instead it must be the name of a non-Aryan shrine or worshiping place. Romila Thapar put forward the root of *mel* and *kiz* to proto-Dravidian and Dravidian origin and it mean that not only the ‘place below’ and the ‘high place’ but east (*Kiz-a-kku*) and west (*mel-u-kku* or *mel-ukku*) as well respectively along with *ten-kku* alias south and *vata-a-kku* alias north and she links it with the Sumerian name *Meluhha* which they used to denote a Harappan trade centre. Thapar, Romila. 2013. pp.279-280. *Thazhekavu* and *Melekavu* are another words usually using as an alternative for *Kizkavu* and *Melkavu* giving the same meaning as Lower *Kavu* and upper *Kavu* respectively.

<sup>516</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.pp.260-261; *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.5.Poem.44, 49.pp.162-163,175-176,182-83; *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.251; *Silappadikaram*.2013.Cantos.27.p.385.

<sup>517</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.No.22.Plate.xxii.p.111.

<sup>518</sup> Ramaswami Ayyangar, M.S & Seshagiri Rao, B.1922.p.140.

<sup>519</sup> McCrindle, John Watson.1885.p.184.

<sup>520</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.15, 69,251,281; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.175; *Ettuthokai-Kuruntogai*.2017.Poem.73.

<sup>521</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.251.

<sup>522</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.44, 65.

<sup>523</sup> William Logan attests that bulk of the land including forest in the Nilambur valley during 19<sup>th</sup> Century CE was under the private control of the Tirumulpad of Nilambur Kovilakam. Logan, William.1989.p.ccclxvii.

<sup>524</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11. This inscription in twenty seven lines is engraved on a pillar in Gudnapur (Gudnapura), about five kilometres from Banavasi, the capital city of the Kadambas.

<sup>525</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50; *Vol.VI*.1984.p.29-30.

<sup>526</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.56-57.

<sup>527</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.50-62.

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<sup>528</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276. Gai read *Kama Jinalaya* as *Kama Devalaya*. Gai, G.S. 1996.pp.110-111.

<sup>529</sup> There are some controversies regarding the Jaina association of the god *Kama* (*Manmatha*) and goddess Padmavati in the Gudnapur record. Some of the scholars observe that the god Manmatha is another name of Bahubali-one of the *Kamadevas* mentioned in the later Jain scriptures. But certain others connect it Kama and Padmavati with Hindu pantheon of gods and Goddesses. Shah, Umakant P. 1987.p.276; Shah, U.P & Dhaky, M.A.1975.p.40. We have a Hoysala inscription belongs to the reign of Ballala II speaks of the construction of a temple for god *Kamatha Parsvadeva*, the cupid form of Parsvanatha Tirthankara on the Shravanabelagola hill in the year 1195 CE by a Hoysala minister Nagadeva. According to this record he constructed a dancing hall as well in front of the god Parsvanatha. Shravanabelagola record is more clearly ascertain the Jain affiliation by Gudnapura record of Ravivarman. *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.335.

<sup>530</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.pp.260-261; *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.5.Poem.44, 49.pp.162-163,175-176,182-83; *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.251; *Silappadikaram*.2013.Cantos.27.p.385.

<sup>531</sup> McCrindle, John Watson.1885.p.184.

<sup>532</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.44, 65.

<sup>533</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.44, 65.

<sup>534</sup> The word *Ambilakundi* can be interpreted into two ways. Firstly, as *Ambal* (water Lily) +*Kundi* (pond or lake) means that pond in which grow water Lilly. *Ambal* is the common word in Tamil and Malayalam languages for water Lilly. Secondly, into *Ambala* (temple) + *Kundi* (pond or lake) means temple pond. The word *Ambalam* in Malayalam denotes temple.

<sup>535</sup> This record says that “*To the south of the Kaveri, which from being the residence of Sri-Ranganatha is the effectual remover of sin, is the Kerala country. Famed in the world, in the Kerala country is Kolemuka-pattana, filled with Brahmans, and with wealthy houses of Vaishyas -faithful adherents of the goddess Bhadrakali of Kudukundi -and with shining ponds surrounded by gardens*”. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82. For further discussion, see M.S, Dhiraj.2016.pp.180-183.

<sup>536</sup> We have another reading of *Mukundi* as *Makundi*. See; Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276.

<sup>537</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.L.26-27.pp.110-111.

<sup>538</sup> Some historians view that these temples located nearby area of the Kadamba royal place at Gudnapura. Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276. But according to the inscription, only the temple of Manmatha or Kama situated on the left side of the royal residence. At the same time, the boundaries of other two temples belong to Kama of Hakinipalli and Padmavati of Kallili not mentioned anywhere in the record.

<sup>539</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.pp.16,19.

<sup>540</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.332-349.

<sup>541</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.

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- <sup>542</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.pp.21-22. The Nilamperur temple tradition (*Palli Bana Perumal* tradition) connects it with the Chera Perumal who is said to have been converted into a non-Hindu religion, See Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.p.22; Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.98.
- <sup>543</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78.
- <sup>544</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-I.1923.p.146.
- <sup>545</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-I.1923.p.146. Desai given probability to the location of Korati in the surroundings of Madura region. Desai, P.B.1957.pp.62, 66-67.
- <sup>546</sup> Identifying *Aranimala* in the Hassan record as the present *Arunattarmalai* near Karur which is known for Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions giving the genealogy of ancient Chera rulers is also possible.
- <sup>547</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.pp.16, 19.
- <sup>548</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Dv.42.
- <sup>549</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Cp.179.
- <sup>550</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71, 75; 2013.pp.231-239,250.
- <sup>551</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.pp.16, 19.
- <sup>552</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349.
- <sup>553</sup> *EI*, Vol.XVI.1983.No.27.pp.339-45; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.A.46.pp.183, 199,458.
- <sup>554</sup> Narayanan M.G.S.2013.p.232.
- <sup>555</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78.
- <sup>556</sup> *EI*, Vol.XVI.1983.No.27.pp.339-45; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.46.pp.183, 199,458.
- <sup>557</sup> *EI*, Vol.XVI.1983.No.27.pp.343-344; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.46.p.458.
- <sup>558</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.183, 234.
- <sup>559</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.234.
- <sup>560</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.36.pp.183, 198,236,452; *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.pp. 285-90.
- <sup>561</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71.
- <sup>562</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-77; 2013.Index.B.23.p.341, 484.
- <sup>563</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.Plate.ix.p.130.
- <sup>564</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2000.p.21.

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<sup>565</sup> Shah, U.P & Dhaky, M.A.1975.pp.40, 46.

<sup>566</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.p.72.

<sup>567</sup> EC, VoVIII.1904.Nr.35, Tl.192,Sa.28,66,80,95,113,114.

<sup>568</sup> EC, VoVIII.1904.Nr.35. A 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE Western Ganga record also speaks about the prominence given to Padmavati cult by the Santaras. EC, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.4.

<sup>569</sup> Santara royal family had marriage alliance with the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu (Wayanad). Records says that *Kava-Deva*, one of the member of the Santara family had married the daughter (Chandala-Devi) of *Bira-Bayalnatha* (lord of the Bira-Bayal-[nadu]), and they had son named Tyagi-santara. EC, VoVIII.1904.Nr.35. Medieval Bira-Bayal-nadu was the present Wayanad region which was one of the administrative divisions belongs to the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu. M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.135-148.

<sup>570</sup> KCHRAR.2010-2011.p.10.

<sup>571</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.129.

<sup>572</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p19; 2013.Index.B1.p.474.

<sup>573</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.19-20; 2013.Index.A62, B23, C28.pp.465,484,495.

<sup>574</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276.

<sup>575</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276.

<sup>576</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.pp.276, 298

<sup>577</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.276. Gai read *Kama Jinalaya* as *Kama Devalaya*. Gai, G.S.1996.pp.110-111.

<sup>578</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.SB.335.

<sup>579</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.SB.347.

<sup>580</sup> This record (Fig.4-5) was discovered from Mathilakam near Trissur when the Archaeology department conducted an excavation in the year 2014. This granite slab has in broken status. The inscription engraved on a broken piece of slab measure 68cm length, 24cm width, and 15-16cm thick. It was removed by the state Archaeological Department and now preserved and displayed in the School of Social Science Museum at Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam. The script of the record is Malayalam vatteluttu. Present researcher read it with the help of an expert from state Archaeology Department. It contains some crucial descriptions regarding Jainism in Kerala like *Amana*, *Vadakkirikal*, etc. One more unpublished fragmentary inscription (Fig.6) from the same site starts with 'thiru-kkunvay-thevarkku.....' (To the God *Tirukkunavay*). With the help of these records, the place where it discovered namely Mathilakam can more clearly be identified as *Thrikanamathilakam* alias *Kunavayir Kottam* from where Ilango Adigal wrote his *Silappadikaram*. And it also can be identified as *Trikunavay* find mentions in some other Jain Vatteluttu records from different parts of northern Kerala.

<sup>581</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.129.

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<sup>582</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.55; *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.65, 66.

<sup>583</sup> At present, in the Tamil country the word *Aruvaani* has also using to call eunuch (the third gender).

<sup>584</sup> *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.67-68.

<sup>585</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22. The opening part of the *Silappadikaram* designates Ilango Adigal as “*Kunavayir kottatharachu turandhiruntha kudakkocheral ilangoadikal*”. It meant that the “*Kudakkocheral Ilango who had renounced his royalty and was permanently residing in the hermitage of Kunavayil*”. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.48. *Silappadikaram*.1939.Pathigam.p.77

<sup>586</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20-21.

<sup>587</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas 45-48.pp.58-60. In Malayalam, the word Mathilakam means ‘a place surrounded by wall or fort’.

<sup>588</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22.

<sup>589</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas.45-48.pp.58-60; *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.40-41. *Kokasandesam* speaks of the presence of a big temple (*perumkoyil*) of *Purari* or *Siva* called as *Kunaka Thampuram* (Lord of *Kunaka*) in Mathilakam (“*chelvam-cherunnakkunakayilakam-pukku-nee-tekku-nokki-chellunnam-tiraviya-perumkoyil-kanam-puraree*”). *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.47.p.59.

<sup>590</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.21.

<sup>591</sup> Certain descriptions in the poem make us suspicious about the non-sramana purity of the *Siva* temple. According to the poem *Dvijas* (Brahmins) are neither permitted to enter the temple nor to see directly the god instead they can worship from outside of the shrine (*Chemme kanmanaruthu kunakatthampurane dvijanmar kkenrat niyum thozhuka purame ninru*). *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.48.p.60.

<sup>592</sup> *Sukasandesam*.1985.p.8; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20-22. The messenger of the poem is a Parrot (*Shuka*) on its flight from Rameswaram (in Tamil Nadu) to Gunaka with a message of the hero to the heroine namely Unni-Apphulla alias Rangalakshmi, a resident of Gunaka. According to the poem *Gunaka* is situated not far from the city of Mahodayapuram (Chera capital) and river *Churni* (Periyar).

<sup>593</sup> *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.40-41.

<sup>594</sup> *Sukasandesam*.1985.p.70-75.

<sup>595</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.pp.3, 55,147.

<sup>596</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Pathigam.p.77; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.17.

<sup>597</sup> Pachori, Laxminarayan.1989.pp.34, 43.

<sup>598</sup> The renowned scholar M.G.S. Narayanan observes that the term *Koothu* find mentions in the *Silappadikaram* denotes a typical temple art form of Kerala known as *Chakyar Koothu*. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013a.p.29. But probably the word *Koothu* just denotes here to get the meaning as dance which

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comprised any kind of dance form. Still in Tamil the word *Koothu* simply means that dance than any particular kind of dance forms.

<sup>599</sup> ‘*anjazhi-kollu-midangazhiyil-mup-paththarukala-nel-li-ramesurathu-manda-bathil-[kuttang]-kudiyirunnadhil-i[vvandu]-mudhal-thiru-[kkuna]-vaikku-m-thirukkuththung-kudich-ch-[lvadhu]-{I}*’. For Tamil transliteration, See; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.70-79.p.45.

<sup>600</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.L.12, 47.pp.76-78.

<sup>601</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.458.p.385.

<sup>602</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Kl.109.

<sup>603</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.98.

<sup>604</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71.

<sup>605</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A64.B7.pp.466, 477.

<sup>606</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A38.p.454; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.7J.p.45; *Vol.V*.Part-II.1925.No.62.p.190.

<sup>607</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A27.p.447.

<sup>608</sup> *SII*, Vol.XVII.1964.No.1011.p.480; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.473.pp.399-400.

<sup>609</sup> In south India there are a number of places which have the name Enadimangalam. Even in Kerala also there is one Enadimangalam which located in the Adoor Tehsil of Pathanamthitta district. The term ‘Enadi’ was an official title similar with ‘Kavidi’ and ‘Etti’ bestowed by the Tamil kings on their high profile commanders and other officials. In the case of the Enadimangalam in the Pathanamthitta district this title might have been bestowed by the Ay kings whose empire also comprised the present Pathanamthitta region including Enadimangalam. Enadimangalam in the present Tirunarungondai inscription must be the place with the same name located in the Villupuram district of Tamil Nadu. *SII*, Vol.XVII.1964.No.1011.p.480; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.473.pp.399-400.

<sup>610</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919a.No.647.p.1588.

<sup>611</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919a.No.424.p.1563.

<sup>612</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.

<sup>613</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74.

<sup>614</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Bn.85c.

<sup>615</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919.No.715.pp.120-121.

<sup>616</sup> Rangacharya, V.1985.No.677.p.1315.

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- <sup>617</sup> Rangacharya, V.1985.No.852.p.1340.
- <sup>618</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919.No.877, 1073.pp.421, 451.
- <sup>619</sup> *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21.
- <sup>620</sup> *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21. Kudalur is a village situated in the Channapatna taluk of Karnataka.
- <sup>621</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232.
- <sup>622</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919.No.147.p.338.
- <sup>623</sup> Rangacharya, V.1919.No.1182.p.465.
- <sup>624</sup> *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21.
- <sup>625</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXV.1939-40.1985.p.253; Rangacharya, V.1985. No.196.p.1073.
- <sup>626</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.17-22.
- <sup>627</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>628</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>629</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-71, 76-77; 2013.Index.A62.B1, 23.pp.465, 484.
- <sup>630</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.20-21.
- <sup>631</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas.45-48, pp.58-60.
- <sup>632</sup>“pinnekkanam-chathiyil-mutirum-vaniyakkarak-tammil-thinnam-pesi-theruvilutane-vaniyam-cheyyumaru” (‘afterward you can see the traders (*Vaniyar*) who are notorious for dishonest trade, making business (*Vaniyam* or *Vanibham*) while talking aloud with each other’). *Kokasandesam*.1965.Sloka.48.p.55.
- <sup>633</sup> *ARMAD*.1909.No.83.p.21.
- <sup>634</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Slokas.45-48,pp.58-60; *Sukasandesam*.1985.pp.40-41.
- <sup>635</sup> *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.47.p.59.
- <sup>636</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.21.
- <sup>637</sup> Certain descriptions in the poem make us suspicious about the non-Sramana antiquity of the Siva temple. According to the poem *Dvijas* (Brahmins) are neither permitted to enter the temple nor to see directly the god instead they can worship from outside of the shrine (“*chemme-kanmanaruthu-kunakattampurane-dvijanmar-kkenrat-niyum-thozhuka-purame-ninru*”). *Kokasandesam*.2007.Sloka.48.p.60.
- <sup>638</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Bp.16.

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<sup>639</sup> The legend was narrated in a variety of forms in many inscriptions. *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.132; Vol.III.1894.Md.121,TN.97; Vol.IV.1898.Ng.29,32,38,39,70,98,103,105,Kr.9,10,29,63; Vol.V.1902.BI.74,112,17,Hn.65,Ak.71,82,108.

<sup>640</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.32.

<sup>641</sup> The *Bayal-nad* alias Wayanad can be clearly proves from the records of the Kadambas of Bayal-nad. They were the offshoot of the early Kadambas of Banavasi. Some Hale-Kannada inscriptions from HD Kote Taluk of Mysore district and a Malayalam vatteluttu record from Sulthan Bathery belongs to this dynasty clearly says that the territory between these two regions, might be beyond that were once under the control of them and their country known as Bayal-nadu which comprised two sub sections, Viz., *Bira Bayal-nadu* and *Changi Bayalu-nadu*. The present Wayanad district of Kerala included in the *Vira* or *Bira Bayal-nadu* section and the present name Wayanad must be derived from the Kannada *Bayal-nadu*. Certain later records from Wayanad also mentioned *Vira-Vayalnad* as *Peraviyanad* or *Piraviyanad*. For further details, See; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,75,77,79,80; *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135; Raghava Varier, M.R. 2012.pp.49-50; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.135-148.

<sup>642</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.67, 143.

<sup>643</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.58.

<sup>644</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.180, 196.

<sup>645</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.349; Vol.V.1902.Cn.148.

<sup>646</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.199.

<sup>647</sup> The Nagamangala inscription states that Ballala's bravery warning the "*Chera to abandon their enmity*," and the Arsikere record speaks that the drum beat of Ballala will make the sound alike the king's proclamation as "*Cherama give up your courage*". *EC*, Vol.V.1902.AK.62; Vol.IV.1898.Ng.28.

<sup>648</sup> These records speak about Charukirti Pandita, one among the hereditary line of *gurus* at the Shravanabelagola *matha* (monastery), acquired the title as *Ballala Jivarakhshaka* because he cured an awful illness which was suffered by king Ballala I. *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.254,258.

<sup>649</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.

<sup>650</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.76; Vol.V.1902.BI.17, Ak.18.

<sup>651</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.132.

<sup>652</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.384.

<sup>653</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.23.

<sup>654</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.62.

<sup>655</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Cn.179.

<sup>656</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.117, BI.193.



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<sup>657</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.AK.48, Hn.69, 102, Bl.77, 137,170,171a; *Vol. II.1923.SB.384*; *Vol.III.1894.Sr.74*; *Vol.IV.1898.Ng.28, 32, Hs.137*.

<sup>658</sup> The word *Elimalai* or *Ezhimalai* has its origin from two Malayalam words such as *Eli* and *Malai* denotes *rat* and *mount* respectively. The dynasty of these rulers known as *Mushakavamsa* in Sanskrit and the word *Eli* or *rat* is the Malayalam form of Sanskrit *Mushaka* which also means *rat*. These chieftains reigned in the northern part of Kerala comprising present districts of Kannur, Kasaragod and part of Kozhikode and Mangalore. They were the ancestors of *Kolathiri* kings of the *Kolathunadu*. *Ezimala* rulers played an important role in the ancient and medieval political history of Kerala. The Sanskrit *Mushakavamsa Kavya* authored by Atula who is believed to have lived at about 12th Century C.E, the court poet of *Mushaka* king Srikanta give ample evidence about that kingdom. Unni, N.P.1980.pp.7-23. Marco polo explains it as *Eli* kingdom which situated 300 miles west of Comari (Kanyakumari). According to him, “the king was very rich, but less power full in men”. Murray, Hugh.1844.p.311.

<sup>659</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Bl.119.

<sup>660</sup> This record (1123 CE) refers that Vishnuvardhana devotionally caused to be erected a Jina temple for *Acharya Sripala Traividya Deva*, and granted the village namely *Salva* for repair, worship and other daily needs of that *basti*. *Sripala Traividya Deva* was a promulgator of the philosophy of *Syadvada*, and ornamented with the hereditary titles like *vadibha-simha*, *vadi-kolahala*, and *tarkkika-chakravarti*. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Cn.149.

<sup>661</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.73, 125,240,251,384,397.

<sup>662</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.131-132,141-143.

<sup>663</sup> This record further says that the “*great king Vishnu saying I will give you a much better village and bringing them along with him, he gave them here Kellangere, which was adorned with all the Brahmins*”. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.110.

<sup>664</sup> *Brahmadeya* was one of the typical features of the Brahmin-temple oriented medieval feudal order of entire India. This is the tax free land grant either in the form of single plot or an entire village donated to Brahmins.

<sup>665</sup> Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam.1959.pp.8-44; Veluthat, Kesavan.2013.pp.113, 121-123.

<sup>666</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S. 2013.pp.73-74.

<sup>667</sup> During this time Vikrama Chola (1118-1135 CE) was the Chola ruler and he was one among the weak rulers of this dynasty. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.53,119,Cn.149,Ak.18,Bl.17,124.

<sup>668</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.129.

<sup>669</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.129.pp.129-134; *Keralolpathi*. 1868.pp.26-29, 65-66,73-75.

<sup>670</sup> *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*.2005.pp.29-31.

<sup>671</sup> Refer the part on the ‘Later Cheras and the Kerala Jainism’. Also see: *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A71.pp.469-470.

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- <sup>672</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.pp.130, 145,469.
- <sup>673</sup> “...[yi]-ramar-thiruvadi-koyiladhikarigalayina-sri-kulasekarach-chakki-ravarththigal-kurakkenik-kola-ththu panangavi-n-koyilagathi-runnarula-ariyarodu-vanna-virodhaththinu-prayachchith-thithathinu-putha-na-raiyal-padhinazhi-kkollum-parayal-niyatham-oro-paraich-seidhu.nel...”. *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.13-28.p.44; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.p.469.
- <sup>674</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.70.
- <sup>675</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924. No.13.L.17-19.
- <sup>676</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.
- <sup>677</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.pp.21-22. Interestingly, the Nilamperur temple tradition (*Palli Bana Perumal* tradition) also connects with the last Chera Perumal who is said to have been converted into a *Sramana* religion. Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.p.22; Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.p.98.
- <sup>678</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.L.107-111.p.45; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-78.
- <sup>679</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.
- <sup>680</sup> *SHI*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 325,345,359,374,381.pp.122-123,126,128,130-131; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-59, 61; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.410.p.340.
- <sup>681</sup> *SHI*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 325,345,359,374,381.pp.122-123,126,128,130-131. Some of them called *Kurandi* as *Kurandi Tirtha*.
- <sup>682</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-59, 61.
- <sup>683</sup> Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.410.p.340.
- <sup>684</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-59, 61-62.
- <sup>685</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>686</sup> Inscriptional evidences shows that there were number of *Kattamballies* existed in Kerala-Tamil region during medieval period. At present we have a lots of places have the name *Kattamballi*. The term *Kattamballi* has comprised two words ‘kadu’ and ‘palli’ means ‘forest’ and ‘hamlet’ respectively. Probably these names used to get the meaning as ‘Jain settlements inside the forest’.
- <sup>687</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-I.1923.p.146.
- <sup>688</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.61-62, 66-67.
- <sup>689</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.57-58; *SHI*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 374, 381.pp.122, 130-131.
- <sup>690</sup> *SHI*, Vol.V.1986.No.318, 374, 381.pp.122, 130-131.
- <sup>691</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.

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<sup>692</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.

<sup>693</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.

<sup>694</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol. XII.1984.pp.16, 19.

<sup>695</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Dv.42.

<sup>696</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Cp.179.

<sup>697</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol. XII.1984.pp.16, 19.

<sup>698</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349.

<sup>699</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78. Because in Kerala, sometimes the numerical bodies like *Annurruvar* or *Ezhunnuruvar* did not comprised exactly what the number mentioned as its name like *Ayiram* (Thousand) equal to thousand members or *Annurru* (Five Hundred ) equal to the five hundred members, but it will comprised multiple of Ten, means Thousand equal to Ten Thousand and Five Hundred equal to Five Thousand. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232.

<sup>700</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.46.pp.183, 199,458; *EI*, Vol.XVI.1983.No.27.pp.339-45.

<sup>701</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.36.pp.183, 198,236,452; *IA*, Vol.XX.1985.pp.285-90.

<sup>702</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.183, 234.

<sup>703</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.234.

<sup>704</sup> At the same time, if we consider the Five Hundred of Puraikilanadu as equal to Five Thousand, the prince of the Kurumbranad became Elamkoor.

<sup>705</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.

<sup>706</sup> Identifying *Aranimalai* in the Hassan record as the present *Arunattarmalai* near Karur which has its historical fame for Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions giving the genealogy of ancient Chera rulers also desirable.

<sup>707</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20.

<sup>708</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.155-161; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.182-189.

<sup>709</sup> For further details, refer the part of 'Jainism under the Western Gangas'.

<sup>710</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.

<sup>711</sup> *EC*, Vol. II.1923.SB.118.

<sup>712</sup> *EC*, Vol. II.1923.SB.132.

<sup>713</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.53; Chandramouli, N & M.S, Dhiraj.2017.pp.26-27.

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- <sup>714</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.
- <sup>715</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.
- <sup>716</sup> In the Transcript, it is mentioned as *Kolam Kolamuka-pattana*. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.
- <sup>717</sup> In the Transcript, it is mentioned as *Perar*. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.
- <sup>718</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.
- <sup>719</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.108.
- <sup>720</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.245, 258,279,460,470.
- <sup>721</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.131-132; *Keralolpathi*.1868.p.69.
- <sup>722</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.313, 452.
- <sup>723</sup> Cox, J.L.1829.p.194.
- <sup>724</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.75, 87.
- <sup>725</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.46, 75,87,178,180,195.
- <sup>726</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.108.
- <sup>727</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.165.p.69; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.470.
- <sup>728</sup> “*nana-ratna-parikshey-embudadutannond-angavantirkkedha-tri-natharkkalachitta-vrittigalai chchhamatradim-ballanembi-nistarada-kunjanambi...udara-meru-maleyalasri-kuloddharakam*”. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.108.
- <sup>729</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp.100-101,113.
- <sup>730</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.9, 10.
- <sup>731</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Sr.51.
- <sup>732</sup> This inscription says that a person namely *Karikudakkuttan* of Talakad alias Rajarajapuram purchased land in lieu of gold (*ponnar-ittu-mannar-kkondur*) and constructed temple (*pallipaduttu*) and decorated the gods with dress and ornaments (*pallikaputirti*) at Vagisvaramangalam. He benevolently offered (*dhara-purvakam-panni-kkudutten*) serpent dance (*pampu-thullal*), *noorum-paalum* and all other rituals as well to the three gods (*id-devarkal-muvarkum*) of this temple. Lewis Rice read this part of the inscription as “...*talakkadana rajarajapurattu-narettarapura-nam-putran-karikudakkuttan-ponnar-ittu-mannar-kkondur-namm-urukku-orappaneyaha-tambi-puludi-pamuran-vagisvaramangalam-idir-pallipudutta-pulikapuderti-bhupa-tulikkal-nar-pal-ellaiyum-id-devarkal-muvarkum-dhara-purvakam-panni-kkudutten....*” *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Ml.99. But the terms “*bhupa tulikkal*” should be read as *pampu-tulikkal* and “*nar-pal*” as *noorum-paalum*.
- <sup>733</sup> Fawcett, F.2004.pp.276-277,280-81; Ravindran Nair, G.1993.pp.21-22.

<sup>734</sup>Lewis Rice opined that Ballala of the record is probably the Yadava king Kandhara. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Introduction.xxv-xxvi.note1. But this could be Ballala II, grandfather of Somesvara. In the case of Hoysala rulers, overlapping of their regnal periods was common due to the simultaneous rule of King and Yuvaraja. It is said that long-lived king Ballala II (c.1173-1220 CE) and his son and grandson, Viz., Narasimha II and Somesvara governed the kingdom simultaneously. Derrett, John Duncan Martin.1957.p.107. Kunje-Setti probably lived during the simultaneous reign of Ballala II in the north and Narasimha II in the Southern part of the kingdom.

<sup>735</sup>*Uchchangi* was powerful hill fort city of the medieval period controlled by Pandyas but Ballala II captured it and due to that he got the title *Giridurggamalla*. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.178,BI.137; Vol.IV.1898.Ng.70,Hg.113. *Uchchangi* can be identified as the present Uchangidurga village near Harpanahalli in the Davanagere district of Karnataka.

<sup>736</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.1902.Ak.108. According to the present record, Kunje-setti was a dweller of *Kolamuka-pattana* but from *Padiyur*. *Padiyur* could be the present place with the same name near Mathilakam (*Thrikanamathilakam*) in Trissur district.

<sup>737</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82, 108. We have some more Hoysala records which speak about the trade guild *Ubhaya-Nanadesi* or *Nanadesi*. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.79, Ag.53. We also have a number of records which attest the presence of merchant guild corporations like *Anchuvannam*, *Manikkiramam*, *Valanchiyar*, and *Nanadesi* in different parts of Kerala including Panthalayani Kollam. *Anchuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* were the corporations of Jews and Christians respectively, and *Valanchiyar* probably Mussalman's guild. For further discussion, see; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp. 313-314,460.

<sup>738</sup>The word *Chetty*, *Setti*, and *Shetty* in the early period used to denotes traders. Eventually, it became a synonym of caste due to the emergence of occupation based caste system, particularly in Kerala.

<sup>739</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.327.

<sup>740</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.137, 187,188,191,193,194,235,236,252.

<sup>741</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.

<sup>742</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82.

<sup>743</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.83, 108,109. The term *Kakara* affixed with the name of *Kanda-Nambi-Setti* in the record could be denoting a place name where he belongs. His father's name *Kakara Manavala* has more evidently confirmed this hypothesis. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.108, 109. This place is probably the same *Trikkakara*, one of the chief medieval temple cities of Kerala. An inscription found here connect *Panthalayani Kollam* (Koyilandi-Kollam) and *Trikkakara*. It says that one Govindan Kunrappolan from *Kuvalayini* (*Kollam Panthalayani*) made a certain grant to *Trikkakara* temple. At the present state of our knowledge, we can't predict that the Govindan in the *Trikkakara* (1004 CE) record and Govinda, the Vaishya ruler of Kollam alias *Kolamuka-pattana* in the *Arakere* record (1234 CE) have any relation on account of a gap of more than two centuries between both records. Possibly, one was the forefather of the other. For further discussion, see; *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.pp. 313,452.

<sup>744</sup> The *Nambi* became *Nambiar*. The presence of *Nambiar* sub caste of Nair community is generally found in the northern region of Kerala similar with the *Pillas* in the south. According to *Keralolpathi* tradition, *Nambis* were warrior class with half-Brahmin origin. "*ardha-brahmanar-ayudhapaanikalai-*

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*paadu-nadakkukayum-pada –koottukayum-akambady-nadakkukayum-cheyyum; athukondu-val-nambiyayathu*”. *Keralolpathi*. 1868.pp.7,14

<sup>745</sup> Samanta Nairs were very seldom participates in the warfare, instead their counterparts like *Kiryathil Nair*, *Illathu Nair*, etc., command the force.

<sup>746</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.21; Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.pp.51-52.

<sup>747</sup> To corroborate Poothadi alias Poothapadi, see; *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.65-66, 96; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.138-146.

<sup>748</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.pp.78-79.

<sup>749</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.ix, xiv.

<sup>750</sup> Krishna Rao, K.S.2008.p.8.

<sup>751</sup> The annual pilgrimage to this Bhagavati temple during the *Bharani* festival in the month of March-April (ME: Minam) significant for toddy-drinking, cock-sacrificing, obscene-shouting rabbles in thousands even today. Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.232, 250n4.

<sup>752</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.p.22.

<sup>753</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.Introduction.p.ix.

<sup>754</sup> Chakravarti, A.1944.P.43; M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.54; One of the Mangulam (Madura district) Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE) record that the cave was caused to be carved by one *Antai Assutan*, an official (*Kaviti*) of the merchant guild of Vellarai. Antai Assutan was also designated as *Kalathikan* (*Kalatika*), the superintendent of pearls. The gift has made to the senior Jain monk (*Kani*) named Nantasri Kuvan. See, Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.123, 315.

<sup>755</sup> The place name *Muthanga* also can be interpreted as the abbreviated form of *Muthangadi*.

<sup>756</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.54-55; 2016a.p.54; 2017.p.694.

<sup>757</sup> *KCHRAR*.2010-2011.pp.8-10.

<sup>758</sup> We only have the presence of two traditional Jain families in Kerala, except Wayanad district. One settled in Kasaragod district and another at Palakkad.

<sup>759</sup> *KCHRAR*.2010-2011.pp.9-10.

<sup>760</sup> Sreedhara Menon, A.pp.136-137.

<sup>761</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S. pp.100-101,113.

<sup>762</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Sr.51.

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<sup>763</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.90. The place namely *Tirinalur* could be the same Thirunelli in Wayanad because this record says that his daughter's name is *Ranganili*. The *Nili* or *Neeli* name was very common among the Nair women folk of medieval Kerala.

<sup>764</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.89.Ak.125.

<sup>765</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.90.

<sup>766</sup> *Unnuneeli Manipravala Kavya* has great value for the reconstruction of the socio-political and the cultural history of late medieval Kerala. From this work, we can extract the history of the medieval feudal social system, the status of women, festivals, minor kingdoms like *Venadu*, *Odanadu*, *Tekkumkur*, *Vadakkumkur* and their kings, Muslim invasion to Pandya kingdom, and so on. *Unnuneeli Sandesam*.1955.p.89, 127-174.

<sup>767</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2009.p.13. The Sixteenth Century Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa elaborately describes the crucial role played and rights enjoyed by the Nair women in the kingdom and the palace of the Zamorins of Calicut. Stanley, Henry E.J.1866.pp.111-113,130-131.

<sup>768</sup> Fawcett, F.2004.pp.276-277,280-81; Ravindran Nair, G.1993.pp.21-22.

<sup>769</sup> Nairs of Kerala still believes that *Naga* curse have the power to destruct their prosperity and can change the fate. On account of that they provide mixer of milk, turmeric, and lime as food by *Noorum-paalum*. Similarly, satisfying by symbolic sexual intercourse dancing with virgin girls called *Pampu-Thullal*.

<sup>770</sup> *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.pp.20-22; 2016.pp.75, 77; Raghava Varier identified *Marudur* alias *Tirumarudur* mentioned in the *Unniyachi Charitham* as the present Varadur in Wayanad. Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.54. But this must not be true. Present Maddur in Mandya district of Karnataka could be the *Marudur* in the poem. Inscriptions from there in the *Varadaraja Perumal* and the *Narasimha Perumal* temples clearly attests its medieval name as *Marudur*. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.3, 7,32. Interestingly, two Tamil-Grantha inscriptions from these temples speak that it was engraved from the order of a king namely *Konerinmai Kondan*. This name must be a surname, and the earliest evidence of the use of *Konerinmai Kondan* has found in the 1000 CE Jewish copperplates (Cochin deeds) by the Chera sovereign Bhaskara Ravivarman (962-1021CE). *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.3,7; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.Appendix.III.pp.79-81.

<sup>771</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936. pp.136,141,146,150,194,231,262,282,306,320.

<sup>772</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.141-145.

<sup>773</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.p.5.

<sup>774</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.7, 8, 231-261.

<sup>775</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.6-8. Although this scholar gives a probability to 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE itself on account the 5<sup>th</sup> stanza of *Neelakesi* which refers to the doctrines of one *Thevar*, the author of *Thirukkural* namely Tiruvalluvar. *Neelakesi*.1936.P.10-11.

<sup>776</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2008.p.216.

<sup>777</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.11-12.

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- <sup>778</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.15,17.
- <sup>779</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.1997.pp.97-98; 2008.p.216. For the full story, see; *Neelakesi*.1936.1936.pp.15-17.
- <sup>780</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.136-140; Chakravarti, A.1944.pp.103-106.
- <sup>781</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.p.11; Ramaswamy, Vijaya.1997.pp.97-98; 2008.p.216.
- <sup>782</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2008.p.98.
- <sup>783</sup> Purnalingam Pillai, M.S.1985.pp.146-147.
- <sup>784</sup> Chakravarti, A.1944.pp.85-87.
- <sup>785</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.p.180n.
- <sup>786</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2007.p.55.
- <sup>787</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.*Perumpanattrupadai*.pp.132-133.
- <sup>788</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.*Nedunalvadai*.pp.182-183.
- <sup>789</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.*Tirumurugattrupadai*.p.357.
- <sup>790</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.pp.47,49,179,180n.
- <sup>791</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.p.179n.
- <sup>792</sup> Schuler, Barbara. 2009.pp.253-254.
- <sup>793</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.11-12.
- <sup>794</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.12-13.
- <sup>795</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.p.18.
- <sup>796</sup> *Periya Puranam*.2004.p.539; Thallam, Sarada.2013.p.85.
- <sup>797</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Cantos.xxix.p.328. Ancient Vanji can be identified as the *Thiruvanchikulam* of the later Cheras, which as the same as the present Kodungallur.
- <sup>798</sup> *Kuratti* is the Tamil feminine word to denote Sanskrit *guru*.
- <sup>799</sup> Cort, John E.1998.p195.
- <sup>800</sup> *TAS*.Vol.I.1988.pp.284,287; *Vol.IV*.Part-I.1923.p.147; *III*, Vol.V.1986.No.319,322-324,326,355-356,370-372,394.pp.122-123,127,129,132; Desai, P.B.1957.p.67.
- <sup>801</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.x.p.157; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.85,87.



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<sup>802</sup> The manuscript of this work was collected from a native of Payyanur and then published by distinguished scholar Dr. Hermann Gundert in 1844. Unfortunately, the copy of the work was either piecemeal or incomplete. According to Gundert, “*this poem is certainly the oldest specimen of Malayalam composition which I have seen; the language is rich and bold, evidently of a time when the infusions from Sanskrit had not reduced the energy of the tongue, by cramping it with hosts of unmeaning participles. But the copy which I have, is so full of antiquated terms and so disfigured by errors of transcription, that I could not now undertake to give a correct version of the whole, valuable as such a picture of bygone times would doubtless be*”. Gundert, H.1844.p.13-14.

<sup>803</sup> See; Parameswara Iyer, Ulloor S.2014.p.358 as well.

<sup>804</sup> The remaining part of the poem plainly a fragment closes in the 104<sup>th</sup> verse, with an account of wares, replete with obscure terms, free from any anachronisms. Gundert, H.1844.pp.14-16. On the basis of the Malayalam translation of the same text by Ulloor, present researcher made certain minor correction in the original translation of Gundert. See; Parameswara Iyer, Ulloor S.2014.pp.357-359.

<sup>805</sup> Parameswara Iyer, Ulloor S.2014.pp.357-359.

<sup>806</sup> Antony, P.2000.pp.51-60; Przyluski, Jean.1939.p.533.

<sup>807</sup> Przyluski, Jean.1939.p.533.

<sup>808</sup> Ulloor repudiates any kind of relation between the Jain work *Neelakesi* and the *Neelakesi Pattu* of Payyanur. Parameswara Iyer, Ulloor S.2014.p.357.

<sup>809</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.p.13.

<sup>810</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2008.p.217.

<sup>811</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2008.pp.217-218; *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.13-14; *Periya Puranam*.2004.pp.365-366.

<sup>812</sup> Vellalar community in Tamil Nadu is equal to the Nairs of Kerala. Both communities have the same sub cast called *Pillai*. Pillas are usually found in the southern part of Kerala than the Malabar region. In the northern Kerala Pillas substitutes Nambiar sub cast.

<sup>813</sup> *Neelakesi*.1936.pp.13-14.

<sup>814</sup> *Periya Puranam*.2004.p.366.

<sup>815</sup> Ramaswamy, Vijaya.2008.pp.215-216. Sundarar’s *Thiruthondathogai* (the history of the holy devotees) which gives the list of sixty two Nayanar saints speak of Karaikal Ammaiyar as just as *Peyar* (the renowned one who is a demon). Later this tradition has elaborated by Nambi Andar Nambi and Sekkizhar during 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE. See; Thallam, Sarada.2013.pp.83-84.

<sup>816</sup> Thallam, Sarada.2013.p.85. For the poetic verses and full story of *Karaikal Ammaiyar* by Sekkizhar, see; *Periya Puranam*.2004.pp.532-540.

<sup>817</sup> *Aithiyamala*.Part-I.2011.pp.35-66.

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<sup>818</sup> *Aithihyamala*.Part-I.2011.p.65.

<sup>819</sup> Kurup, K.K.N.1988.p.13.

<sup>820</sup> Some of the stories are available in written form from the work entitled *Aithihyamala* of Kottarathil Sankunni. *Aithihyamala*.Part-I.2011.pp.151-158; *Part-III*.2011.pp.44-47; *Part-IV*.2011.pp.120-124.

<sup>821</sup> The historical novel authored by C.V. Raman Pillai published in 1891 under the title *Marthanda Varma* has also illustrated the story of *Kalliyankattu Neeli*. In the end of *Marthanda Varma*, the Vampire Neeli began to be worshipped as Mother Goddess. The Malayalam movie under the title *Kalliyankattu Neeli* released in the year 1979 also based on the same Vampire Neeli story. This story is also the chief theme of the folk theatre still in the state. Raman Pillai, C.V.1998 pp.44-42.

<sup>822</sup> The phrase '*Neeli Kanneer*' is well prevalent in Kerala and Tamil Nadu to denote the 'hypocritical tears' or 'false tears' or 'crocodile tears' shedding by a women.

<sup>823</sup> The word *Mana* denotes as the residence of Brahmin families in Kerala. Surya Kalady mana is situated in Nattassery near Kottayam. Surya Kalady Mana is one of the richest Brahmin families of Kerala who famous for their *Mantravata* practice especially to ward off evil spirits.

<sup>824</sup> This fable with little variation was illustrated in the *Aithihyamala* of Kottarathil Sankunni. In this story the name Yakshi only mentioned instead of either *Neeli* or *Kalliyankattu Neeli*. *Aithihyamala*.Part-I.2011.pp.151-158.

<sup>825</sup> Schuler, Barbara.2009.pp.256-258.

<sup>826</sup> Raman Pillai, C.V.1998.*Marthanda Varma*. Menon, B.K.p.49.

<sup>827</sup> *Unnuneeli Sandesam*.1955.pp.89,103-106.

<sup>828</sup> *TAS*, Vol.IV.Part-II.1924.No.38.pp.144-145; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A7.pp.437-438.

<sup>829</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A17.pp.442-443; *SII*, Vol.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.103.pp.235-236.

<sup>830</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A24.p.445; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.No.36.p170.

<sup>831</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.71-72,97.

<sup>832</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.90. The place namely Tirinalur could be the same Thirunelli in Wayanad. Etymologically both Nair and Nayaka give the same meaning as military commander. We have some more Hoysala records speaking about the Nayaka soldiers from Kerala like *Nayaka-Devar-Pillai*, *Malayala Babeya-Nayaka*, *Puliyavadambu Paramesvara-Nayaka*, *Nambi-Nayaka*, etc., who played a crucial role in the Hoysala army. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Sr.51; *Vol.V*.1902.BI.89,Ak.125. The group called Nayakas who were famous for bravery had an important role in the Hoysala army. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.9,10. There is a good possibility to reach an inference that the term 'Nayaka' of Hoysala army become 'Nair' in Kerala. At the same time, it is hard to deny the fact that during the establishment of the second Chera Empire onwards the Nair community became prominent in the Kerala social and political sphere. No doubt, Nair soldiers were the backbone of the Chera army. After the decline of the Chera Perumal's Empire there was a large scale Nair soldier migration ensured to Chola and Pandya army. When the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra established as a superior empire under

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king Vishnuvardhana this warlike community has attracted to Hoysala army. For further details, see; M.S, Dhiraj.2016.pp.174-194.

<sup>833</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2009.p.13. The Sixteenth Century Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa elaborately describes the crucial role played and rights enjoyed by the Nair women in the kingdom and the palace of the Zamorins of Calicut. Stanley, Henry E.J.1866.pp.111-113,130-131.

<sup>834</sup> Rowland, Benjamin. 1953.p.38.

<sup>835</sup> For instance, messenger of the king of Sindh address Draupadi as; “*who art thou that, bending down the branch of the Kadamba tree, shiniest lonely in the hermitage, sparkling like, at night, a flame of fire shaken by the breeze, oh well browed one! Exceeding art thou vested with beauty, yet nothing fearest thou here in the forest. Art thou a Devata (Goddess) or a Yakshi or a Danavi or an Apsaras (celestial Nymph) or a fair Daity damsel or a Nagini (a beauteous maiden of the Naga king) or a Rakshasi wandering in the wood?*” Vogel, J.PH.1910.p.44; Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish.1972.p.64. *Mahabharata* also speaks of dryads as “*goddesses born in trees, to be worshiped by those desiring children.* Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish.1972.p.64.

<sup>836</sup> Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish.1972.p.47.

<sup>837</sup> Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish.1972.p.64.

<sup>838</sup> *Salabhanjika* is the sculpture of a women closely associated with tree. The Sanskrit word *Salabhanjika* means that ‘one who breaks the branch of a Sala tree’.

<sup>839</sup> Kleiner, Fred S.2011.p.164.

<sup>840</sup> Vogel, J.PH.1910.pp.44-45.

<sup>841</sup> Vogel, J.PH.1910.p.44; Varadpande, M.L.2005.p.106.

<sup>842</sup> Varadpande, M.L.2005.p.106; 2006.pp.25-28.

<sup>843</sup> Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish.1972.p.64.

<sup>844</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.11.

<sup>845</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.13,210.

<sup>846</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.x.p.157; Desai, P.B.1957.pp.86-87.

<sup>847</sup> *Silappadikaram*.1939.Canto.xi.p.171; Desai, P.B.1957.p.87.

<sup>848</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.p.90.

<sup>849</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.49-50.

<sup>850</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009.p.73; 2012.p.29.

<sup>851</sup> Purnalingam Pillai, M.S.1985.p.135.

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- <sup>852</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.pp.246-247; Tiwari, Marudi Nandan Prasad.1989.pp.32-33. Another tradition narrated by the same author says that she fell down from the top of a hill.
- <sup>853</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.247; Tiwari, Marudi Nandan Prasad.1989.p.33.
- <sup>854</sup> *Periya Puranam*.2004.pp.533-534; Thallam, Sarada.2013.p.85.
- <sup>855</sup> Javid, Ali & Javeed, Tabassum.2008.pp.164-165.
- <sup>856</sup> Misra, Ram Nath.1981.pp.130-131.
- <sup>857</sup> Joseph, P.M.1997.p.17.
- <sup>858</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1987.p.213. At present this sculpture has been exhibited in the local museum at Aihole.
- <sup>859</sup> Sivaramamurti, C.1983.p.274.
- <sup>860</sup> Sivaramamurti, C.1983.p.42.
- <sup>861</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.p.37.
- <sup>862</sup> Desai, P.B.1957.pp.73-74.
- <sup>863</sup> Among these figures, the most attractive and beautiful is that depicted as bas-relief at Kalugumalai hill.
- <sup>864</sup> Kannan, R & Lakshminarayanan.2002.p.22.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**WAYANAD AND HER**  
**JAIN PAST**

## CHAPTER IV

### Wayanad and Her Jain Past

#### Physiography of the Region

Wayanad (Fig.2), one of the hilly districts of Kerala is located in the north-east corner of the state. This region is geographically quite different from the rest of Kerala. Forming part of the Western Ghats this region is an extension of the Deccan plateau which greatly influenced its climate and landscape. In the map, Wayanad is located at the southern-tip of the Deccan plateau starting from south of Mysore in Karnataka. About 42% land (886 km<sup>2</sup>) of the district is covered with evergreen forests. The average elevation of the plateau is about 3000' above the Mean Sea Level, but many of the mountain peaks are much higher. Vellarimalai (Cucumber hill) otherwise known as Camel's Hump Mountain is the highest range of hills in this region. Most of the Cucumber hill range falls in the Meppady forest region of south Wayanad while parts of it are falling in the Thamarassery region of Kozhikode district. The Chembra peak is the highest of the Vellarimalai at 7364'.

River Kabani is one of the main rivers of Wayanad. Originating in the Pakramthalam hills and after merging with another river locally called *Panamaram Puzha* it flows eastward to join River Kaveri at Tirumakudal Narasapura in Karnataka. Another River Chaliyar originating from the Elambileri hill and leaping down from the Ghats creates a magnificent cascade near the Choladi pass. Entering into the Nilambur forest, and merging with Punnapuzha and Karimpuzha, it ultimately empties into the Arabian Sea.

Wayanad region is known for its Ghat roads and Passes which are the gateways to the plains and coastlines of Kerala and which were largely been used by the caravan traders right from early historical times. Through the Thamarassery (*Tamarecharu*) mountain pass (*Thamarassery Churam*) goes the main trade route connecting the region with Mysore via Kozhikode. It was through this pass the movement of men and material happened right through the prehistoric times. Besides facilitating the trading activities, these passes provided the access points to the Deccan-Kannada dynasties that made incursions into Kerala. Apart from this main route, one branch

splits from the Mysore-Kozhikode road at Chundel (near Vythiri in Wayanad) which connects Ooty via Gudalur and Kozhikode via Nilambur through the famous Nadugani pass. There is another conspicuous trade route that connects Mysore with the plains of the Northern Malabar through the Gundlupet, Mananthavady via Periya Ghats. Apart from Thamarassery Pass, other key passes of Wayanad are Kuttiyadi Pass, Choladi Pass, Karkur Ghat, and Periya Pass.

The exclusive geographical features of Wayanad region greatly influenced her history from ancient period onwards. This territory's connectivity with, and easy accessibility to, the Karnataka region kept her as an integral part of the Kannada political domain which led to the emergence of a separate cultural and social identity from the rest of Kerala. Furthermore, Wayanad is the only district of Kerala that still maintains a sizeable population of traditional Jains whose historical ancestry and inheritance are clearly traceable from Karnataka. Besides, the availability of many archaeological remains of Jaina faith in the form of ruined temples, stone sculptures, inscriptions, and other such vestiges in this region clearly reveals the unique features of Wayanad.

### **Bayalu-nadu-Vayal-nadu-Wayanad**

The terms *Bayalu-nadu* in Kannada or *Vayal-nadu* in Malayalam are the root words from which the term 'Wayanad' evolved. The term *Bayalu* in Kannada and Telugu means 'an open field or open space'; similarly *Vayal* in Malayalam mean 'an open field or land particularly for cultivation of paddy,' and the term *nadu* is the administrative division found uniformly in medieval south India during the pre-Vijayanagara times. Thus the place name *Wayanad* derived from the Kannada term *Bayal-nadu*, indicate that this region was once formed part of Kannada country continuously under the Kadambas of Banavasi, Gangas of Talakad and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra along with the later Kadambas of Bayal-nadu. The earliest reference to the name '*Bayal-nadu*' comes from the Western Ganga inscriptions of 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>1</sup>. A large number of Hoysala records also refer to *Bayal-nadu* as part of their imperial territory<sup>2</sup>. The inscriptions of the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu rulers such as the Magge Virakal inscription of Raviyammara, Kittur record of Kandavamman (1079 CE), two Sogolli Virakal records of Siva and Iravi Challamma speaks about *Bira-Bayal-nadu*, and another Magge Virakal record of Kanthirava

(1090 CE) mentions *Changi-Bayal-nad*<sup>3</sup>. The Sasana-Gudi record of Mukanna Kadamba (1138 CE) along with Kittur record speak about the *Yugma Bayal-nad* or double *Bayal-nadu*<sup>4</sup>. All these inscriptional references indicate that it has two divisions; Viz., *Bira-Bayal-nadu* and *Changi-Bayal-nadu*. This is further supported by the reference to *Vira-Vayalnadu* in the Mariamman temple record from Sulthan Bathery<sup>5</sup>. *Pera-viyanad* or *Pira-viyanad* in the Puthangadi deeds discovered from Punchavayal in Wayanad also can be identified as the *Vira-Vayalnadu*<sup>6</sup>. From these references, we can safely identify that the present Wayanad district formed part of the *Bira-Bayal-nadu* division of the Deccan-Kannada dynasties.

### **A Historical Sketch of Wayanad**

The ancient and medieval history of Wayanad has not yet been properly understood. On the basis of two Tamil-Malayalam Vatteluttu inscriptions from Thirunelli in Wayanad mentioning the name of Chera-Perumal Bhaskara Varman, historians formed the hypothesis that during the medieval period, the entire Wayanad region was under the political authority of the Cheras. In stark contrast to this observation, the inscriptional sources analysed by us clearly indicate that from the ancient period, Wayanad region was under the political control of Kannada dynasties like the Kadambas of Banavasi, Western Gangas, Hoysalas, etc. The regnal period of Bhaskara Ravivarman - the powerful and probably the only independent ruler of medieval Kerala - is an exception.

### **Wayanad under the Kadambas of Banavasi**

An independent Kadamba line of kings flourished in the western part of the former Mysore State (present north and south Canara districts and adjoining areas of Karnataka), between 3<sup>rd</sup> -6<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE. Their capital was Banavasi otherwise known as Vijayanti. Mayurasarman was the founder of this dynasty. The Kadamba presence in the Wayanad region is attested by the Nilambur plates of Ravivarma Kadamba<sup>7</sup>. According to the record, a *Palli* (*Sramana* settlement) named *Multagi* along with *Malkavu* was endowed by the king to a Brahmin priest namely Govindasvamin. The places *Multagi* and *Malkavu* can be identified as the present '*Muthanga*' and the '*Moolankavu*', both situated in the vicinity of Sulthan Bathery in



Wayanad<sup>8</sup>. Along with it, a short inscription<sup>9</sup> in Kannada script and Sanskrit language (c.5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Century CE) from Edakkal Cave in Wayanad deciphered by Hultzsch as the '*writing of the glories Vishnuvarman, the progenitor of the Kutumbiya family*' possibly belonging to Vishnuvarman Kadamba, further attest to the presence of the Kadambas in the Kerala country. The Pallava-Kadamba tussle for the supremacy over the southern Mysore region including Wayanad and other parts of Malabar region in Kerala led to significant transformations in the political history of this region<sup>10</sup>.

### **Kadambas of Bayal-nadu<sup>11</sup>**

The Kadamba presence in Wayanad region continued into the medieval period. Epigraphic evidences indicate that several collateral branches of the Kadamba dynasty existed in Manjarabad, northern Coorg; in Bayal-nadu, southern Coorg; and in Hanagal and Goa between 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Century CE. This local offshoot, the Kadamba dynasty of Bayal-nadu extended its sway over the Heggadadevankote (HD Kote) taluk of Mysore, the present northern portions of Kerala including Wayanad and the Gudalur taluk of Nilagiri district in Tamilnadu during 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Inscriptions mention the names of six rulers of this dynasty: Raviyammaraśa (1007 CE), Kandavamma (1079 CE), Siva (1083 CE), Kanthirava (1090 CE), Iravi Challaṃma (1107 CE) and Mukanna (1138 CE)<sup>12</sup>. The earliest known ruler of the dynasty was Raviyammaraśa alias Ravivarṃma Rāja<sup>13</sup>. One fragmentary Tamil-Malayalam Vatteluttu inscription from the Sulthan Bathery Mariammaṃ temple refers Raviyammaraśa, the ruler of *Vira-Vayal-nadu* (*Bira-Bayal-nadu*)<sup>14</sup>. His capital was *Kirttipura*<sup>15</sup>, the modern Kittur near HD Kote, Mysore.

### **Wayanad under the Gangas of Talakad**

In the previous chapter, we have discussed the influence of the Western Gangas over the Kerala country. The present Wayanad region was part of the Punnada administrative division of the Western Ganga kingdom. At the same time, some of the later Ganga records refer to their kingdom as comprised of a separate administrative division named Bayal-nadu. The Ganga expansion into the Punnada and Palakkad regions of Kerala took place during the reign of Avinitha and his son Durvinita<sup>16</sup>. One inscription (513 CE) speaks about Avinitha's marriage with the daughter of the

Punnada king Skandavarman; subsequent to which Punnada country became part of the Ganga kingdom<sup>17</sup>. This record further says that the marriage of Avinita with Punnada princess '*brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs, and the rest of the small territories like Andari, Alattur (Alantur)*',<sup>18</sup> *Paurulare, Pernnagara, and other places were conquered through wars by his son Durvinita*<sup>19</sup>. Thus the Gangas became masters of the whole of *Pakhad* (Palakkad) and *Punnada* countries<sup>20</sup>.

The significant role played by the Punnada country in the history of south India including Kerala has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Punnada has been identified as the territory comprising the regions south of the present Mysore district<sup>21</sup>. This territory figures in the inscriptions of one Punnada-Raja Ravidatta (dynasty unknown), Gangas, Rashtrakutas, Cholas, and the Kadambas of Bayal-nad<sup>22</sup>. Punnada could be the *Pouunata* of Ptolemy which he locates near to the country of *Kerobothros* (*Keralaputras* or Cheras)<sup>23</sup>. He also mentions two more territories close to *Pouunata* (Punnada) such as *Mastanour*, and *Kourellour*. These can tentatively identify as Mysore and Gudalur respectively. An undated inscription of one Punnada-Raja Ravidatta (belonging to c.6<sup>th</sup> Century CE) from Udumalpet near Coimbatore record certain land grants endowed from his victorious camp at Kirttipura (Kittur) with the permission of the *Cheramma* (Chera king)<sup>24</sup>. Two 9<sup>th</sup> Century Chera inscriptions (Syrian Christian copper plates) belonging the reign of King Sthanu Ravi (c.844-883 CE) speaks about the *pati* (chiefs) of *Punnaithalai* which could be the same Punnada<sup>25</sup>. The capital of the Punnada kingdom was *Kirttipura* alias Kittur situated on the banks of the river Kabani in H. D. Kote taluk, just 60 kilometres away from Wayanad. *Kirttipura* served as the capital of the Kadambas of Wayanad also<sup>26</sup>. An epigraph from Kittur (1079 CE) belonging to the Kadambas Bayal-nadu ruler Kandavamman (Skandavarman) speaks about Punnada chieftains who were in charge of Kerala country (*Kerala-nadu-Punnada-adhigari*), Kandavamma-nadu (*Kandavamma-nadu-Punnada-adhigari*), Nidule-Nadu (*Nidule-Nadu-Punnada-adhigari*), and Kiki-nadu (*Kiki-nadu-Punnada-adhigari*)<sup>27</sup>. This record clearly indicates that the Punnada country was a very big administrative division consisting of a number of sub-divisions that comprised of territories in Kerala also. All these evidences point out that the ancient Punnada country comprised most of the present Malabar region, and during the western Gangas it definitely included Wayanad as well.

The Hosur plates of Sripurusha (c.726-788 CE) prove his control over Gudalur in the Nilagiri district, Tamil Nadu which share boundaries with the present Malappuram and Wayanad districts<sup>28</sup>. A Gundlupet (Kamaravalli) inscription of Sripurusha attests his political foothold over Kudallur alias Gudalur<sup>29</sup>. Another inscription of the same ruler from Mysore refers to one *Madi-ode*, the ruler of Gudalur fort<sup>30</sup>. *Madi-ode* could be a feudatory of Sripurusha, and his territorial authority possibly extended over the present Wayanad district as well. A Gundlupet inscription of Sripurusha further attests his political foothold over Kudallur alias Gudalur<sup>31</sup>. Here, it should be remembered that Gudalur comes under the medieval Bayal-nadu of the Gangas, and the Hoysalas. At the same time, before the creation of Bayal-nadu as a separate administrative division, it could be a part of the *Punnada vishaya* of the Gangas and other dynasties. We do not have any inscriptional references to the place name *Bayal-nadu* prior to the Ganga king Neetimarga-Ereyappa (c.908-938 CE)<sup>32</sup>. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the creation of *Bayal-nadu* division as a separate one from the *Punnada* province ensued during the reign of Nitimarga-Ereyappa.

The city of '*Sripura*' mentioned in the Devarahalli plates is identified by scholars as located either to the west of the Gudalur or in the borders of Wayanad<sup>33</sup>. Our detailed study and analysis of the Devarahalli plates lead us to the inference that *Sripura* was situated inside the Kerala territory; most probably inside the Wayanad district or in its vicinity<sup>34</sup>. Sripurusha's Baradur grant<sup>35</sup> mentions *Tagadur Vishaya* which can be identified as the present 'Varadur' in Wayanad. *Tagattur* must be the Tagadur near Nanjangud taluk in the south of the Mysore. The prominence of *Tagadur* in the history of the Deccan rulers is evident from a number of records from Mysore and other regions of Karnataka<sup>36</sup>. Probably during the reign of Sripurusha the entire Wayanad came under the administrative division of *Tagadur vishaya*. The word *Pallam* suffixed with the places mentioned as the boundaries of the land granted such as *Dutumbur Pallam*, *Paradagere Pallam*, *Kamuntegundi Pallam*, and *Gottegere Pallam*<sup>37</sup> again emphasizes more probability to locate Baradur in Wayanad. *Pallam* is a very common word in Malayalam used to denote the low wetland land lying between rivers (or streams) and main cultivable land; fertile due to the presence of alluvial soil<sup>38</sup>. The last discussed Sripurusha's record is an excellent example of the establishment of Brahmin settlements by the Ganga rulers in the Wayanad region.

The Vijayapura (T. Narsipur taluk) stone inscription of Sivamara II (c.788–816 CE), son of Sripurusha, tells us about a grant to the *mahajanas* of *Kirupelnagara* by one *Manala-arasa*, the ruler of *Koombadi* and *Kilale-nadu*<sup>39</sup>. *Koombadi* could be the same *Kudambadi* in the Thazhekavu vatteluttu Jain record (Fig.32) discovered from Pulpalli in Wayanad<sup>40</sup> and the *Paadikumbam* of Sulthan Bathery Mariamman temple inscription<sup>41</sup>, which can be identified as the present ‘Kariyambadi’ in Sulthan Bathery taluk. This record clearly establishes the fact that Sivamara’s empire extended into the present Wayanad region.

The Kudalur, Gattavadi and Kerehalli inscriptions of another prominent Ganga ruler Ereganga Neetimarga, says that after defeating one Mahendra, he captured certain hill fortresses like Nadugani, Sulisailendra, etc.,<sup>42</sup>. Nadugani is one of the gateways connecting the plains of Kerala with Mysore and Nilagiri (Ooty) regions via Wayanad, situated hardly 30km away from the present Wayanad. Identification of Sulisailendra in the aforementioned records as Udhagamandalam (Udhagai or Ooty) further supports this inference. It is difficult to identify the ruler Mahendra who was defeated and killed by Neetimarga II.

It is interesting to note that the earliest inscriptional reference about the *Bayal-nadu* province of the Kannada-Deccan rulers only found in the Ganga records<sup>43</sup>. A lithic record (910 CE) from the Basava temple at Kattemanuganahalli (HD Kote taluk) of Ganga king Nitimarga-Ereyappa (c.908-938 CE) says that he was the ruler of *Nugu-nad* and *Navale-nadu* and speaks about the war fought at Bayal-nad by his chieftains against cattle lifters<sup>44</sup>. The place *Nugu-nad* must be the territory around the river Nugu (a tributary of the river Kabani originating from the Pakramthalam hills near Mananthavady in Wayanad, which flows on the borders of Kerala and Karnataka). Another inscription (930 CE) of the same dynasty from the Somesvara temple at Haranandi (HD Kote taluk) indicate that both Rachamalla III alias Kachchaya-Ganga (c.933–938 CE) and Nanniya Ganga alias Butuga II (c.938-961 CE), sons of Nitimarga-Ereyappa claimed the throne and at this juncture the former was in Bayal-nadu, and the latter went there and proposed to divide the country and treasury, but Rachamalla’s five chieftains and *perggades* (officers) said that “we do not wish any other than Rachamalla to rule over the Kingdom of Bayal-nadu”<sup>45</sup>. These instances

prove the importance of Wayanad in the internal politics of the western Ganga family and also the crucial significance of Wayanad as a separate administrative division under the Gangas.

The present discussion proved that from the early days of the Ganga dominance extended into the Wayanad region as well. During the reign of Avinitha and Durvinita, the marital alliances and the consequent conquests helped them to keep the Punnada country including Wayanad became a part of their kingdom. Sripurusha's land endowment at Varadur to a Brahmin from Badami and his establishment of a Jain settlement after his name as Sripura in Wayanad or its peripheral areas again confirms the Ganga's prominence in the Wayanad region. The inscriptional evidence further speaks about the importance of the Ganga feudatories in Wayanad areas like Koombadi (Kariyambadi) and their right to make land grants there. During Ereganga Neetimarga's reign, Bayal-nadu became a separate administrative division. Making Wayanad as his base, he recaptured his forefather's lost territories like Nadugani and Ooty regions on the Nilagiri hill range. Subsequently, Wayanad became a bone of contention among his successive rulers, Viz. Rachamalla III and Butuga II. To conclude, it can be stated that the Western Gangas of Talakad, the most prominent Jain dynasty of south India had an unambiguous political supremacy over the present Wayanad district of Kerala.

Under the Cholas, the territories of Gangas were conquered by Rajendra Chola at the command of his father Rajaraja Chola in 1004 CE and after that, the Mysore region comprising Gangavadi began to be called as Mudikondachola-mandala and the southern part of it is called Gangaikondachola-valanad and city of Talakad were named as Rajarajapura<sup>46</sup>. The present day regions of Wayanad and other parts of Nilagiri valley including Gudalur were part of the Gangaikondachola-valanad. Inscriptional evidences indicate the Political foothold of the Cholas in the Wayanadan soil was synchronised by the Kadambas of Wayanad<sup>47</sup>. Some of the rulers of the Kadamba of Wayanad used the titles like *Maha-Mandalesvara-Rajadhiraja* proves that this dynasty consisted of independent rulers; but at the same time, during Chola occupation of interior south India, they were the feudatories of the latter. Whatever it maybe, after driving away the Cholas from the Kannada soil, the Hoysalas became the virtual political authority over Southern Mysore including Wayanad (Bayal-nadu).

## Wayanad under the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra

In the previous chapter, an elaborate discussion about the political clout of Hoysalas in the Kerala country has been presented. The present Wayanad district and contiguous areas were most of the time remained under the Kannada-Deccan kingdoms. The present discussion will clearly reveal the political authority of the Hoysalas over Bayal-nadu province as a distinct administrative division of their empire.

A large number of Hoysala Inscriptions clearly refer to this region as a separate administrative division called *Bayal-nadu vishaya*<sup>48</sup>. From Vinayaditya (c.1047-1098 CE) onwards, inscriptions attest to the political authority of the Hoysalas over Wayanad. A Nagamangala inscription of Ballala II states that Vinayaditya's kingdom includes Talakad and Bayal-nadu<sup>49</sup>. This claim is untenable because the inscriptions of the Cholas and also of the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu of this period clearly show that the regions of Talakad and Wayanad were under the control of the Cholas<sup>50</sup>. It is reasonable to suppose that during this time, the Wayanad region shifted hands between these three powers.

The succeeding reign of Ereyanga (c.1098-1102 CE), witnessed the capture of *Baleya-pattana*<sup>51</sup> alias Valapattanam, one of the prominent port cities of Malabar under the control of the Mushaka Nannans of Ezhimalai. It is logical to suppose that if Ereyanga captured the city of Valapattanam which is situated on the plains of Kerala, surely he must have crossed the Wayanad region which is the part of the Deccan plateau. On the basis of it, we can confidently say that Wayanad was also captured by Ereyanga which might have served as the base camp for his incursions into the plains of the Malayala country. During the reign of Ballala I (c.1102-1108 CE) his kingdom encompassed Wayanad province as well<sup>52</sup>. Inscriptions also attest Ballala's enmity with the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, his western neighbour of Wayanad province<sup>53</sup>.

It has already been pointed out that King Vishnuvardhana alias Bitti-deva (c.1108-1152 CE) was the real founder of the Hoysala kingdom. Through the capture of Talakad, the traditional capital of the western Gangas from the Cholas, he gave a

death knell to the Chola imperialism in Karnataka including Wayanad. A large number of inscriptions prove his hegemony over the Tamil and the Kerala countries and that during his time, the native rulers of Wayanad were the Kadambas of Wayanad<sup>54</sup>. An inscription (1107 CE) of one Iravi Challamma and another one (1138 CE) belonging to Mukanna of this dynasty helps us to identify any one or both of them as his contemporary native rulers of Wayanad<sup>55</sup>. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that after the end of the Chola hegemony over Wayanad, the Kadambas accepted the Hoysala authority on their soil. Many inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana mention his title as *Bhujja-Bala-Vira-Gangam-Kadamba-Vishnuvardhana-Devaru*<sup>56</sup> which proves some kind of his relationship with the Kadambas of Bayal-nadu. There is a good probability that either Vishnuvardhana or anyone of his predecessors had a marital alliance with the Kadambas of Wayanad.

We have a number of inscriptions to prove Vishnu's political authority over Wayanad along with other prominent places of Kerala like Ezhimalai, *Kurakkeni Kollam* (Quilon) and Anamale<sup>57</sup>. Early records of Vishnu themselves show that he completely uprooted the Cheras<sup>58</sup> and their feudatory ally the Mushaka Nannas of Ezhimalai, who controlled the Valapattanam port (*Baleya-pattana*)<sup>59</sup>. A Chamarajanagar inscription (1117 CE) mentions that his commander Punnisa Raja made Wayanad as the cantonment for his incursions into Malayala country<sup>60</sup>. His valiant general Sankara's presence in Thamarassery (*Tamarecharu*), the Pass which connects the plains of Kerala with Wayanad is also significant<sup>61</sup>. His invasions further extended to Kanthapuram (*Kantapura*) and Kinalur (Kunavaynallur/ *Kunangil*), both situated in the Wayanad valley. On the basis of all these facts, it is reasonable to conclude that the south western boundary of Vishnuvardhana's kingdom extended beyond *Bayal-nadu Vishaya*. This observation is supported by an inscription from Belur which says that king Vishnu *marked out the boundaries of his kingdom as Kongu (Coimbatore) on the south; Kanchi on the east; Rivers Krishna and Venna on the north; and the Arabian Sea on the west where he set up piles of stone as symbols of the enduring limits of the empire*<sup>62</sup>.

Under his successor Narasimha I (c.1152-1173 CE), the south and the south western boundary of the kingdom extended up to *Vikramesvaram* (Rameswaram), *Kongu* (Coimbatore), Wayanad and as far as the Arabian Sea<sup>63</sup>. During the rule of his

successor Ballala II (c.1173–1220 CE), we did not have any records directly mentioning their political prominence over the Wayanad country. Some records of Ballala II refer to his expedition to Kerala<sup>64</sup>. But we do not have any evidence apropos for the existence of Chera Empire during this period, but certainly, it was the group of petty kingdoms under the feudal governors controlled by either a Chola or a Pandya king. However, in the case of Wayanad, they definitely maintained the status quo.

Narasimha II (c.1220-1235 CE) maintained cordial relations with the Tamil and the Kerala kings<sup>65</sup>. Rajaraja Chola III (c.1216-1256 CE) was a son-in-law of Narasimha II<sup>66</sup>. By 1229 CE the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom extended between Kanchi on the East, Belur on the West, River Krishna on the North, and Wayanad on the South<sup>67</sup>. On the basis of it, we have to reach a conclusion that, except Wayanad, all the remaining parts of the Kerala region were under the dominance of the Cholas which was benevolently allowed by Narasimha II to his son-in-law Rajaraja Chola III. Here, again we can safely conclude that during the first four decades of the thirteenth Century CE Wayanad was an integral part of the Hoysala kingdom.

However, the successor of Narasimha II, Somesvara (c.1235-1263 CE) was not kind towards Rajaraja Chola. A record from Arsikere (1239 CE) says that first, he defeated Rajaraja on the battle field and after '*he sought refuge, protected*'<sup>68</sup>. Some records say that Somesvara was the establisher of the Chola kingdom<sup>69</sup>. More than eight inscriptions record that he was the sole protector of the *Chola Kula* and some of them include Pandya as well<sup>70</sup>. Another record from Tirumakudal Narsipur (1239 CE) describes that he was ruling from the Chola kingdom<sup>71</sup>. Some other records say that he was at his capital Kannanur,<sup>72</sup> (this place has been identified by Hultzsch as a village near Tiruchirapalli<sup>73</sup>). On the basis of these inscriptions, Somesvara's invasions into southern peninsular India can be described thus: in 1237 CE he was in the Pandya kingdom<sup>74</sup>; in 1242 CE he was in the Chola kingdom<sup>75</sup>; from 1243 CE to 1256 CE he ruled from his new capital at Kannanur<sup>76</sup>.

A record from Mandya (1237 CE) mentions a place name *Chalaseravi* as the southern boundary of his kingdom, and this place was identified as the present Chalissery near Ponnani in Kerala by Lewis Rice<sup>77</sup>, which seems to be logical in view of the existence of some incomplete monuments like Pattambi Tali temple, Kattilmadam stone



structure (Fig.12-13), etc., in Chalissery and contiguous areas like Pattambi, Trithala (Palakkad district), which reveal some non-local architectural and sculptural features. These areas are famous as traditional Brahmin settlements as well. Geographically, Chalissery is situated on the leading trade route connecting Malabar part of the western coastal region of Kerala with the Kongu region of Tamilnadu. Thanks to these findings, it is reasonable to conclude that Somesvara extended the south western boundary of his kingdom beyond the limits of Wayanad and it must have touched the Arabian Sea. One inscription (1252 CE) glorifies Somesvara as '*a lion to the deer Kulothunga-Chola the Kerala chief, a submarine fire to the ocean of the Kerala forces, a wild-fire to the forest of Mukkanna Kadamba*'<sup>78</sup>. During the time we did not have any records speaking about a Chola ruler named Kulothunga. Possibly he was a Chola prince, in charge of Kerala country. By this record the Chola supremacy in Kerala during mid-part of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE is confirmed. The *Mukkanna Kadamba* of this record must be the ruler of the Kadambas of Wayanad. The last record of the Kadambas of Wayanad dated 1138 CE belongs to another Mukkanna Kadamba<sup>79</sup>.

Here, it should be noted that there is no reference to the capture of Wayanad by any one of the successors of Vishnuvardhana except Somesvara. On account of that, it is safe to infer that during the period starting from Vishnuvardhana up to Somesvara, Wayanad region was completely under the Hoysalas. The revolt of Mukkanna Kadamba II, probably with the help of the Cholas and the petty Kerala chiefs could have compelled Somesvara to attack Wayanad.

Thus, the decline of the second Chera Empire created a political uncertainty in Kerala region and most of the Hoysala rulers took advantage of this situation, to extend their hegemony over Wayanad. The hilly terrain of Wayanad made it inaccessible to the Kerala rulers. The weak Chola and Pandya kings along with the diplomatic marriage alliances with Chola family by Ballala II and his son Narasimha II created a congenial atmosphere for the Hoysala Somesvara to establish his imperial control beyond the *Wayanad vishaya*.

The internal feuds in the royal house of the Hoysalas from the time of Narasimha III (c.1263–1292 CE) onwards, changed the political scenario. During his reign partition of the kingdom took place between him and his half-brother Ramanatha<sup>80</sup>. The

Kannada portion of the kingdom including Wayanad was administrated by Narasimha III and the Tamil portion of the kingdom including the southern part of Kerala came under Ramanatha. Records say that Ramanatha was ruling from his capital at Kannanur near Tiruchirapalli<sup>81</sup>. We have a number of records testifying the frequent wars between Narasimha III and Ramanatha<sup>82</sup>.

During Ballala III (c.1292-1343 CE), Hoysala kingdom began to disintegrate. Invasions of Malik Kafur in 1310 CE gave the final blow to the kingdom<sup>83</sup>. King Ballala left his traditional capital Halebidu (Dwarasamudra) and began to live in Tiruvannamalai (*unnamale*) of Tamilnadu<sup>84</sup>. The Turkish invasion definitely altered the political equations in entire peninsular India including Wayanad and Kerala. A Nanjangud record dated 1312 CE will help us to attest his political clout over Bayal-nadu province including Gudalur and other Nilagiri regions<sup>85</sup>. After Ballala III, we didn't have any records regarding Hoysala influence over Wayanad and Kerala.

In conclusion, it shall be stated that the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra maintained their political control over the present Wayanad district, which comprised the medieval Bayal-nadu province right from Vinayaditya onwards. The establishment of Hoysala imperialism by the mighty Vishnuvardhana perpetuated their authority over Wayanad. The maintenance of a healthy relationship with the native Kadambas of the region helped them in extending their political designs.

Most of the time, Wayanad served as the base camp for the Hoysala army for their movement into the plains of the Kerala country. The Passes connecting Karnataka and Kerala through Wayanad definitely nurtured the Hoysala trade and economy with the coastal towns of Kerala. This also helped much to keep the present Wayanad district culturally as distinct one from the rest of Kerala. The religious currents under the successive rule of Kadambas, Western Gangas and Hoysalas, particularly of Jainism, considerably influenced the Wayanadan society. These influences and the concurrent transformations will be discussed in the following pages.

## Kadambas and the Wayanadan Jainism

A large number of inscriptions of the Banavasi Kadambas speak in glorious terms about their patronisation of Jainism<sup>86</sup>. The Mudigere copper plate grant of Vishnuvarman gloriously testify to his encouraging attitude towards the Jains of his kingdom<sup>87</sup>. Among the Kadamba rulers, Ravivarman was the most prominent patron of Jainism in the Kannada region<sup>88</sup> and in Kerala also. His land grant to the Padmavati of Kallil is the conspicuous record for his Jain patronisation in the Kerala region<sup>89</sup>. The reference to *Multagi palli* (Muthanga palli) in the Nilambur plates certainly proves the existence of Jain settlements there<sup>90</sup>. The core content of the record is an endowment of a *palli* named *Multagi* including *Malkavu* (*Multagi-namadheya-palli-malkavu-sahitam*) situated on the eastern side of the Village *Kirupasani* in the *Mogalur Vishaya* to a Brahmin named Govindasvamin<sup>91</sup>. The name *Multagi* in the record is mentioned in another copper plate inscription<sup>92</sup> from Mercara issued by a Ganga ruler Kongani Mahadhiraja which says that it formed one of the boundaries of the village *Badaneguppe*, granted to the Sri-Vijaya-Jinalaya of Talavananagara. Mercara record also mentioned a place namely *Dasanuru* as another boundary of *Badaneguppe*. *Badaneguppe* could be the place with the same name situated near Gundlupet, not far from the present Wayanad. *Dasanuru* could be the modern Dasanur village in the Nanjangud taluk of southern Mysore, which is also not far from the Wayanad. The place *Multagi* could be the present Muthanga near Sultan Bathery in Wayanad which is one of the entry points to Kerala from Karnataka. The Dravidian word *Muthu* signifies Pearl and the place name *Muthanga* might have derived from *Muthangadi* or the ‘street of pearls’<sup>93</sup>. Muthanga and nearby areas like Edathara Kotta, Noolpuzha, Nellur Vayal, Moolankavu, and Sulthan Bathery of Wayanad have prominent architectural vestiges which have a close affiliation with Kannada-Deccan Jainism. Jain temples along with cultivable lands attached with tanks, ponds, canals and other irrigation facilities are clearly visible from these areas. The present researcher identified a dilapidated Jain temple with a stone slab containing a Kannada inscription (Fig.23) and Jaina motifs from Moolankavu, which can be assigned to the medieval period.

Another term *Palli* in the Nilambur plates was generally used to denote the *Sramana* or non-Aryan settlements or worshipping places during ancient and medieval times.

Iravatham Mahadevan views that “the original literal meaning of *palli* ‘sleeping place’ applied to the cave shelters with stone beds and was later extended to hermitages or temples built of brick and mortar. This term came to mean ‘school’ as the hermitage was also a centre of learning from the earliest time and in the literature and later inscriptions this was used to denote a non-Brahmin worshipping place<sup>94</sup>. In the case of Tamil-Kannada region, *palli* largely used to denotes the hamlets of Jains. The Alathur inscription (Palakkad district, Kerala) mentioned the Jain temple there as *Palli*<sup>95</sup>. The medieval Vatteluttu inscription (Fig.16) from Kinalur (Kozhikode district, Kerala) also designates the temple at *Kunavaynallur* (Kinalur) as *Vijayaragiswaram Palli*<sup>96</sup>. The Pallies of ancient Kerala thus comprised Jain worshipping places, education centres, and settlements. In the words of M.G.S “*Palli in Tamil and old Malayalam stood for a small hamlet as in Pali and other Prakrit languages and this was distinguished from the Brahmin settlements called Agrahara or Brahmadeya or simply Grama in inscriptions and literature.*”<sup>97</sup> All these evidences prove that the word *palli* in the Nilambur record is used to indicate a *Sramana* or non-Aryan settlement and in that sense, *Mutagi* or Muthanga was a street of Pearl traders (Muthangadi) particularly the Jains. Wayanad had been a well-known Jain settlement from ancient period onwards. Simultaneously the Jain communities of south India were famous for their inland pearl, Diamond, and gold trade.

*Puthangadi* (*Muthangadi* or pearl market) was the old name of ‘Punchavayal’, another place in Wayanad located on the important ancient/medieval trade route from Karnataka to Kerala. This place is famous for two dilapidated Jain temples such as Vishnu Gudi and Janarthana Gudi (Fig.24-27) which are in Deccan architectural style and decorative features<sup>98</sup>. *Jainamedu* (Fig.15) in Palakkad district is famous for Chandranatha Jain basti and its nearby places also had the old names such as *Muthupattanam* (Pearl Town) and *Manikyapattanam* (Diamond Town).

In the case of *Malkavu* of the present record, the terms ‘Kavu’ and ‘Melkavu’ are very familiar terms in Kerala, used to denote non-Aryan worshipping centres<sup>99</sup>. There is a probability that the present Moolankavu near Muthanga has it an earlier name as Malkavu. As per the inscription, the endowment is the “*Palli named Multagi including Malkavu*” (*multagi-namadheya-palli-malkavu-sahitam*). Descriptions about *Malkavu* inside the *Multagi* in the Mogalur Vishaya shows the both of them must be

situated in the present geographical territory of Kerala on account of Kavu cult which is a unique one that exists in Kerala only. Geographical location of these places along with Mogalur must be situated in the valley of Nilagiri or the Nilagiri hill itself and the former two must be inside the present Wayanad region. The *Mogalur Vishaya* of this record was the administrative division of the Kadambas and it included parts of the present day Wayanad as well. This can be identified as the *Mogur* or *Mohur* and its chieftain *Pazayan* finds mentioned in some *Sangam* and later Tamil literary works like *Akananuru*, *Kuruntokai*, *Maturaikkanchi*, *Silappadikaram*, etc.,<sup>100</sup>. The Gudnapura pillar inscription of Ravivarman also mentioned *Mogalur* as *Moguru*<sup>101</sup>. *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy mentions a place namely *Magour*<sup>102</sup> which might be the same Mogalur. Ramaswami Ayyangar and Seshagiri Rao, maintain that *Mogur* in the Sangam and post-Sangam literature situated “should either be Palakkad or Mohoor in the south Arcot district”<sup>103</sup>. Some Hoysala records show that *Mogur* was near to Tagadur<sup>104</sup> in the Nanjangud close to Wayanad.

The presence of ancient Jain vestiges in Wayanad, Gudalur, Gundlupet, Heggadadevankote (H.D. Kote), Nanjangud, and other southern regions of Mysore along with the term *palli* in the Nilambur plates lead us to confirm the hypothesis that the period before the reign of Kadamba Ravivarman paved the way for the establishment of Jain *pallis* and basties in Wayanad.

### **Western Gangas and the Wayanadan Jainism**

In our previous discussions, it has been established that Western Gangas extended their political sway over the Kerala country in general, and the Wayanad region in particular. During the seven centuries of Ganga supremacy, we have hundreds of inscriptions testifying their munificent encouragement to Jainism in south India, including Tamil and Kerala countries<sup>105</sup>. Under Ganga patronisation, Kannada country became a hub of south Indian Jainism. Most of the Ganga rulers were the staunch followers and patrons of the Noble Faith. The Purale, Humcha and Kallur Gudda inscriptions clearly mention ‘*Jinendra as their god and the Jina matha as their faith*’<sup>106</sup>. Inscriptional and literary evidences speak about the foundation of this dynasty by a Jain saint Simhanandin<sup>107</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not have any

epigraphic evidences from Wayanad or other parts of Kerala to imply the Ganga association with Jainism in Wayanad.

But some of their inscriptions from Karnataka and Tamilnadu are valuable to understand the position of Jainism in Kerala. The vital importance of the *Punnada* which included Wayanad also, in the political realm of the Western Gangas has already been discussed above. Ptolemy clearly says that the *Kerobothros* (*Keralaputras* or Cheras) were the neighbours of the *Pouunata* (Punnada)<sup>108</sup>. Kittur alias Kirttipura, the capital of the Punnada rulers<sup>109</sup> which later became the capital of the Kadambas of Wayanad<sup>110</sup> also was a village just 60km far from Mananthavady in the present Wayanad district. The feudal chieftains of the Kadambas of Wayanad rulers were known as *Punnada-adhigaries*<sup>111</sup>. These evidences indicate that the Medieval Bayal-nadu province was a part of the ancient Punnada country. On the basis of all these facts, it is logical to say that the history of the Punnada country during the Western Ganga period is also the history of the Bayal-nadu (Wayanad) as well.

Punnada country was one of the ancient Jain centers of Karnataka, which was directly connected to the Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition<sup>112</sup>. A number of inscriptional records also associated the Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition with the spread of Jainism into further South of Shravanabelagola including Punnada country<sup>113</sup>. The Sanskrit work *Bhadrabahucharita* says that the final destination of the Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu sangha was Chola country,<sup>114</sup> and according to the Kannada work named *Rajavalikathe*, it was Chola and Pandya countries<sup>115</sup>. However, the 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE *Brihatkathakosa* mentions that their first destination was Punnada country<sup>116</sup>. This quasi historical story of *Brihatkathakosa* has some deviation from other the popular traditions regarding this subject. Firstly, Bhadrabahu has not accompanied the *sangha* which moving to the south and it is led by Chandragupta. Secondly, their destination is more clearly described as Punnada country than *Dakshinapatha* (South India). The absence of Shravanabelagola in this tradition is also conspicuous. Chandragupta Maurya has changed his name to Visakhacharya after receiving of the *diksha* from Bhadrabahu. Inscriptional evidence supports the prominence of Visakha alias Visakhacharya in the Tamil and Kannada Jainism<sup>117</sup>. In the case of south Indian Jainism, according to other traditions, Visakhacharya is famous for his missionary

activities in the Tamil country<sup>118</sup>. The Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition illustrated in the *Bhadrabahucharita* and *Rajavalikathe* also speaks about the missionary activity in the south of the Shravanabelagola by Visakhacharya on account of Bhadrabahu's illness. On the basis of all these traditions, it could be logical to infer that a Jain saint namely Visakhacharya was responsible for the early missionary activities of Punnada and Tamil countries which ensued before the Common Era, and he might have an association with the first Jain *sangha* migrated from north to south possibly under the leadership of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta.

Whatever it maybe, the role of Punnada country is crucial in the history of Jainism. In south India, from ancient period onwards it was very common that the Jain *Sanghas*, *Ganas*, and *Gacchas* were named after the place of its seats or the chief leaders who headed it<sup>119</sup>. This is clear from the existence of an ancient Jain *sangha* in the Punnada country popularly known as *Punnada-sangha*<sup>120</sup>. It could be the direct offshoot of the Jain community migrated from the north under the leadership of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta, and it can be assigned to 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE<sup>121</sup>, thus becoming the earliest Jain *sangha* which influenced the people of Wayanad. A Shravanabelagola inscription refers to one *Kittur-sangha*<sup>122</sup>. The capital of Punnada country was Kittur near Wayanad. On account of that, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Kittur-sangha* could be the alternative name of the *Punnada-sangha*. The celebrated Baladeva Kurava Adigal, a disciple of Dharmasena Kurava Adigal of Kittur who performed *Sallekhana* on the Shravanabelagola hill mentioned in an inscription from there,<sup>123</sup> could be a member of *Kittur-sangha*. Some scholars identified the *Kittur-sangha* as the *Kolattur-sangha* mentioned in some of the Shravanabelagola records<sup>124</sup>. One land grant (Saka 735/813 CE) by Rashtrakuta king Prabhutavarsha (Govinda III) issued at the request of a Ganga king Chaaki Raja, refers to one Jain muni *Koovilachari* of *Punnaga-vriksha-mula-gana*<sup>125</sup> may have some association with the *Punnada-sangha* and *Punnada-gana*. The Devarahalli plates of the Ganga king Sripurusha refer to a Jain *Gana* called *Eregittur-gana*<sup>126</sup> (*Eri* + *Kittur*) of *Pulikalgaccha* may also have some connection with the *Kittur-sangha*. The Shravanabelagola records mention another *sangha* called *Navilur-sangha* or *Namilur-sangha*<sup>127</sup> named after the village Navilur located near Nanjangud, not far from Kittur. *Mayuragrama-sangha* mentioned in some other Shravanabelagola records<sup>128</sup> can be identified as the *Navilur-sangha*<sup>129</sup>. Mayuragrama is the Sanskrit rendition of

Navilur<sup>130</sup>. On the basis of the above discussion, it is reasonable to identify all these *sanghas* are one and the same or they were the local offshoots of the *Punnada-sangha* of the Punnada country.

Harisena, the author of *Brihatkathakosa* says that he is the product of the *Punnada-sangha*<sup>131</sup>. Another prominent Jain scholar Jinasena Suri, the author of *Harivamasa Purana* and *Mahapurana* also claimed that he belonged to the *Brihat-Punnada-sangha* or *Punnada-sangha*<sup>132</sup> and a member of the *Punnada-gana*<sup>133</sup>, a division of the *Punnada-sangha*. And his teacher was one *Kirti Sena* of the same *gana*. He also refers to his grand-teacher *Amitha Sena* as the foremost leader of the *Punnada-gana* (*pavitra-punnata-ganagranir-gani*)<sup>134</sup>. It is interesting to note that, Jinasena was also popularly known as *Jinasena Suri Punnada*. The *Punnada Pattavali* or the pontifical-genealogy-cum-chronicle of the *Punnada-sangha* written in Prakrit language, which belongs to the period between 500 -900 CE is one of the important sacred texts of the Jains of south India, especially of the Digambar sect<sup>135</sup>.

### **Development of Punnada Jainism**

On the basis of the discussions made above, it is reasonable to identify the Bayal-nadu (Wayanad) Jainism as an outgrowth of the Punnada Jainism. Interestingly, Punnada-Jainism or Wayanadan-Jainism has spread into north and north-western parts of India. From early 7<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards the Deccan dynasties like the Gangas, Western Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas had exercised unambiguous influence over the Gujarat region. Pulakesi II (Pulikesi II) conquered the Lathas and the Gurjaras of the broach and then a collateral branch of the Chalukyas was established in Gujarat<sup>136</sup>. Some of the Rashtrakuta kings had good contacts with Gujarat and even Kakkaraja II established a separate Rashtrakuta principality in Gujarat. Amoghavarsha I, the great Jain patron of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was also known as *Gurjara-narendra*. The political support extended by those rulers paved the way for the spread of Jainism in, and movement of Jain missionaries to, the Saurashtra and Malwa regions of north-western India from the Punnada country. Under the leadership of Amitha Sena, the earliest known leader of the *Punnada-sangha*, a large number of Jains from Punnada migrated to the north-western part of India, specifically to the Kathiawar and Gujarat province of the Malwa region<sup>137</sup>. Jinasena and Harisena spent a part of their life at



Vardhamanapura and they gave a glorified account of that place. In the colophon of the *Harivamasa Purana*, Jinasena described that its composition was started in the Parsvanatha temple at Vardhamanapura and completed during the year 783 CE (Saka 705) in the Santhinatha Jain temple at Dostika<sup>138</sup>. Jinasena further refers to one Nannaraja who erected a Parsvanatha basti (*Vasti*) at Vardhamanapura from where he started to write his *Harivamasa Purana*<sup>139</sup>. The Nannaraja could be a Ganga king or chieftain from the Punnada country, because the name *Nanniya* or *Nanna* has usually been used by the Western Ganga kings and their chieftains like Chandalavas, Nolambas along with the Nannans of Ezhimala in Malabar region of Kerala<sup>140</sup>. Harisena also claims that the composition of his masterpiece *Brihatkathakosa* has been started from Vardhamanapura during 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>141</sup>. The place Vardhamanapura was variously identified as Burdwan in Bengal or the Vardhamanagiri mentioned in the Anumakonda inscription of the Kakatiya Rudradeva. It is more logical to accept its identification on the basis of a deep study by A.N. Upadhye as Wadhwan in the Surendranagar district in the Kathiawar province of Gujarat<sup>142</sup>. The ancient name of the Wadhwan was Vardhamanapur.

*Punnada-sangha* was very popular in the Malwa region<sup>143</sup>. An inscription (912 CE) inscribed on the backside of a Jaina image from Vardhamanapur (Badnawar) clearly attests the importance of the *Punnada-sangha* in the Malwa region<sup>144</sup>. The *Kashtha Sangha*, a very popular one in the North and north-western India during 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Century, had its historical links with the *Punnada-sangha*<sup>145</sup>. The *Gaccha* called *Punnada-gaccha* was also prominent among the Digambara sect of India, specifically in the Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Malwa, and the Eastern region. *Punnada-gaccha* is the forerunner of the *Latha-Bagada-Gaccha*, which was popular in the Latha (Gujarat), and Bagada region of Chittor (Chittorgarh) in Rajasthan<sup>146</sup>. In certain places, by the late medieval period, the *Punnada-gaccha* and *Bagada-gaccha* merged together and came to be called as *Latha-gaccha*<sup>147</sup>. This *Latha-Bagada-Gaccha* was known by another name *Punnada-gaccha*<sup>148</sup>. At present, the members of the *Latha-Bagada-Gaccha* alias *Punnada-gaccha* belongs to a particular caste among the Jains known as Bagherwal and are chiefly concentrated in Maharashtra, Gujarat, North-western Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. The historical Kirti Sthambha at Chittor was a product of the Bagherwal Digambar Jains, and according to some inscriptions, it

was erected by one Shresthi Bagherwal Jina possibly during the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>149</sup>.

### **Pambra Inscription and the Ratnaprabha-suri**

In this context, it is necessary to discuss one extremely important inscription discovered from Pambra near Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad. This Sanskrit record dated in Vikrama Era 1338 (1282 CE) is written in Nagari characters was engraved on the backside of a Tirthankara image. Even though, this record was published in the 1960's, none of the researchers who worked on Jainism in Kerala has noticed it. This inscription states that “*Thakkura Kikata got the Panchayatana made for the merit of a lady named Bhaku and others belonging to the Pragvata community and that it was consecrated by Ratnaprabha-suri, the disciple of Chandrasen-suri*”<sup>150</sup>. We have another image inscription from Junagadh district of Gujarat<sup>151</sup> which records the installation of an image of Parsvanatha with *panchayatana* and *devakulika* (small shrine) in the village of Kutiyana by one Khimaka, son of *Sre* Kumarasimha Srimalajnati, for the merit of his son Dhara. Here, the *panchayatana* has been sanctified by one Padmaprabha-suri, disciple of Ratnaprabha-suri. It is interesting to notice that the Junagadh inscription was dated in Vikrama Era 1337 (1281 CE), just a year before the sanctification of the *Panchayatana*<sup>152</sup> at Pambra by Ratnaprabha-suri.

The Pambra inscription is a very crucial native record which clearly connects Wayanadan Jainism with the north western India which further confirms the prominence of *Punnada-sangha* there. The presences of Pragvata caste of the Jains in Wayanad add strength to this inference. The Pragvata community mentioned in the Pambra record is mainly concentrated in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh regions of India. They are also known as *Por*, *Porwar*, *Porwal*, *Porwad*, *Poravalas*, *Paravada* etc.,<sup>153</sup> and are described as “a trading or mercantile caste in Malwa, being one of the 84 *gacchas* or families of the Jains: there are also amongst the number, families denominated *Por* and *Porwar*”<sup>154</sup>. At Present, *Pragvatas* are divided into Jain and Vaishnava followers like the Gowdas of Wayanad, but “there had been a very little relation between the two”<sup>155</sup>. In contrast, the Jain and Vaishnava Gowdas of Wayanad are mingling with each other and even maintaining marriage alliances. The Pragvata Jains mainly belong to the *Digambara*

sect; though in certain regions they consist of *Svetambaras* also. They are mentioned in the inscriptions as '*Pragvata*' which was the alternative name of the Mewar or Mewad region of south central Rajasthan, and the natives of that region later began to know as *Pragvatas* or *Poravalas*<sup>156</sup>. Pragvata people were popular for the installation of Jaina images carrying inscriptions on it<sup>157</sup>. We have large number of inscriptions from Gujarat, Rajasthan and other parts of the Malwa region referring to this community<sup>158</sup> such as those from Jayasimhapura (1222 CE, 1308 CE), Dhar (1288 CE, 1328 CE, 1424 CE, 1440 CE), Talanpur (1310 CE), Indore (1496 CE), Sukhed (1496 CE), Sawyer (1502 CE), Bhakhatgarh (1503 CE), Mohankheda (1510 CE), Kesur (1512 CE), Mandu (1512 CE), Kukshi (1523 CE), Badnawar (1528 CE), Ujjain (1528 CE)<sup>159</sup>. In the case of the above mentioned inscriptions regarding this community, most of them belonged to 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Century CE, except two. Our Pambra inscription is an earlier one which belongs to 1282 CE (Vikrama Era 1338)<sup>160</sup>. The Pragvata community people made historic contributions in all arenas of medieval Gujarat and Rajasthan. They were not mere merchants, but also great scholars, administrators, builders, literary experts, military generals. Vastupala, Tejapala, Sripala, Sidhapala, Vijayapala, Kumarapala, and Durlabharaja are some of the famous members of this community known for their great contributions<sup>161</sup>. The famous Jain temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan such as Mount Abu, Ranakpur and Girnar were built by this community. The Dilwara temple at Mount Abu was built by two Pragvata brothers namely Vastupala and Tejapala between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE<sup>162</sup>.

### **Ratnaprabha-suri**

According to the Pambra image inscription, the *Panchayatana* temple was consecrated by one Ratnaprabha-suri, the disciple of Chandrasen-suri<sup>163</sup>. Ratnaprabha-suri was the great Jain scholar and logician who lived during 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Century CE. An inscription discovered from a well in Ghaghra Village in Chittorgarh (Chittor) district of Rajasthan (1265 CE/V.S.1322) refers to Ratnaprabha-suri as a resident of Chitrakuta fort (*Chitrakootachaladurga*) which can be identified as the present Chittorgarh fort (Chittor fort)<sup>164</sup>. It is also stated that he was honoured by the Guhila king Tejasimha. Another inscription dated 1273 (V.S.1330) discovered from Chirava village near Udaipur also speaks of the distinguished position enjoyed by Ratnaprabha-suri in the royal court of Tejasimha and another king Visvaladeva, the

Baghela (Vaghela) ruler of Dholka<sup>165</sup>. The Junagadh inscription attests that Ratnaprabha-suri belonged to the *Dharanapadra-gaccha*<sup>166</sup> or *Chaitra-gaccha*<sup>167</sup> as described by the Ghaghsha inscription. The Jain scripture *Upadesamalavrtti* authored by Ratnaprabha-suri says that his spiritual lineage belonged to the *Vrhad-gaccha* (*Brhad-gaccha*)<sup>168</sup> which probably had a connection with *Chaitra-gaccha* or *Dharanapadra-gaccha*. Ratnaprabha-suri's *Upadesamalavrtti*, which was composed when he was at Broach, speaks about his spiritual predecessors as Muni Chandra-suri, Deva-suri, Bhadresvara-suri, etc.<sup>169</sup>. Muni Chandra-suri in the *Upadesamalavrtti* could be the Chandrasena-suri mentioned as his teacher in the Pambra record<sup>170</sup>. Chirava and Ghaghsha records refer to the name of his another teacher Bhuvanachandra-suri<sup>171</sup>.

But, Ratnaprabha-suri is celebrated in the literary context of medieval India through his Sanskrit *magnum opus* '*Kuvalayamalakatha*' which is based on another Prakrit work called *Kuvalayamala*, composed in 778 or 779 CE by Uddyotana-suri when he was at Jalor (Jabalipura) in Rajasthan<sup>172</sup>. Both these works speak about a coastal town Vijayapuri or Vijayanagari, which has been tentatively identified by some scholars in the Kerala country<sup>173</sup>. *Kuvalayamalakatha* locates Vijayapuri on the sea-coast as a country full of trees like coconut, sandalwood, cardamom, jackfruit (*Phanasa*), Piper betel Linn (*Nagavalli*), areca-nut (*Puga phala*). This description clearly indicates the location of Vijayapuri inside the Kerala country. Some more references in these works will further help us to establish the Vijayapuri-Kerala connection. Kuvalayachandra, the hero of the story, reached Vijayapuri in search of his paramour Kuvalayamala. In the city, Kuvalayachandra notes the presence of a big *Matha* and of the *Chattars* or *Chattirar* or *Chattas*<sup>174</sup>. *Chattirar* was a peculiar Malayalam word to refer a "*section of armed Brahmins*"<sup>175</sup> perhaps exclusive to Kerala. They were the novices of the medieval Vedic schools of Kerala called *Salais*, and whose principal duty was to recite Vedas and that, they were bound to observe brahmacharya and that since they had military weapons and training, they also acted as a militia in protecting the property and revenue of the temple and the *Salai*<sup>176</sup>. Certain medieval Tamil-Malayalam Vatteluttu inscriptions discovered from different parts of Kerala refers to *Chattar* or *Chattan* (*Sattar* or *Sattan*). The 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE Parthivapuram inscription of the Ay king Karunandadakkan (c.857-885 CE) records certain endowments to the 95 *Chattars* of the *Salai* (Vedic school) which he established and attached to the

Vishnu temple at Parthivapuram<sup>177</sup>. Further, the king made certain rules and regulations regarding the matters of the *Chattar*<sup>178</sup>. The Tiruvalla plates belonging to 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE also refer to certain provisions including 350 *naazhi* (a measure of volume) rice per day for the daily feeding of the *Chattar* there<sup>179</sup>. The 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE Thirumoozhikkulam inscription also speaks about a separate provision for the feeding of the *Chattar* of the Vedic school attached to the present Thirumoozhikkulam Lakshmana Perumal temple in Ernakulam district<sup>180</sup>. Furthermore, we have fabulous portrayals of *Chattars* or *Chattirar* in the medieval *Manippravalam* works like *Unniyachi Charitham*, *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham*, *Unniyadi Charitham* and *Chandrolsavam*.

The *Unniyachi Charitham* (13<sup>th</sup> Century CE) depicts cupid activities of the *Chattar* to attract the Nair courtesan heroine Unniyachi by waiting upon her with presents and charms, trying to astonish her with knowledge, bounty and chivalry<sup>181</sup>. Another *Manippravalam* work (13<sup>th</sup> Century CE) titled *Unni Chiruthevi Charitham* narrates the story of a courtesan Unni Chiruthevi, the native of Valluvanad, in which Indra falls in love with her and while visiting her house “he finds some *Chattirar* calling each other shouting that the frightened enemy has run away. He finds other *Chattirar* engaged in pleasing the damsel by composing verses in praise of her beauty”<sup>182</sup>. In the *Unniyadi Charitham* of poet Damodara Chakyar (14<sup>th</sup> Century CE) the heroine Unniyadi was a princess. This work introduces some *Chattirars* and one of them claims that during the *Pooram* day (temple festival), the *Chattirars* of their group succeeded in injuring with weapon eight persons of opposite side and one died due to the lack inaccuracy<sup>183</sup>. The work also explains the costumes and other traits of the *Chattirar*: they wear a dress which goes down to the feet along with a turban, and they were capable of creating havoc with the sword<sup>184</sup>. The 15<sup>th</sup> Century *Chandrolsavam* is a social satire written in the *Manippravalam* form. According to this work, on the occasion of Courtesan’s Festival called *Chandrolsavam* (*Chandra+Utsavam*: Moon Festival), eighteen groups of *Chattirars* from different parts of the country, participate with their ‘*shining arms, driving back the other groups and meandering swords*’<sup>185</sup>. It further says that among these eighteen *sanghas* of *Chattirars*, six belonged to the *Vyakarana* group of Vedic scholars, another six were *Prabhakara* group and the rest of them from *Bhatta* group<sup>186</sup>. Interestingly, a form of dramatic dance performance called *Chattirarkali* or *Yathrakali*<sup>187</sup> was also prevalent in Kerala, exclusively

performed by the Namboothiri Brahmins which mainly contains the essence of Vedic rituals and military elements<sup>188</sup>.

In contrast to the above Sanskrit works, the Jain work *Kuvalayamalakatha* ridicules the *Chattirar* saying that they are “*mere reciters of the Vedas (without knowing the meaning) and who are attached to food only (dali-vatta-dalacatta-in-guj)*’. These students, of gluttonous habits, are described as having undressed curly hair, and big bodies, with high shoulders, and walking with a jerky gait. Their bodies are fat with a good deal of flesh put up by obtaining free food from others, they keep big moustaches, and do not practise the *purusarthas* viz., *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*. Some of them have not yet reached even the young age, other have just entered youth. They are devoid of relations, friends and property. They love to gaze at young girls and other’s wives, with the conceit that they themselves are beautiful, and they walk with eyes and heads held high”<sup>189</sup>. Moreover, when Kuvalayachandra entered the *Matha* at Vijayapuri, he saw the *Chattas* from various countries, Viz., Lata, Karnata, Malava, Kanauja, Golia, Marahatta, Soratha, Dhakka, Srikantha, and Saindhava. They were receiving training in archery, sword and shield, daggers, sticks, lances and other weapons. They also got trained in painting, singing, dancing, and playing different kinds of musical instruments, and so on. There were “different *vyakhyana-mandalis* or debates and discussions on different sastras like the *Vyakarana*, *Buddha-darsana*, *Mimamsa*, *Naiyayika-darsana*, *Anekantavada*, or the *Lokayatika*. The Prince thought, ‘Blessed is the big city Vijaya where all the darsanas are taught. The teachers (*uvajjhaya*, *upadhyayas*) are experts indeed!’ Then he goes to another part of the *matha*, where again they were taught different arts and sciences, like *Nimitta* (astrology of omens), *Mantra*, *Yoga*, *Anjana* (extrasensory perception seeing by magical ointment), *Kuhayam* or *Kuhakam* (jugglery or black magic), *Dhatuvada* (metallurgy), *Jakkhini-siddhi* (?), *Khattam* (stealing by breaking open walls), *Joga-mala* (?), *Mantra-mala* (?), *Garudam*, *Jyotisa*, *Svapna-sastra*, *Rasayana-sastra* including powdering of mercury (*Rasa bandha*) and mercurial preparations, *Chandah-vrtti* (?), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Patrachedya* (carving or manufacturing different articles from leaves), *Indra-jala* (magic), *Danta-kamma* (ivory-carving), *Kaya-kamma* (*Kaca-karmma*, *Kesa-karma*), *Lepya-karma* (preparation of plasters and plastering), *chittam*, or *chitram* (painting), *kanaya-kamma* or *kanaka-karma* (goldsmith’s art), *Visagara-tanta* or *Visagara-tantra* (treatment of poisons), *Valaya* (elephant catching

or science of elephants), *Valaya-gandha-dravya-visesa* (perfumery or preparations from the fragrant *valaka*), *Bhuta-tantra-karma* and such other sastras. The Prince thinks, 'Oh well, these teachers are well versed in the seventy-two *kalas* (arts) and the sixty-four *vijnanas*!'<sup>190</sup>.

The aforesaid descriptions of *Kuvalayamala* and *Kuvalayamalakatha* clearly indicate that the city of Vijayapuri was situated in the present geographical territory of Kerala. The institutions of *Chattirar* and *Chattirar madam* were unique to medieval Kerala. The typical flora and fauna of the Kerala country illustrated in these works also have corroborative value for this inference. More remarkable are certain exclusive rituals, practices and skills like *Anjana Jyotisha*, *Valaya-gandha-dravya-visesa*, *Kuhayam*, etc., still prevalent among the people of the state. On the basis these Jain works, it can be said that the Jains of north and north western India had frequent and regular contacts with the Kerala Jains. Sanctification of the *Panchayatana* style of a Jain temple at Pambra in Wayanad by Ratnaprabha-suri, probably a native of the Malwa region is significant in this context. The description of Vijayapuri by Uddyotana-suri proves his familiarity with the Kerala country and its geographical features along with the social, political, and cultural traits. Possibly he visited the country and engaged in missionary activities. We know that in the history of south India, 8<sup>th</sup> Century CE was the era of Hindu revivalism initiated by saint Sankaracharya, a native of Kerala. Uddyotana-suri's activities too might have played a role in the revival of Jainism in the state.

We know that Jains are traditionally merchants and are mainly engaged in inland trade. Jainism was patronised by the traders and most of the time they were followed by the missionaries into the new trading settlements. If we go through the contents of the ancient Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the natural caves of Tamil country, the positive relationship between the Jain traders and the ascetics is clearly visible. Right from the closing centuries Before Common Era, Kerala and its coastal towns must have attracted the Jain traders and they gradually settled there. The Jain traders from the Saurashtra region possibly followed the coastal route connecting Malabar and Gujarat region via Konkan coast. The Punnada country and its Jain *Punnada-sangha* played a significant role in the history of Kerala Jainism in general and the Wayanadan Jainism in particular. *Punnada-sangha* could be the first Jain *sangha*

which propagated Jina's doctrines among the people of Wayanad. The spread of this *sangha* and its teachings to the north and the north western India speak about its glorious history. It must have encouraged the brisk inland trade and opened new trade routes. This might have further helped the growth of maritime trade of Kerala with the Western, Central and Far Eastern countries. It also might have stimulated the acculturation process among various regional cultures. It is thus logical to conclude that, the Punnada Jainism was a part of Wayanadan Jainism and it definitely enriched the Jaina history of ancient and medieval Kerala in general and Wayanad in particular.

### **Jainism in Wayanad as Gleaned through the Western Ganga Inscriptions**

The history of Jainism in the Wayanad region can be reconstructed from the inscriptions of the Gangas who governed from Talakad. It has already been pointed out that the Ganga political authority extended into Alathur<sup>191</sup> (Alantur) in Palakkad, one of the prominent Jain centres in Kerala, not far from Wayanad during the time of Avinitha and Durvinita. Some of the archaeological remains along with a vatteluttu inscription (Fig.11) from Alathur clearly affirm its Jain historicity<sup>192</sup>. A Hale-Kannada inscription (Fig.23) from Moolankavu near Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad mentions that the place where the inscription along with remnants of a Jain settlement has been discovered was also known as Alathur during medieval times. We have a number of places with the name Alathur in Kerala, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu most of which have their ancient or medieval Jaina affiliation<sup>193</sup>. There is some good probability that the places have the name Alathur had certain Jaina affiliation in the past. The above Alathur inscription refers to the *Narpattennayiravar* organisation, one of the celebrated trade guilds of south India which had an unambiguous influence over the affairs of the Jain *palli* at Alathur. The Poothadi Jain inscription also reveals the importance of *Narpattennayiravar* guild over the affairs of the Thazhekavu Jain temple in Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad<sup>194</sup>. It should be remembered that this trading cum labour organisation is popular not only in the Kerala country but Deccan and Tamil regions as well.

The political supremacy of Sripurusha, one of the most powerful rulers of the Western Ganga dynasty, over Kerala in general and Wayanad in particular by has already been discussed. Inscriptions of his times speak about his munificent donations to most of



the religious sects prevalent in his empire, especially Brahmins and Jains. One of his inscriptions mentions that one Brahmin Bana Sarman, a resident of *Vatapi* (Badami) received a certain measure of tax free land in *Baradur* (modern Varadur) in the year 726 CE<sup>195</sup>. At present, we cannot find any Brahmin settlements at Varadur in Wayanad. Instead, this place is known for the presence of Jain families who had an unambiguous Kannada affiliation. The *Varadur Jaladhara* inscription which is still preserved in the Varadur Jain temple definitely helps us to establish the relation between the Jains of Wayanad and Karnataka<sup>196</sup>.

The Hosur plates refer to a Brahmin Madhava Sarman of Tholur<sup>197</sup> who received two villages in Gudalur (*Elam-Gudalur*, *Mariyachi-Gudalur*) and two more villages at Paruvi and Sripura from Sripurusha<sup>198</sup>. His record<sup>199</sup> from Mysore (750 CE) speaks of a land grant in Gudalur made by a Jain lady namely *Arattiti* on the occasion of her son *Singam* having taken *Jina diksha* (consecration). It also refers to the contemporary ruler of Gudalur fort as one *Madi-ode*, who could be having certain Jain affiliation.

His Devarahalli plates (776 CE) prove that Sripura was a famous Jain settlement<sup>200</sup>. The contents of the Devarahalli record were discussed threadbare in the previous chapter. Regarding the geographical location of Sripura alias Sripuram; we reached a logical conclusion that it could be situated inside the Kerala country, specifically in the Malabar region. At the same time, the available sources further compel us to locate it inside the medieval Bayal-nadu province. Lewis Rice observed that “*the details given in the Hosur plates show that Sripura was near Gudalur, no doubt the place of that name to the west of the Nilagiris, which is the only one of any importance known to me*”<sup>201</sup>. Starting from the Gangas of Talakad, the present Gudalur was part of the medieval Bayal-nadu province of the Deccan rulers. Besides Wayanad and Gudalur, the medieval Bayal-nadu kingdom might have embraced parts of the Kasaragod, Kannur, Kozhikode, and Malappuram districts of Kerala.<sup>202</sup> Besides, Devarahalli inscription<sup>203</sup> states that the principal land endowment to the Lokatilaka basti is a village *Ponnalli* in the *Nirgunda* country. A Hoysala inscriptions clearly say that the *Nirgunda* country was situated in the vicinity of Nilagiri<sup>204</sup>. The boundaries of the Ponnalli village were *Kalambartti*, *Ponkevi Taltuvaya*, *Nolibela*, *Punuse*, *Gottagala*, *Panyangere*, *Olagere* and *Belagalligere*<sup>205</sup>. Some of the places have Kannada influence, others have more Tamil and Malayalam affiliations, such as

*Kalambartti* (Tamil: *Kalambetti*) and *Ponkevi Taltuvaya; Nolibela, Punuse and Gottagala* (Kannada). *Panyangere, Olagere, and Belagalligere* could be the Kannada rendition of Malayalam Panyancherry, Olacherry and Velachalicherry. It is logical to suppose that the boundaries of the endowed Ponnani village could be shared by the present three states, Viz., Karnataka, Tamilnadu, and Kerala. The Ponnalli could be the present Ponnani village situated between the boundaries of Wayanad and Gudalur.

Besides the above land grants, Devarahalli inscription speaks about one more endowment to *Lokatilaka* basti 'from the share of *Nellu Raja*, the chief of *Mannampale*'<sup>206</sup>. *Nellu Raj* could be the chief Nelliylam, situated about 15 km away from Gudalur and 25 km from Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad. Nelliylam rulers, especially the queen (*Nelliylam Rani*) is well-known in the history of Nilagiri and their later history was linked with the Ummathur chieftains of Nanjangud<sup>207</sup>. They also had some affiliation with the Wodeyar kings of Mysore, Kurumbranad and the Nilambur ruling families of Kerala. The palaces/forts and temples in Deccan-Kannada architectural features at Nelliylam, Nellakotta and Nambalakotta are the surviving monuments of this family, situated between the present Wayanad and Gudalur.

Further, the Devarahalli record gives the genealogy of a line of Jain *Acharyas* of the *Eregittur Gana* of *Pulikall Gaccha*<sup>208</sup>. They are *Chandranandi*; his disciple *Kumaranandi*; his disciple *Kirttinandi Acharya*; his beloved disciple *Vimalachandra Acharya*. The term 'Eregittur' can be split into 'Eri' and 'Kittur'. The Kannada word 'Eri' denotes 'dam' or 'river bank,' and the 'Kittur' must be the capital of the ancient Punnada country which later became the headquarters of the Kadambas of Wayanad. Kirttipura alias Kittur is located in H. D. Kote taluk, just 60 kilometres away from the present Wayanad district of Kerala. Kittur is situated on the banks of the river Kabani which originates from Wayanad with the convergence of Panamaram and Mananthavady Rivers. At present, this historical town including two ancient Jain basties along with two Hindu temples was submerged under the Kabani Reservoir. The term *Eregittur* or *Erikittur* itself proves that probably an ancient reservoir existed on the Kabani River at Kittur. However, the seat of the *Eregittur-gana* certainly was on the banks of the river Kabani in Kittur, the seat of the medieval Bayal-nadu alias Wayanad rulers.

The *Pulikal gaccha* affiliated to the *Erikittur-gana* deserves a few words<sup>209</sup>. Pulikal or Pulikkal is a very common place name in the Malabar region, especially in the districts of Kozhikode and Malappuram. The Tamil and Malayalam term '*Puli Maram*' denotes tamarind tree and its fruit called '*Puli*'. The place name '*Pulikkal*' simply denotes the place where the tamarind groves are located. From ancient period onwards, a number of land grants in south India, especially of the Gangas and Chalukyas mention the tamarind tree as a boundary marker of the endowed land<sup>210</sup>. Most probably, the long-life of tamarind tree must be the reason for choosing it as a boundary indicator. It is also significant that most of the inscriptions mentioning the tamarind tree are Jain affiliated ones. Interestingly, we have a large number of ancient and medieval inscriptions from Karnataka which found under or the nearby areas of tamarind trees<sup>211</sup>. Thus the boundary indicating '*Puli*' tree became the indicator of the region in subsequent periods and began to be called as '*Pulikkal*' in the Kerala country. This place name similarity proves the *Pulikal Gaccha* must be situated inside the Malabar region, which further helps to confirm the location of Sripura inside Bayal-nadu.

Devarahalli record also refers to some more land grants to the Lokatilaka basti of Sripura by Sripurusha. These included *Dundu-samudra*, *Paleya-Erenallur*, *Erepuligere*, *Koyilgotta* (*Koyilgoda*), and also at the Sripura<sup>212</sup>. The Kannada term *Dundu-samudra* indicates that it must be situated inside the present Karnataka state, most probably in the Mysore district. The word *Paleya* in the *Paleya-Erenallur* is a Tamil word means 'old' and the *Erenallur* could be the present Eranellur in Trissur district, which is about twelve kilometres away from Tholur; possibly the same *Tholur* in the Hosur plates of Sripurusha<sup>213</sup>. *Koyilgotta* or *Koyilgoda* in the Malayalam -Tamil linguistic context should be read as *Koyilkotta* means 'fortified palace' or temple. *Koyilgotta* or *Koyilgoda* in the Malayalam -Tamil linguistic context should be read as *Koyilkotta* means 'fortified palace' or temple. *Koyilkotta* could be the present Kozhikode, the chief town and district of Malabar. Some scholars have identified the ancient name of Kozhikode, the chief town of northern Kerala as *Koyilkotta*<sup>214</sup>. *Erepuligere* could be the present Cherpulassery in Palakkad district. On the basis of it, the land endowed to Lokatilaka basti possibly included Eranellur, Kozhikode and Cherpulassery in the plains Kerala. Even the Sripura Jain temple was situated on the Deccan plain which entails Wayanad, though the land endowments

made to it are located in the plains of present Kerala as well. These profligate donations indicate that the Sripura Jain palli was an established one and exercised significant influence over the Jains in other parts of Kerala. These findings indicate that the city Sripura or Sripuram was definitely situated inside the Medieval Bayal-nadu country, which encompassed certain parts of the present Southern Mysore region of Karnataka, Malabar region of Kerala and the Nilagiri region of Tamilnadu.

According to the Devarahalli record, Pallava queen Kandachchi<sup>215</sup> has constructed the Lokatilaka basti on the northern corner of Sripura<sup>216</sup>. At the same time, the land endowment to the basti was made by the Ganga king Sripurusha. This reference attests that the Pallavas and the Gangas also had a marital relationship. The marriage alliance between the Pallavas and the Gangas during Avinitha and subsequent expansion of Ganga kingdom to Punnada and Palakkad territories has already been established<sup>217</sup>. An early land grant of the Ganga king Avinitha endowed to a Jain temple set up for the merit of her husband's family by the mother of a Pallava king Simhavishnu is sufficient proof for the Pallava-Ganga alliance<sup>218</sup>. But, according to the Devarahalli record, Sripurusha made a land grant at the request of one Paramagula of Bana-kula, husband of Kandachchi<sup>219</sup>. In the absence of any further evidences, it is not possible to identify the relationship between Kandachchi and Sripurusha. Inscriptional evidence indicates the Pallava-Kadamba interlude in Malabar and the southern Karnataka regions including Wayanad<sup>220</sup>. Here, it should be remembered that the early Pallavas had their capitals at Dasanapura, Palakkada, and Menmatura along with the main one at Kanchipuram. Palakkada is the modern Palakkad in Kerala and Dasanapura is the present Dasanur village in Nanjangud taluk of Mysore. Again it should be remarkable that Dasanur or Dasanapura is just about 80 km away from the present Wayanad district, possibly included in the *Changi-Bayal-nadu* division of the *Yugma-Bayal-nadu* (Double Bayal-nadu) country of the Kadambas of Wayanad<sup>221</sup>. These findings again indicate that the Sripura Jain establishment was located in the Bayal-nadu province.

To conclude, the Jain vestiges of the present Wayanad, Gudalur, Gundlupet, Heggadadevankote, Nanjangud, and other southern regions of Mysore are sufficient enough to establish the presence of a large Jain population in those expanses from ancient period onwards. Wayanad is the only place that still has the presence of

traditional Jains having clear-cut Kannada affiliation in Kerala. The Jains of Wayanad still speak in their mother tongue Kannada. Wayanad is the only place conspicuous for a large number of Jain monuments showing clear-cut Deccan-Kannada architectural features. The place Sripura or Sripuram itself got the name after Sripurusha, the real establisher of this city. At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to apprehend the original name of Sripura. However, on the basis of the above said facts, we have to give more probably to locate the Sripura, the great medieval Jain city of the Ganga kingdom inside the present Wayanad district; the only existing traditional Jain hub of Kerala.

When we analyse the other Ganga records, the Vijayapura (near Talakad) stone inscription of Sivamara II refers to a place name *Koombadi* and its ruler Manala-arasa (Manavala Raja)<sup>222</sup>. Here, it is interesting that the term ‘Manavala’ was a very common personal name used by the ruling classes of medieval Kerala and Tamil countries<sup>223</sup>. Koombadi has been mentioned in the Poothadi (Thazhekavu) Jain inscription as *Kudambadi*<sup>224</sup>. According to the Poothadi-Thazhekavu inscription, the *Narpattennayiravar* (The Forty Eight Thousand) organisation established a *Nagaram* (trade centre?) most probably near the Jain temple from where the present inscription has been discovered. To commemorate it, they set up a lamp for the god *Yakshan* (*Yaksha*)<sup>225</sup>. It further states that, ‘to light the lamp which the *Narpattennayiravar* instituted, twenty four *pothi* (a measure of grain)<sup>226</sup> by *Kudambadi* and twelve *pothi* by *Nagapura* should be donated’<sup>227</sup>. The Nakaperur in the Muttupatti inscription (c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE)<sup>228</sup> is identified as the present Pambra village near Sulthan Bathery. Like Nakaperur, it is logical to identify the Nagapura in the Poothadi inscription as the same Pambra. The Sanskrit word ‘*Naga*’ means Dravidian ‘*Pampu*’ denotes snake<sup>229</sup>. In that sense the Sanskrit *Nagapura* become the Tamil-Malayalam *Pampupura* evolved as *Pambra*. And we also identified the Jaina affiliation of the Pambra village through a 13<sup>th</sup> Century Sanskrit image inscription which refer to two Jaina *Acharyas* namely *Ratnaprabha-suri* and *Chandrasen-suri*<sup>230</sup>. On the basis of it, it is reasonable to suppose that Kudambadi, Nagapura along with the Poothadi (from where the last mentioned inscription has been discovered) were the three significant Jain centres of Wayanad. Starting from the early medieval period, Koombadi or Kudambadi emerges as a conspicuous Jain centre of Wayanad. Koombadi (Kudambadi) can be identified as the modern Kariyambadi near Pambra (Nagapura or

Nakaperur) in Sulthan Bathery. Unfortunately, we did not have any inscriptional or other archaeological evidence to attest the Jain affiliation of Kariyambadi. At the same time, the nearby areas of Kariyambadi like Pambra, Poothadi, Irulam, Kidanganad, Moolankavu, and Muthanga were significant for the ancient-medieval Jain settlements and such other vestiges.

Interestingly, the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Century CE Sulthan Bathery Mariamman temple stone inscription mentioned a place namely *Paadikumbam*<sup>231</sup>. According to this record, Paadikumbam was famous for the presence of *Padainayar* (Nair Warrior). This Paadikumbam also could be the same Koombadi/Kudambadi/Kariyambadi. According to the Thazhekavu inscription (Fig.32), Poothadi was once a famous Jain settlement<sup>232</sup>. Interestingly, inscriptional evidence attests that in the later period Poothadi alias Poothapadi became a prominent hub of Nair warrior chieftain called *Padainayar*, similar to the Paadikumbam (Kariyambadi). The Mariamman temple inscription states that the temple was put under the protection by *Poothapadi Padainayar* along with *Paadikumbam Padainayar*<sup>233</sup>. Poothapadi Padainayar was also mentioned in a lithic record (1079 CE) of the Wayanad Kadamba ruler Kandavamman (Skandavarman), indicating that these chieftains had a significant status in the Kadamba court. According to this record, the Thirumangalam temple (Thirunelli) was put under the *Poothapadi Padainayar*<sup>234</sup>. A Thirunelli inscription also states that certain *Yogiyar* (priest) of the Thirunelli Alvan temple who looked after the *Srikariyam* (duties to the god) was entrusted with some lands for the *Tiruvamirtu* (god's feast) with the *Poothapadi Padainayar*<sup>235</sup>. It should here be remembered that the place where the Jain settlement and the Nagaram existed in Poothadi was also called as Veliyamabam or Veliyamabam Kotta. The term 'Veliyamabam Kotta' itself shows that there was a *Kotta* or fort. The Malayalam word 'Veli' denotes boundary wall. Close to the remnants of the Jain temple and the vatteluttu inscription found<sup>236</sup>, the presence of a very ancient Siva temple inside the forest in typical Pallava architectural features, indicate the existence of a wayside trade settlement inhabited by the people of various faiths. The medieval<sup>237</sup> *Manipravalam Champu Kavya* '*Unniyachi Charitham*' mentions Poothadi as *Puthuviti*<sup>238</sup>. The term 'Puthuviti' signifies that 'New Way' or 'New Street' (*Puthu*=New, *Veethi*=street or way). Significance of the city of Poothadi (Puthuviti) was given in a glittering description along with other prominent cities of Kerala and Karnataka like Kodungallur, Kollam,

Thrikanamathilakam, Trichivaperur, Thirunelli, Mangalapuram, Dwarasamudra, Maddur (*Tirumarudur*) by *Unniyachi Charitham*<sup>239</sup>. Poothadi was situated on one of the ancient trade route linking Mysore and the plains of Kerala through Wayanad that passes through the thick forest. This region could have been notorious for the highway robbers who hiding in the thick forest conducted plundering raids on the caravan traders. In view of this peril, the *Poothapadi Padainayar* was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the caravan traders, and subsequently, this family developed as warlords and started to support the king and chieftains of the region. The *Poothapadi Padainayar's* family can be identified as the present Poothadi Nair family of the same Poothadi alias Poothapadi<sup>240</sup>. However, the Padainayar presence in the Jain centres of Wayanad like Paadikumbam (Koombadi) and Poothadi (Poothapadi) again leads us to ascertain that hypothesis about the Jain-Nair affiliation in the medieval history of Kerala in general and Wayanad in particular.

Sivamara's record under discussion also refers to the ruler of Kolattur (*Kolattur-ode*)<sup>241</sup>. Kolattur must be the present Kolattur village near T. Narasapura in Karnataka. The *Kolattur-sangha* played a prominent role in the history of Jainism in southern Mysore. A Shravanabelagola inscription refers to one *Kittur-sangha*<sup>242</sup> which is the same *Kolattur-sangha* mentioned in some other Shravanabelagola records<sup>243</sup>. It is also known by *Punnada-sangha*, because Kittur was the capital of the ancient Punnada country. Kittur was also the capital of the Kadambas of Wayanad<sup>244</sup>. The early Jain monastic order that influenced the people of Wayanad might be the same *Punnada sangha/Kittur-sangha/Kolattur-sangha*. It could be the direct offshoot of the Jain community migrated from the north under the leadership of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta in 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE<sup>245</sup>.

After the reign of Sivamara, we did not have any hints about Jainism in Wayanad. The records of the other Ganga rulers of Talakad like Ereganga Neetimarga II (c.907–921 CE), Rachamalla III (c.933–938 CE) and Butuga-II (c.938-961 CE) clearly shows that they played a prominent political role in Wayanad, Nadugani Sulisailendra (Ooty), Ezhimala, etc.,<sup>246</sup>. This helps us to reach an inference that under these rulers also Jainism flourished in Wayanad. The Punnada country, one of the chief provinces of the Gangas contributed considerably to the growth and spread of Jainism in south India. Before Wayanad became a separate administrative division, it was a part of the

Punnada country of the Gangas. The *Punnada-sangha* contributed greatly to the growth of Wayanadan Jainism with the political support provided by the Gangas, the most prominent Jain ruling family in south India.

The spread of Punnada Jainism to the North and North-western India under the Gangas, their masters (Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas) and their successors (Hoysalas) further enriched Jainism in both the regions. Kerala's exclusive Socio-political, cultural and geographical features graphically portrayed by Uddyotana-suri in his *Kuvalayamala* could be the outcome of the Punnada Jainism and its outgrowth, the Wayanadan Jainism. The frequent contacts between the Jain monks and traders of both regions hastened the acculturation process. The Pambra inscription refers to the names of two prominent Jain monks of the Malwa region, Viz., Ratnaprabha-suri and his teacher Chandrasen-suri. The construction of the *panchayatana* style of the temple complex is also noticeable being the contribution of the Pragvata community of Jains in the Wayanad region. More than seven centuries of political stability provided by the Gangas in the Wayanad region could significantly be helped the growth, spread and survival of the Nobel Faith in that region.

### **Hoysalas and the Wayanadan Jainism**

In the previous pages, the political presence of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra over the Wayanad and its peripheral areas has been discussed. Their political hold over Wayanad further enriched the acculturation process between the two medieval cultural zones Viz., Malayala and Kannada which was already set into motion from the time of Gangas and Kadambas. It made Wayanad region culturally distinct from the rest of Kerala. Wayanad still contains syncretic cultural and religious elements of Kannada-Malayala origin. The emergence of Wayanadan Jainism was largely due to the missionaries of the Kannada country but the contribution of the traders from across the country that moved through the traditional trade routes which connected ancient Kerala and the Deccan region cannot be underestimated. The commercial transactions witnessed phenomenal growth during Hoysala period. The patronisation of Jainism by the Hoysala ruling family was continuous from its early days up to the period of Bitti-Deva before his adoption of Vaishnavism and renaming himself as Vishnuvardhana. We do not have any evidence indicating the decline of Jainism even



during his period. On the contrary, Vaishnavism copiously absorbed Jainism and created a unique religious framework in the region.

Most of the early rulers of this family were the followers of Lord Jina. According to the mythical origin story<sup>247</sup> the founder of the family was a hero named Sala and epigraphic sources attest the fact that he was a staunch Jain<sup>248</sup>. Vinayaditya (c.1047-1098 CE), one of the most prominent early rulers of this dynasty could be a follower of Jainism. Some of the Shravanabelagola inscriptions attest his benevolent patronisation to Jainism<sup>249</sup>. One later inscription from Nagamangala testifies that Wayanad was part of Vinayaditya's kingdom<sup>250</sup>. This leads us to suppose that he extended his support to Wayanadan Jainism as he did in the case of Shravanabelagola.

Ereyanga (c.1098-1102 CE), son of Vinayaditya also supported the Jain followers of his kingdom. Some inscriptions from Shravanabelagola<sup>251</sup> and Hale-Belagola<sup>252</sup> are supporting this observation. There is a good probability that Ereyanga's kingdom comprised of Wayanad also, subsequent to his annexation of the Mushaka Nannan's territory after the destruction of the port city Valapattanam (*Baleya-pattana*)<sup>253</sup>. His successor, Ballala I (c.1102-1108 CE) followed the same path of his predecessors and his association with Jain monks of Shravanabelagola monastery especially one Charukirti Pandita is well known<sup>254</sup>.

During Vishnuvardhana's reign Wayanad and other parts of the Kerala country were administered by the Hoysala feudatories. Inscriptions speak of his political authority over Wayanad and other prominent places of Kerala such as Ezhimalai, *Baleya-pattana* (Valapattanam), *Kurakkeni Kollam* (Quilon), *Kolala* (Koyilandi-Kollam), *Kunangil* (Kinalur), *Korati* (Kurandi), Kanthapuram, *Tamarecharu* (Thamarassery) and Anamale<sup>255</sup>. Jain Bitti-deva's conversion as Vaishnava Vishnuvardhana under the influence of Ramanuja led to a little loss of royal patronisation to the Noble Faith in his country. Ramanuja's Vaishnava philosophy subsequently influenced the cultural and religious history of Wayanad.

Inscriptions clearly indicate that even after his conversion he had an encouraging attitude towards his previous faith. The king himself entertained the followers of his family faith in the court. The principal strata of the society including royal family,

subordinates, chieftains, generals and their family members, etc., fabulously encouraged Jainism. At the same time, some in the elite strata of the society like his general Sankara jealously patronised Vaishnavism. Shravanabelagola, the most important Jain centre of south India flourished under the plentiful endowments made by his minister Ganga Raja and his family<sup>256</sup>. Vishnuvardhana's chief queen Santala Devi caused the construction of Jain temples and made endowments to it<sup>257</sup>. Interestingly, in the year 1123 CE, King Vishnu himself caused the construction of a Jina temple for Acharya Sripala Traividya Deva, and granted a village namely Salya for repair, worship and other daily needs of the basti<sup>258</sup>. All these facts indicate that immediately after the conversion of king Vishnu into Vaishnavism, the royal Hoysala court became the germinating place of 'Vaishnava-Jainism.'

Here we have to note certain curious factors regarding the present day Gowda alias Gavunda<sup>259</sup> community of Wayanad district. We have a plethora of inscriptions which speaks of the crucial role played by the Gowdas under the Gangas<sup>260</sup>, Chalukyas<sup>261</sup>, Cholas<sup>262</sup>, Hoysalas<sup>263</sup>, Changalavas<sup>264</sup>, Kongalavas<sup>265</sup>, Nolambas<sup>266</sup>, Santaras<sup>267</sup>, Kadambas of Wayanad,<sup>268</sup> Kadambas of Hanagal<sup>269</sup>, and other Kannada-Deccan rulers<sup>270</sup>. The availability of such a large number of Gowda related Hoysala inscriptions indicates the social and political reputation and acceptance enjoyed by the Gowdas which reached its zenith under the Hoysalas<sup>271</sup>.

The present researcher interacted with Gowdas of Wayanad and comprehended some important information which has clear-cut corroborative value for the present discussion. The Gowda community of Wayanad comprised of about 1500 members whose roots can be traced from seven families. Their mother tongue is Kannada in which they converse among themselves and they are equally proficient in Malayalam. Their domestic rituals and belief systems also betray their Kannada ancestry.

When we come to the part of their spiritual path, this community comprised both Jains and Vaishnavites. They worship Jain and Vaishnava deities such as Tirthankaras, Bahubali, Yakshis, Vishnu and Durga under the same roof. Sometimes, if the wife is a worshipper of Vishnu, husband professes the Jaina faith, and their children worship both Vaishnava and Jaina deities. This phenomenon happened in the

Royal court of Vishnuvardhana also after his conversion from Jainism into Vaishnavism.

Inscriptional evidences indicate that during the Hoysala period, especially after the conversion of Vishnuvardhana, the Gowdas also began to follow Jainism and Hinduism together. They constructed temples as well as basties and made munificent donations to both of them. An inscription<sup>272</sup> (c.1237 CE) from Kyathanahalli village in HD Kote taluk refers to one Kovara-Keta-Gavunda of Tagadur who erected a temple for god Mallinatha Tirthankara and his son Hoysala-Gavunda who set up god Lakshmi Narayana (Vishnu) there. A Belur inscription refers to one Adi Gavunda who erected a basti for his guru Perumale-deva of Dramila-sangha<sup>273</sup>. Another record from the same place tells us that the same Adi Gavunda set up a Hindu god Adi Mallikarjuna there<sup>274</sup>. A Shimoga inscription (c.1180 CE) refers to one Hoysala Gavunda Setti and his sons Balla-Gavunda and Boppa-Gavunda as “worshippers of the feet of Jinendra, made a grant of land (specified) for the decorations and offerings of the god Siddeshwara, for the distribution of food and temple repairs”<sup>275</sup>.

Similarly, the Gowdas of Wayanad worshipped both Jaina and Vaishnava deities. Their temples of Janardhanagudi and Vishnugudi at Punchavayal contain art and sculptural forms of the Hoysala School of art, which betray both Jaina and Vaishnava features<sup>276</sup>. Janardana Gudi (Fig.24) Jaina basti is situated on the coffee estate in the Nadavayal near Panamaram. This temple was constructed with granite slabs and pillars. The most exotic and beautiful feature of this basti is its rich sculptural carvings on the walls and the gateway of the sanctum sanctorum of the Hoysala art. Interestingly, these artistic compositions consist of both Jaina and Vaishnava iconographic elements. Tirthankaras in Padmasana posture, Dwarapalas, Goddess Sarasvati playing Veena, Gajalakshmi, and the Ananthasayana Vishnu are outstanding examples. A Kannada inscription has also been reported from this temple<sup>277</sup>.

Vishnu Gudi Jain basti (Fig.26) is also situated close to Janardana Gudi discussed above. The basti name ‘Vishnugudi,’ itself speaks of its Vaishnava affiliation. The structural and sculptural features on the pillars and walls of the Vishnugudi are similar to the Janardana Gudi and contain representations of dancers, musicians with a variety of stringed and percussion instruments, Tirthankaras in Padmasana and Kayotsarga

postures, Yaksha on the horse carrying sword, another Yaksha on the parrot, Saraswati playing Veena, Vinayaka and Yakshis are astonishing. The *Matsya* (fish), *Kurma* (tortoise) and *Varaha* (boar) *avatars* (incarnation) of Vishnu here are noteworthy. The stylistic rendering of the sculptures and reliefs of this monument as well indicates it to be of the Hoysala School of art. The main Idols of the *Tirthankaras* and their *Sasanadevatas* have been shifted to a nearby newly constructed temple and are being worshipped by a Vaishnava-Jain Gowda family. We have epigraphical records which speak of Vishnuvardhana's general Punnisa Raja spending his money to reinstate Jain basties of Gangavati including Bayal-nadu which were ruined during his expedition<sup>278</sup>. The Vaishnava-Jain temples of Wayanad including Janardhanagudi and Vishnugudi could be the reconstructed temples of Punnisa Raja.

The Puliarmala Jain vestiges (Fig.30-31) in the vicinity of Kalpetta town also carry architectural and sculptural similarity with the Janardhanagudi (24-25) and Vishnugudi (Fig.26-27). The stone temple here is completely in ruins except the granite stone basement and some slabs and pillars with sculptural carvings. Recently, from the nearby well five Tirthankara images along with the bust of a Vishnu image were discovered which are now in the custody of the owner of that property (Fig.31). The present writer was permitted to study and verify these images. The Jaina idols were in white marble, sand stone, lime stone and bronze, representing Parsvanatha, Mahavira, and Neminatha Tirthankaras. The broken Vishnu image is made of granite and its head is decorated with *Kirita-makuta* (tall conical crown). The architectural and sculptural features of Puliarmala temple also indicate that they belong to c.12<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>279</sup>. Interestingly, the property where the temple remains are located is owned by a Gowda family having a proven Kannada ancestry and by their worshipping mode, they are the 'Vaishnava-Jains.'

The Kidanganad basti (Hanneredu Beedi basti) (Fig.28) located in the centre of Sulthan Bathery town represents a typical Jain temple consisting of *Garbhagriha*, *Sukanasi*, *Mukhamandapa*, and *Namaskaramandapa* constructed with granite slabs and pillars. The tantric yantras like *Nagamandala* on the pillars, walls and roof of the temple are noteworthy. A Tirthankara image has been reported from the site<sup>280</sup>. The present researcher studied some of the broken Tirthankara images in limestone along

with the bust of a Vishnu image recently discovered from the nearby well here. The Vishnu image is in granite and the *Kirita-makuta* is more decorative and polished than that of the Puliarmala Vishnu (Fig.31). A *Ganapati* and a *Naga* images in granite were also discovered from the well. However, the architectural and sculptural features of the Kidanaganad temple indicate that they belong to post-Hoysala period. The Janardhanagudi, Vishnugudi, Puliarmala and Kidanganad monuments undoubtedly reveal the process of assimilation and acculturation between Jainism and Vaishnavism instigated due to the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism. It is not unreasonable to suppose that after the conversion of Vishnuvardhana, the Jain followers, especially the Gavundas of Kannada region including the present Wayanad district of Kerala possibly divided into two groups and one professed Vaishnavism. But the ultimate result was the religious assimilation of these two groups. The presence and closeness of Vaishnava-Jain Gowda community in the district of Wayanad region could be one of the long term results of Vishnu's conversion by the influence of Ramanuja.

### **Historical Background of the Gowdas of Wayanad**

In our present study of the Wayanadan Jainism, it is necessary to study the historical background of the Gowda (*Gowder/Gauder/Gowdru/Gawnder*) community who are still residing in the Wayanad region. They are generally land owning class largely settled in the south and south-western part of Karnataka, Wayanad and Nilagiri region. The Gowda is purely a hereditary surname used by descendants of the ancient and medieval Gavundas who once lived as subordinate feudal chiefs under different Kannada dynasties. This community is also popularly known as *Vokkaliga* or *Okkaliga*. In Tamil Nadu they are known as *Gounder* or *Kavundan*. Hundreds of ancient and medieval inscriptions mentioned them as *Gavunda* or *Gavuda* or *Gauda*<sup>281</sup>. The Medieval records of the Kadambas of Wayanad mentioned them as *Gavunda* or *Gavuda*<sup>282</sup>. The feminine form of *Gauda* known from the inscriptions is *Gavundi*, *Gaundi*, *Gaudi* or *Gavunditi*<sup>283</sup>. Gustav Oppert connects the term '*Gauda*' with the Dravidian word for 'ko' (mountain) and traces the tribal origin of this community<sup>284</sup>. The etymology of the term '*Gauda*' has been connected by H.A. Stuart with the Sanskrit word 'go' (cow) and he observed that the traditional occupation of the Gowdas was cattle breeding but they later became agriculturists<sup>285</sup>. Edward

Thurston also records the cattle breeding and cultivation occupational tradition of this community<sup>286</sup>. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidences clearly show that the Gowdas were much concerned about their cattle wealth. A large number of inscriptions deal with their conflict in connection with the cattle wealth<sup>287</sup>.

Hundreds of inscriptions tell us the crucial role once played by the Gowdas under different dynasties who reigned in Karnataka such as Gangas<sup>288</sup>, Chalukyas<sup>289</sup>, Cholas<sup>290</sup>, Hoysalas<sup>291</sup>, Chandalavas<sup>292</sup>, Kongalavas<sup>293</sup>, Nolambas<sup>294</sup>, Santaras<sup>295</sup>, Kadambas of Wayanad,<sup>296</sup> Kadambas of Hanagal<sup>297</sup>, and other Kannada-Deccan rulers<sup>298</sup>. At the present state of our knowledge, the earliest inscription of the Ganga ruler Harivarman (c.390-410 CE) mentions the term *Gavunda*<sup>299</sup>. The availability of a large number of inscriptions indicates the social and political reputation and status of the Gowdas reached its zenith during the dynastic rule of the Hoysalas<sup>300</sup>. They are mentioned in the inscriptions in connection with land dealings, tax collections, setting up of the army and its maintenance, fighting for the rulers, protecting cattle wealth of their native villages, arranging irrigation facilities, administration of village council, and so on. The Gowdas sometimes performed the dual role as village representatives and nominees of the emperor. Sometimes they were entrusted with certain judicial duties. Inscriptions indicate that they acted as the feudal administrative chiefs under respective rulers<sup>301</sup>. They were also acting as the head of the villages<sup>302</sup>. Inscriptions mention certain terms to denote the different category of Gavundas like *Nar-gavunda*, *Nal-gavunda*, *Nad-gavunda*, *Ur-gavunda*, *Maha-nal-Prabhu-gavunda*, *Prabhu-gavunda* and *Maha-Prabhu-gavunda*<sup>303</sup>. The *nar-gavunda*, *nal-gavunda* or *ur-gavunda* could be denoting the same category of Gavunda who was the head of the Nadu also called *nad-gavunda*. Generally, there are two types of Gavundas: the Praja Gavunda or people's Gavunda (Commoner or local Gavunda) and the Prabhu Gavunda or wealthy Gavunda.

The Gavundas were great warriors and they fought for their rulers and subjects. We have a large number of inscriptions speaking of their bravery in the war field<sup>304</sup>. Many Hero stone inscriptions (*Veergal* or *Virakkal*) speak about the valour and bravery of the Gowdas<sup>305</sup>. They were the protectors of the cattle wealth in their villages<sup>306</sup>. They bravely fought against the cattle lifters and other enemies who intrude into their villages<sup>307</sup>. After their heroic death, certain inscriptions tell us that, their wives

observed *sahagamana* (widow immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband otherwise known as *Sati*)<sup>308</sup>. The Gavundas received great honours and insignias from the rulers<sup>309</sup>. They received land grants from the kings and other dignitaries in the society<sup>310</sup>. Sometimes they made land and other donations to the individuals on behalf of the ruler<sup>311</sup>. Sometimes they are engaged in trade activities, where the inscriptions mention them as *Chetties*<sup>312</sup>. They arranged public utilities and amenities like oil mills, irrigation facilities etc.<sup>313</sup>. They were also famous for other charity works<sup>314</sup>. They established new villages and towns and created additional public utilities<sup>315</sup>. They received land and other endowments from Brahmins in lieu of protection<sup>316</sup>. Sometimes, the Gavundas made land grants to the Brahmins for begetting spiritual merit<sup>317</sup>. They made lavish land and other donation to the temples, basties and other worshipping centres<sup>318</sup>. They constructed and repaired temples as well as basties<sup>319</sup>. At times, they were entrusted with the supervising authority over the temple properties<sup>320</sup>.

The Gavunda presence in Wayanad (Bayal-nadu) and its peripheral areas like Nilagiri in Tamil nadu and Gundlupet, Nanjangud and HD Kote in Karnataka regions is corroborated by the inscriptional evidences. An inscription (c.910 CE) of Ereganga Neetimarga II (907-921) of the Ganga dynasty speaks of “*there was a fight in Bayal-nad, when Kottamangala attacked, and seizing the cows, were going off, and Konguni of Peruvayalu hastening to the combat, fought in Bayal-nad and released the cows; Rama, son of Permmnadi-Gavunda, fought with a man of Bayal-nad, and died. On which, Permmnadi and Ereyappa, halting together, gave to Permmnadi-Gavunda and to Konguni of Peruvayalu and Kurumendur, the chiefship of the Nadu and the Kalanad of Kiruvusuvur*”<sup>321</sup>.

We have copious references to the Gowdas in the Hale-Kannada records of the Kadambas of Wayanad. An inscription<sup>322</sup> (c.1007 CE) from Magge village near HD Kote, belonging to the reign of Raviyammara (Ravivarma Raja)<sup>323</sup> refers to the heroic confrontation of one Konguni Gavunda and his 300 men of *Bira-Bayal-nadu*<sup>324</sup> against their enemy, the Uyyamma-nad Chetty. It was erected by one Gavunda Suvila, brother of Uyyamma-nad Chetty. A Kittur inscription<sup>325</sup> (1079 CE) says that when Kandavamma was the ruler of the *Bira-Bayal-nadu* (Vira-Vayal-nadu), the supervising authority of the temple and the property of the god Ravi-Yamesvara of

Kittur (Kirttipura) were handed over to one Kilidakki Gavunda in the presence of the *Kerala-nadu Punnada Adhigari* and *Poothapadi Padainayar*. Here it is interesting to note that both the *Kerala-nadu Punnada Adhigari* and *Poothapadi Padainayar* are related to the Kerala country than Kadambas of Wayanad. During the rule of Siva (1083 CE), one Mauda Gavunda fought against the cattle lifters and recovered the cows, but died<sup>326</sup>. During the time of Kanthirava (c.1090 CE), Narasimha Gavunda was a noble of the *Changi-Bayal-nadu*<sup>327</sup>. When Iravi Challamma (1107 CE) was the ruler of Vira-Wayanad, one Jakkayya was the *nadu-gavunda* there<sup>328</sup>. While Mukkanna Kadamba (1138 CE) was the ruler of Bayal-nadu, a Virakkal inscription says that one Bicha-Gavuda, son of Bamma-Gavuda “having recovered the cows, slew the robbers ravishing the women, and died.”<sup>329</sup> On account Bicha’s bravery, the people of the village made certain grant to his family.

A Chola *Sati* stone inscription<sup>330</sup> (c.1088 CE) from Hebbalaguppe village near HD Kote, belonging to the reign of Kulothunga Chola I (1070-1170 CE) refers to one Alagiya Chola of *Pervvayalu*, who was the *nadu-gavunda* (*nal-gavunda*) of Navale-nadu (Navile-nadu)<sup>331</sup>. This record further narrates the observation of *sahagamana* by Tapare Kumari after the brave death of Navalashi-Raja, son of Alagiya Chola Gavunda of Peruvayal. *Pervvayalu* could be the present Peruvayal in the Kozhikode district, just 50km from Wayanad. A western Ganga inscription<sup>332</sup> (c.910 CE) of Ereganga Neetimarga II also refers to one *Konguni* of *Pervvayalu* who fought in Wayanad and recaptured the cows. At the same time, we have one *Pera-viyanad* or *Pira-viyanad* mentioned in some inscriptions popularly known as Puthangadi deeds, discovered from Punchavayal in Wayanad<sup>333</sup>.

Gavunda presence in the Nilagiri region is attested by certain Hoysala inscriptions. One inscription (1124 CE)<sup>334</sup> from Nanjangud speaks about the chivalrous death of one Permmadi Gavunda, son of Erava Gavunda, who destroyed the hostile forces and burnt the Kulkulla fort, on the top of the Nilagiri Mountain<sup>335</sup>. Another (c.1124 CE) inscription from the same site refers to the brave death of one Hermmadi Gavunda at the Kulkulla fort<sup>336</sup>. The Chamarajanagar inscription (1142 CE)<sup>337</sup> of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala says that one Bamma Gavunda’s son, the ruler of Nirgunda-nad, laid siege to Kulkulla fort, burnt the fort, slew the son of the chief of the fort (*Koteya-Nayaka*) and fought with the enemy forces and slew them and went to the next world. His son Nika



Gavunda performed the funeral ceremonies and installed the hero stone inscription. It also refers to some land grant made by Vilakara Gavunda and Ika Gavunda for one Kontachari, who also fought and died with his master. Possibly, his master could be Bamma Gavunda's son, the ruler of Nirgunda-nadu.

One Hoysala inscription from Nanjangud (c.1282 CE) in Tamil-Malayalam-Grantha characters, speaks about a land grant at *Kulavur* to god *Kesavanatha* of *Niriliyir* (*Nirili*) by the minister, *Sarvadhikari*, officials, and all Gavundas of *Idai-nad* in *Periya-nad* during the reign of Narasimha III (c.1263–1292 CE)<sup>338</sup>. *Kulavur* is one of the thirty two Brahmin settlements in Kerala mentioned in *Keralolpathi* tradition<sup>339</sup>. Some historians identified *Kulavur* as the present day *Kulur* on the Annamanad-Kuntur road in Trissur district<sup>340</sup>. The *Idai-nad* and *Periya-nad* might be administrative divisions under the Hoysala rule, within the present geographical area of the Kerala state.

An undated Virakkal record<sup>341</sup> from Hanchipura (HD Kote) refers to one Bira-Gavunda, son of Ereyama- Gavunda of Nellur<sup>342</sup> in Wayanad, who died in a fight with Immadi Hilamai Raya. This record further says that one Keta-Gavunda had this memorial stone set up. A Saragur (HD Kote) inscription<sup>343</sup> refers to a land grant to the Gommatesvara of Shravanabelagola ("*gummatanatha-svami of Belagula*") by one Masanahalli Kampana Gavunda, the great lord of Wayanad. He assigned it by a deed of gift of the village Totahalli within the Bayal-nadu which he renamed as *Gummatapura*. This inscription clearly reveals a fact that the Gowda Jains of Wayanad had a clear-cut contact with Shravanabelagola, the great Jain hub of South India. It further ascertains the Jain Gowda presence in the Wayanad region.

One significant aspect of the inscriptions related to the Gavundas discussed above is that majority of them are inscribed on the Virakkals which speak about their heroic death while in wars<sup>344</sup>. A large number of hero stones scattered around Wayanad especially in Thelampatta in Moolankavu, Nellur Vayal forest, Edathara Kotta, Muthanga, Kannaram River near Pulpalli along with others preserved in the Wayanad heritage museum are identical with those hero stones of HD Kote, Nanjangud, Gundlupet, Terakanambi and other parts of southern Mysore which provide more clarification to the Gavunda presence in Wayanad even before the medieval age. Most

of the hero stones in Wayanad are related to cattle raids. Most of these inscribed stones are carrying the engravings depicting fighting, hunting and also the representations of animals including cattle. Some of them carry Kannada inscriptions, especially of the Nellur Vayal Virakkals. The presence of Virakkals of Kerala is found entirely concentrated in the Wayanad district. This must have been the outcome of the intimate political, cultural and linguistic connections between Wayanad and Kannada territories. This is further substantiated by the availability of stone and copperplate Kannada inscriptions especially from Vishnugiri, Puthangadi, Varadur, etc. All these evidence help us to ascertain the presence of the Gavundas in the Wayanad district of Kerala.

To sum up this discussion, we need to say a few words regarding life of the present day Gowdas of Wayanad. Wayanad (Bayal-nadu) is the only place which still has a population of fifteen hundred traditional Gowda Jains. The Karnataka affiliation in the aspects of their life is clearly visible. Kannada is their historical mother tongue in which they converse amongst themselves. At the same time, for their social interaction, they freely use Malayalam as their contemporary mother tongue. They profess both Vaishnavism and Jainism and mingle freely without any religious barriers and thus framed a new cultural heritage in Wayanad. In the case of Jainism, they are following the canons of the Digambara sect. However, in contrast to the Jains in other part of the country, they practice agriculture. We know that the canonical injunctions prohibit the Jains engage any kind of agricultural activities because the digging and ploughing are viewed as causing injury or violence. To support this principle, the Jains of Wayanad observe eco-friendly cultivation. Although, Gowdas are the real force behind the contemporary developmental activities in Wayanad district being the largest landowning class in the region, they are very active in the social, political, cultural and economic life of Wayanad, which they have been doing during ancient and medieval ages under different Deccan-Kannada dynasties like the Gangas, Kadambas, Hoysalas and Vijayanagara.

### **Traditional Jain Centres of Wayanad: A Survey**

Compared to other districts of Kerala (Fig.1), Wayanad contains the largest number of Jaina centres and vestiges (Fig.2). It is also the only region having the concentration

of traditional Jains in Kerala. Architectural and sculptural features, however, indicate that most of the Jain vestiges of this region belong to the medieval period being the contributions of the ruling families of the Kannada kingdoms such as Western Gangas, Kadambas of Banavasi, Wayanadan Kadambas, Hoysalas and Vijayanagara. Majority of the Jain monuments of Wayanad are in a dilapidated condition and abandoned by the worshipers. The Deccan style of architectural and sculptural features of the Chalukya and Hoysala schools are clearly visible in them. Further, most of them display the assimilated features of Jainism and Hinduism, especially Vaishnavism. The reasons for this phenomenon have already been discussed. Most of the remnants are made of granite slabs and pillars and some of them carry rich sculptural carvings of Jaina and Vaishnava pantheon such as images of Tirthankaras, Vishnu, Vinayaka, Naga, Yaksha, Yakshi, etc. The Idols are made of limestone, sand stone, granite and white marble. Some of the idols are shifted to newly constructed temples and are being worshipped by the Vaishnava-Jains who belong to the Gowda community. Many broken sculptural pieces are found scattered in the forest regions and also in the nearby wells of the temple remnants especially from Kidanganad basti in Sulthan Bathery (Fig.28-29) and Puliarmala in Kalpetta (Fig.30-31). Some of the monuments can be located in the private estates chiefly owned by the members of the Gowda community. Some of the sites can be located inside the forest or other public property. Only the Kidanganad basti is under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India, and all other monuments are on the verge of disappearance<sup>345</sup>.

Some of the Jain sites of Wayanad were mentioned in the inscriptions of Kannada, Sanskrit and old Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu language and script. The Vishnugiri dilapidated temple (Fig.22-23) in Moolankavu near Sulthan Bathery, Janardhanagudi (Fig.24) in Puthangadi near Pulpalli, Varadur near Panamaram are significant for their presence of Kannada inscriptions. At Pambra near Sulthan Bathery we have the presence of a Sanskrit inscription. Poothadi near Pulpalli and Puthangadi near Panamaram contained some old Malayalam-Tamil vatteluttu inscriptions. The following is a brief descriptive survey of the traditional Jain centres of Wayanad.

**Vishnugiri (11°40'39.2"N; 76°17'30.9"E)**

At Moolankavu, near Sultan Bathery is the temple site of Vishnugiri (Fig.22) consisting of dilapidated structural remains of a medieval Jain temple. The site has been identified as a Jain basti for the first time by the present researcher. A rectangular granite basement (8x4m) along with some loose stone slabs scattered around are the structural remains of the site. No sculptures are traceable. The most important historical evidence at Vishnugiri is the Hale-Kannada inscription (Fig.23) assignable to 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE. The presence of some Jain symbols engraved on the top of the inscribed stone slab such as triple umbrella (*chhatra-traya*), fly-whisk (*Chauri*) and celestial drum (*Devadundubhi*) are enough to attest the temple's Jaina affiliation. These symbols are the three of the eight kinds of heavenly signs called *ashta pratiharya* to be associated with the Tirthankaras as the iconographic attributes of the seated Jina in sermon. The *chhatra-traya* 'are the three distinct signs of the master's (Lord Jina's) lordship over the three worlds'; and the *Chauri* and the *Devadundubhi* are also associated with Lord Mahavira<sup>346</sup>.

The Vishnugiri stone slab (90 X 65 X 30 cm) inscription refers to the details of the cultivable land endowed to the temple by a group of Jains called *Shem Tirthankaras*. The temple site can be located inside the teak plantation of Kerala forest department. In front of the temple site is a waste tract of wet paddy field. This cultivable land could be the one mentioned in the inscription as endowed by the Jains of the locality to the temple. The present name of the temple site is also indicating its Vaishnava-Jain affiliation. The place is mentioned in the inscription as *Kavasseri* and is presently known as 'Karassery'. This record also mentions the name of this entire Jain settlement area as Alathur. In the previous discussions, we witnessed about the Jaina affiliation of the place name Alathur. Interestingly, we have some places having the name *Kavasseri* close to Alathur in Palakkad district. Inscriptional evidence (Fig.11) and other vestiges attest that Alathur in Palakkad was also a medieval Jain settlement<sup>347</sup>. However, without the availability of further evidences, it is not sound to reach a valid conclusion that the place name 'Kavasseri' had any Jaina affiliation comparable to Alathur, but good probability is there.

**Poothadi Thazhekavu** (11°43'12.2"N; 76°07'54.5"E)

The Jain remnants (Fig.32) of this place are located in the Poothadi village near Pulpalli in the Sulthan Bathery Taluk, which can be approached via Nadavayal and Naikuppa on Kalpetta-Pulpalli road. This temple was recently renovated and consecrated with the Bhagavathi image. Yet the original relics of an ancient Jain temple can be seen in the form of granite pillars and stone slabs. The pillars are decorated with sculptures of *Dwarapalas*, *Yakshi*, and other Jaina motifs. The *Nagamandala* carving on a pillar remnant is significant because a similar one is found at Kidanganad basti in Sulthan Bathery. A Malayalam Vatteluttu inscription assigned to c.9<sup>th</sup> Century CE clearly refers to this flourishing Jain temple and the trade centre of the Jains called *Nagaram* established by the *Narpattennayiravar* organization<sup>348</sup>. This epigraph is crucial to study the Jain history of Kerala on account of the reference to the famous Jain temple *Trikunavay* alias *Thrikanamathilakam* where Ilango Adigal wrote his epic *Silappadikaram*<sup>349</sup>. Interestingly, near this *Thazhekavu* temple, inside the dense forest, there is another shrine called the *Melekavu* Siva temple with typical Pallava architectural features similar to the Mamallapuram rock cut temples. The period of the present monument under discussion can be assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Conversely, the presence of the Melekavu Ratha temple there further hoists the historicity of the region once called Poothapadi/Puthuviti /Poothadi by medieval inscriptions and literary works<sup>350</sup>.

**Pambra** (11°43'47.7"N; 76°11'59.0"E)

Pambra is a small hamlet in the Irulam village near Sulthan Bathery. Two granite Jaina sculptures discovered here contain inscriptions engraved on their backside<sup>351</sup>. One of them is that of a Tirthankara and the other of a female deity with a Sanskrit inscription. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these sculptures cannot be identified today. Both the records are dated in Vikrama 1338(1282 CE) and Vikrama 1659 (1603 CE) respectively. Even though these records were published in the early 60's of the previous century, no Jainologist from Kerala took notice of them. The inscription on the Tirthankara image contains Information about two Jaina *Acharyas* of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE namely *Ratnaprabha-suri* and *Chandrasena-suri*. The former is famous for his Sanskrit Champu *Kuvalayamalakatha*, the commentary on *Kuvalayamala* of

*Uddyotana-suri*. This inscription also speaks about the importance of *Pragvata* (*Porwad*) caste of Jain community in Kerala. The Pragvata caste originated in Rajasthan consist of both Jains and Hindu Vaishnavites. It is interesting to note that the Gowda community of Wayanad region today still comprises both Jains and Vaishnavites. This record also proves that the Hindu *Panchayatana* (a temple with a chief shrine in the centre and surrounded it by four sub shrines) style of temple construction was practiced by the Jains of Kerala.

The place name *Nagapura* could be the Sanskritised form of *Pambra*, which is mentioned in an inscription from Poothadi Thazhekavu, not far from this place<sup>352</sup>. According to the record, twelve *poti* revenue from *Nagapura* is donated to the god of Poothadi for the purpose of the perpetual lamp. The Sanskrit ‘*Naga*’ is the equivalent of Dravidian ‘*Pampu*’ denoting snake<sup>353</sup>. The Sanskrit *Naga* + *Pura* (*Nagapura*) thus becomes the Malayalam *Pampu* + *Pura* (*Pambra*). A Tamil-Brahmi Jain cave inscription of c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE from Muttupatti in Madura region refers to one *Ko Athan* of *Muziri* and *antai* of *Nakaperur*<sup>354</sup>. The Nakaperur in the record could be the same Nagapura alias Pambra. Whatever it maybe, the Pambra inscription clearly testifies the Brahminical influence on the medieval Jainism of Kerala in the use of Sanskrit language along with the *Panchayatana* style of temple construction.

#### **Puliyarmala** (11°38'31.2"N; 76°05'11.1"E)

Remnants of a Jain basti (Fig.30) were identified in the coffee estate at Puliyarmala near Kalpetta. The structural temple is completely in ruins except the granite stone basement and some slabs and Pillars with sculptural carvings. From the nearby well five Tirthankara images (Fig.31) were discovered in recent times and are now in the custody of the owner of that property, M.G. Vijayapadman. One bust of Lord Vishnu was also discovered from the well. The Jain idols representing Parsvanatha, Mahavira, and Neminatha Tirthankaras are made of white marble, sand stone, limestone and bronze. Some of these are in *Padmasana*, and others in the *Kayotsarga* (standing meditation) postures. The absence of the *Sasanadevatas* and the *Yakshis* is an interesting feature of these sculptural examples. The broken Vishnu image (Fig.31) is made of granite and its head is decorated with *Kirita-makuta* (tall conical crown). The architectural and sculptural features of Puliyarmala temple indicates that they belong

to c.12<sup>th</sup> Century CE. These sculptures and monumental remains bear similarities with Janardhanagudi and Vishnugudi, the other two prominent Jain basties of Wayanad. Interestingly, the property where the temple remains are located is owned by a Vaishnava-Jain Gowda family having a proven Kannada ancestry. Kannada is their mother tongue and spoken at home.

**Mailadipara** (11°38'32.4"N; 76°05'21.8"E)

The relics of Mailadipara are located near Kalpetta close to Puliarmala discussed above. This basti was once situated on the top of a monolithic rock locally called *Mailadipara* (rock of peacock dance). Local people say that there was once a granite sculpture of Chandranatha Tirthankara worshipped but it was destroyed by a group of miscreants. Some of the Tirthankara and other broken images discovered here were shifted to the newly constructed Anantha Swami temple at Puliarmala. The present researcher explored the region of the ancient site where no historical evidences survived. A number of small caverns are located behind the rock, which might have been used by Jain ascetics in earlier times for their meditation. The locals report that once in a year, the Gowda community people of the region conduct certain rituals and pujas in the *Basti* site on the hill.

**Janardana Gudi** (11°45'20.7"N; 76°05'35.4"E)

This Jain basti (Fig.24) is situated on the coffee estate in Nadavayal near Panamaram. The temple site can exactly be located at Puthangadi in Punchavayal. Unfortunately, a portion of the basti was recently destroyed in a thunderstorm damaging the sculptures and carvings on the stone walls. Fortunately, the present researcher studied this site just before its collapse. This temple was constructed with granite slabs and pillars. The most exotic and beautiful feature of the remnants of this basti is its rich sculptural friezes on the walls and the gateway of the sanctum sanctorum. Interestingly, these artistic compositions consist of both Jaina and Vaishnava iconographic elements. Tirthankaras in *Padmasana* posture, *Dwarapalas*, Goddess *Sarasvati* playing *Veena*, *Gajalakshmi*, *Matsya*, *Kurma* and the *Ananthasayana Vishnu* are outstanding examples.

The most conspicuous art forms of this place are the erotic sculptures (Fig.25). Some of it represents oral and other kinds of sexual intercourse. Although we find them in the Parsvanatha shrine at Khajuraho<sup>355</sup> and some other places in north India they are completely absent in the case of south India. However, it should be mentioned that in south India also starting from 13<sup>th</sup> Century, the erotic forms become common in the sculptural art of all the temples irrespective of their sectarian affiliation. Even though this temple is the product of Jaina-vaishnava assimilation ensued during the reign of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, we can conclude that the erotic element becomes an accepted form of sculptural art even by the Jains. During this period the influence of tantric religion and philosophy becomes an all pervading feature and no sectarian faith could escape from it.

An undated Kannada inscription inscribed on the left side of the wall near the entrance of the sanctum sanctorum refers to one Deveshan, son of Jagadhnathan, son of Deveshan Sharagar, son of Lakkappa Sharagar, son of Thakami Chetty, son of Manujayya performed *Ksheeradhara* (pouring of milk) ceremony on the *Garbhagriha* (sanctum sanctorum), *Sukanasi* (vestibule), and *Angana* (Courtyard) of the Janardana *Devar*<sup>356</sup>.

#### **Vishnu Gudi (11°45'18.4"N; 76°05'35.5"E)**

This Jain basti (Fig.26) is situated close to Janardana Gudi discussed above. The structural and sculptural features are similar to Janardana Gudi, which also betray its Vaishnava affiliation. The sculptural carvings (Fig.27) on the pillars and walls contain representations of dancers, musicians with a variety of stringed and percussion instruments, Tirthankaras in *Padmasana* and *Kayotsarga* postures, *Yaksha* on the horse carrying sword, another *Yaksha* on the parrot, *Sarasvati* playing Veena, *Vinayaka*, *Yakshis*, *Matsya* (fish), *Kurma* (tortoise), *Varaha* (boar): three of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. An interesting sculpture of a *Yakshi* has also been reported<sup>357</sup>. The main Idols of *Tirthankaras* and their *Sasanadevatas* have been shifted to the nearby newly constructed temple and are being worshipped by a Gowda family.

We have two recent inscriptions (Puthangadi deeds) related to the Vishnugudi and Janardhanagudi basties dated 889 ME (1713 CE) composed in old Malayalam



language<sup>358</sup>. These records speak about certain land transactions related to these temples. According to these inscriptions, the pieces of land which transacted stated in the inscriptions as 30 *pothi* paddy field at Kolavayal and 76 *pothi* paddy field at Perunthatta. The places namely Kolavayal and Perunthatta could be the same places still there comes under the Muttill Panchayat. The location of the Vishnugudi and Janardhanagudi basties mentioned in the records as *Puthiyangadi*<sup>359</sup>. However, the Varadur Jaladhara copper tablet record<sup>360</sup> of 17<sup>th</sup> Century refers to this place as Puthangadi and according to it, the Lalithappan of Aramana basti of Karkala in South Canara made a gift of one bronze lamp for the *arathi* (a lamp ritual in front of a deity accompanied by recitation of mantras) of the Puthangadi basti (*'puthangadi basthige kanch [u] neleyarathi l'*). At the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to recognise which temple of Puthangadi; either Janardhanagudi or Vishnugudi received the gift from Lalithappan.

The place name Puthangadi reveals its Jaina affiliation. *Puthangadi* could be derived from Muthangadi, which means the Street or market of pearls. The word *Muthu* in Dravidian languages generally means that Pearl and the *angadi* or market of *muthu* or pearl later became *Muthangadi* finally evolved in the present form as *Puthangadi*. *Jainamedu* (Fig.15) in Palakkad district is famous for Chandranatha Jain basti and its nearby places also had the old names such as *Muthupattanam* (Pearl Town) and *Manikyapattanam* (Diamond Town). We have another place *Muthanga* in Wayanad which denotes 'resting place of Pearl traders' (*Muthu vechu thangum idam*). *Muthanga* and nearby places like Edathara Kotta, Noolpuzha, Nellur Vayal, Moolankavu, and Sulthan Bathery also have a substantial number of Jain remnants which have a close affiliation with Karnataka Jainism. Noolpuzha, *Muthanga*, and Moolankavu witnessed Jain settlements and colonies even before the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Jain temples along with cultivable lands attached with tanks, ponds, canals and other irrigation facilities are clearly visible from these areas. The dilapidated Jain temple (Fig.22) (Vishnugiri) with a stone slab contain Kannada inscription (Fig.23) and Jaina motifs from Moolankavu, which can be assigned to the medieval age could be an example for the present statement. History of the Jains of south India says that they were famous for trade in precious stones like pearls, gems, diamonds etc. Jaina association with the stone trade is evident from inscriptions even from before the Common Era onwards<sup>361</sup>. *Puthangadi* and *Muthanga* in Wayanad are

located on the important roads connecting the ancient/medieval trade routes from Karnataka to Kerala similar to Muthupattanam and Manikyapattanam on the route connecting the Coimbatore region of Tamilnadu to Kerala. On account of the foresaid facts, it is safe to observe that the aforementioned all place names certainly related to the Jains and their chief trading commodities, i.e., Muthu (pearl) or Manikyam (diamond).

Wayanad is mentioned in the above Puthangadi records as *Peraviyanad* or *Piraviyanad*<sup>362</sup>. *Peraviyanad* or *Piraviyanad* could be the *Vira-Vayal-nadu* alias *Bira-Bayal-nadu* mentioned by certain medieval Hale-Kannada and Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu inscriptions<sup>363</sup>. Two individuals *Puthiyangadi Tharakan Pathamannan Appuyimakkam* and *Narayanan Parathan* were also mentioned. The term '*Tharakan*' used by a group of Jain Gowdas in Wayanad is purely a hereditary honorific title used not only by Jains of Kerala but Hindus and Christians as well, who were largely practicing brokering (*tharavu*) as their chief occupation. Among the Hindus, *Tharakan* is a sub caste of the Nairs. Socially, *Tharakans* are occupying a place above the *Chetties*, another trading community of Kerala.

Both Janardhanagudi and Vishnugudi monuments clearly reveal the process of assimilation and acculturation between Jainism and Vaishnavism due to the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism. The stylistic rendering of the sculptures and reliefs of these monuments indicate them to be of the Hoysala School of art (12<sup>th</sup> Century CE). We have epigraphical records which speak of Vishnuvardhana's general Punnisa Raja used his wealth to reinstate Jain basties of Gangavati including Bayal-nadu which were ruined during his expeditions<sup>364</sup>. The Vaishnava-Jain temples of Wayanad including Janardhanagudi and Vishnugudi could be the reconstructed temples of Punnisa Raja.

#### **Kidanganad (11°39'36.6"N; 76°15'02.4"E)**

This basti is located in the centre of Sulthan Bathery town. Some scholars believe that the temple town was once known as *Hanneredu Beedi basti*<sup>365</sup>. The probability is given by M.R. Raghava Varier to identify one *Veethyalayam*<sup>366</sup> mentioned in the Thazhekavu Poothadi inscription (Fig.32) as *Hanneredu Beedi basti*<sup>367</sup>. The Kannada

name Hanneredu Beedi signifies that the town was comprised twelve (Hanneredu) streets (Beedi), possibly of the Jain merchants. The Varadur Jaladhara inscription<sup>368</sup> of 17<sup>th</sup> Century is the only inscription that speaks of this place name Hanneredu Beedi. At the same time, we should remember that there are no direct inscriptional or other references connecting Sulthan Bathery and its old name Hanneredu Beedi. But there is a good possibility to assume that the Hanneredu Beedi in the Varadur record is the present Sulthan Bathery. Local tradition says that during the Mysore invasion by Tipu Sultan, the idols in the Kidanganad basti were maimed and the temple was altered as his (Sulthan's) 'Battery' thus creating the present place name 'Sulthan Bathery'<sup>369</sup>.

Kidanganad basti (Fig.28) represents typical Jain temple consisting of *Garbhagriha*, *Sukanasi*, *Mukhamandapa*, and *Namaskaramandapa* constructed with granite slabs and pillars. The *tantric yantras* on the pillars, walls and roof of the temple are noteworthy, particularly an intricate *Nagamandala* pattern on one of the pillars. The present researcher studied some of the broken Tirthankara images in limestone and granite along with the bust of a Vishnu image recently discovered from a nearby well (Fig.29). The bust of Vishnu image has been made of granite and the *Kirita-makuta* is more decorative and polished when it comparing with Puliarmala Vishnu (Fig.31). A Vinayaka and Naga images in granite were also discovered from the well (Fig.29). Availability of a Ganapati image from the same well indicates that the cult of Vinayaka was prevalent among the Digambara Jains of Wayanad. The bust of a Tirthankara made of granite is remarkable having stylistic similarities with Gandhara Buddha in its decorative elements (Fig.29).

The Chalukya and the Vijayanagara art and architectural features are clearly discernible in the Kidanganad basti. However, the general features of the temple reveal its post-Hoysala characters. The rough and unpolished forms of stone pillars and slabs of this temple indicate that they may belong to the Vijayanagara period. Whatever it maybe, the archaeological remnants from the site is clearly speak about their Vaishnava-Jain affiliation. The Janardhanagudi, Vishnugudi, Puliarmala and Kidanganad monuments undoubtedly reveal the process of assimilation and acculturation between Jainism and Vaishnavism due to the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism.

**Varadur** (11°42'19.5"N; 76°06'15.7"E)

The Jain temple of Varadur is located near Panamaram. One of the Western Ganga inscriptions of 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE speaks about the *Baradur of Tagattur Vishaya*<sup>370</sup> which indicates the political control of the Deccan dynasties over this region<sup>371</sup>. The presiding deity of the temple is Anantha Natha Tirthankara. This white marble image is flanked by *Sasanadevatas*. It was discovered from the shore of the Panamaram River in the year 1988<sup>372</sup>. The ancient temple was originally located at Madakki hill, little away from Varadur and later shifted to Kottavayal near the Panamaram River, then finally reconstructed at Varadur. The Anantha Natha idol in the Varadur temple was the same one worshipped at the Madakki hill basti. The temple revealed one of the most important inscriptional evidence in the form of a copper tablet grant known as *Varadur Jaladhara* inscription<sup>373</sup>. With the help of a one Vasantha Kumar Jain, the present researcher made a fresh reading of this inscription. This 17<sup>th</sup> Century record speaks about the close links between the medieval Jain centres of Wayanad like Arepathi, Bennegod, Hanneredu Beedi, Puthangadi, Hosangadi, Palagunthu with Karkala, the famous ancient Jain hub of South Canara. According to the inscription, one Lalithappan, grandson of Bommarasar of Aramana basti at Karkala, made certain gifts of gold, silver, bronze and copper to the Jain basties at Arepathi, Bennegod, Hanneredu Beedi, Puthangadi, Hosangadi and Palagunthu. The major share of the gifts was endowed to the *Anantha Natha Chaityalaya* at Arepathi. Arepathi Chaityalaya could be the basti situated on the Madakki hill which was later reconstructed at Kottavayal and finally Varadur where the present inscription has been kept<sup>374</sup>. Some scholars identified Hanneredu Beedi basti as the present Kidanaganad basti in Sulthan Bathery<sup>375</sup>. Bennegod could be the Venniod and Palagunthu is the present Palukunnu where modern Jain temples can be located. Puthangadi is the present Puthangadi significant for two Jain basties, i.e., Vishnugudi and Janardhanagudi. Hosangadi has been identified as the present Mananthavady<sup>376</sup>. However, it is reasonable to identify it as the Chathurmuga basti in Hosangadi near Bengaramanjesvaram in the district of Kasaragod, on account of its geographical proximity to Karkala than Wayanad.

Apart from the above traditional Jain centres of Wayanad, there are some more Jain temples and settlements at Palukunnu, Venniod, Mananthavady, Anchukunnu and

Koileri. On the basis of the Varadur Jaladhara inscription, it is safe to assign the antiquity of the Jain centre at Palagunthu (Palukunnu) to 17<sup>th</sup> Century CE. According to the record, Lalithappan of Aramana basti of Karkala granted one silver hallow to the Parsvanatha of Palukunnu (*'palagunthu Parsvanadharige belli shiraschakra'*)<sup>377</sup>. At Palukunnu, there is a temple dedicated to Parsvanatha Tirthankara, but it is recently constructed. If we believe the local information, once there was an ancient temple situated little south to the present modern temple and it was destroyed and the idol was thrown into the nearby river during Mysore invasion<sup>378</sup>. Though we do not have any archaeological remains to establish the antiquity of this Jain settlement, habitations of 32 traditional Jain Gowda families in the Palukunnu is significant to estimate the historical antiquity of this place.

There is a good probability to believe that Mananthavady was a great Jain centre during ancient and medieval periods. Geographically, Mananthavady is situated on the trade route connecting the plains of Kerala and the Karnataka region of Mysore. The presence of Gowda Jains popularly known as *Tharakans* could be the best example to ascertain the above observation. Their traditional market centre called *Tharakan Angadi* (Market of the *Tharakans*) there further establishes the trading activities of the Tharakan Jains. In Mananthavady, there is one modern Jain temple called Adhisvara Swami basti dedicated to Rishabha Tirthankara. A few stone slabs and a stone altar speak about its ancient history. Except these, no other historical vestiges can be located here. Varadur Jaladhara copper tablet refers to the gift of 89 sacred vessels (*Kalasa Gadige*) to one Hosangadi basti (*'hosangadi basthige kalasagadige 89'*) by Lalithappan of Karkala<sup>379</sup>. Some scholars<sup>380</sup> identified Hosangadi Jain centre as the Mananthavady.

Venniod is another Jain settlement located about 5 km away from Kambalakkad in the Mananthavady-Kalpetta highway. This historical place has more than 45 Jain Gowda families and a renovated ancient Jain temple dedicated to Santhinatha, the sixteenth Tirthankara. However, the black stone idol Santhinatha Tirthankara in the temple seems to be the original and ancient one along with another black stone idol of Adinatha Tirthankara is dated to 12<sup>th</sup> - 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>381</sup>. Varadur Jaladhara record mentioned this Jain centre as *Bennegod* and according to it, Lalithappan of Karkala donated a *shodashabhavana Puja* (?) there (*'bennegodu basthige*

*shodashabhavanapuje*’)<sup>382</sup>. Anchukunnu and Koileri (Puthiyidam) are the other Jain settlements of Wayanad. Both the places have modern Jain temples dedicated to Parsvanatha Tirthankara. There are about 40 Kannada affiliated Jain Gowda families residing in the Anchukunnu area. However, we cannot establish the historicity of these settlements in the absence of sufficient archaeological evidences.

Wayanad is the only place still attests the presence of the hereditary Jainas in Kerala. Their settlement pattern and worshipping centres are unique. The art, architectural and sculptural features of the Jain monuments of Wayanad clearly shows its Karnataka influence, because during ancient and medieval age this region was governed by the Deccan Kannada dynasties. The political dominance of these dynasties helped in creating Wayanad as a separate cultural zone marking the synthesis of both Kannada and Kerala mannerisms. These people and their settlements worked as mediators for not only the trading activities but the cultural transmission as well. The unique features of the Deccan and Kannada cultural elements freely spread into the plains of Kerala via Wayanad. Subsequently, they also built up the trading networks with the foreign countries via the port cities which led to the spread of a new kind of ethno-cultural notions from Kerala to the Deccan and other parts of the country. The ultimate result of these interactions was the emergence of a composite and unique culture of Bayal-nadu-the present Wayanad.

To sum up this discussion, Jainism appears to have entered Kerala including Wayanad as early as 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE. A *Chera Athan* (Chera King) in the Kongar Puliyankulam Tamil-Brahmi record of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, who endowed a cave to the Jain monks in the territory owned by the Pandya king, is the earliest evidence to support this hypothesis. The potsherd label inscription (Fig.3) of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE from Pattanam near Kodungallur is the earliest native evidence in this regard. In the case of Wayanad, literary evidences attest the presence of *Punnada-sangha* the earliest Jain missionary organisation associated with the Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition in the Wayanad region. The Muttupatti inscription of c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE speaking about Nakaperur alias Nagapura (Pambra) could be the earliest inscriptional evidence in this regard. And the Jain *palli* along with a *Kavu* (*Malkavu*) at *Multagi* (Muthanga) mentioned by the Nilambur copperplate grant is also attesting the early Jain presence in this region. But the lack of other supportive archaeological remains made it

difficult to reconstruct a viable history of Jainism in Wayanad and other parts of Kerala. The extensive trading activities between the Western world and the Malabar Coast mentioned by the classical literary works, should be taken as another plausible indication for the spread of Jainism in to the Kerala region via Wayanad and other Kannada bordering areas of Malabar because the traders are the natural patrons of Jainism, who might have had established permanent settlements in this region. Compared to southern Kerala, Malabar region is rich in Jain vestiges. In this region, Wayanad district contain large number of Jain settlements which indicate their classical antiquity. With regard to the art and architectural features and stylistic traits of the Jain vestiges such as stone temples and other rock monuments, in the Wayanad along with Kasaragod regions of the northern Kerala, the influence of the Kannada-Deccan schools of art is clearly noticeable. In contrast, large scale influence of the stylistic traits and features of the Pallava and Chola Schools of art of the Tamil country can be noticed in the Jain architectural edifices of southern Kerala, particularly Tirucharanathu hill at Chitharal and Nagaraja temple at Nagarcoil. The role of the Deccan kingdoms in the historical changes of the Wayanad was not properly understood by the earlier researchers. Most of the Kannada ruling families were well patrons of Jainism naturally nurtured the followers of this faith in their kingdom which included Bayal-nadu. The extra-Kerala inscriptions of the ancient and medieval period as discussed in this thesis proves beyond doubt the key role played by the Kannada dynasties in the spread of Jainism especially in Wayanad and other parts of northern Kerala.

This study clearly proves that the emergence and expansion of Jainism in the Kerala country in general and the Wayanad in particular was primarily due to trading networks of the ancient world concentrated on the spice trade of Malabar Coast which seems to have attracted large scale migration of the trading populations from various parts of the subcontinent into Kerala. The fragmentary and meagre evidences of the Jaina vestiges of Wayanad belonging to the early historical and medieval periods should be understood in terms of the large scale urbanization and expansion of human settlements into the remote regions thus obliterating the evidences of the Jaina vestiges. Intensive and problem oriented explorations and excavations will certainly help in unravelling the glorious and splendid history of the Noble Faith of Lord Mahavira in the Kerala country in general and the Wayanad in particular.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103,116.

<sup>2</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83,Ng.28,32,Hs.137; *Vol.V*.1902.BI.77,114,137,170,171,199,Ak.48,138,Hn.65,69. Some of the inscriptions belongs to the Vijayanagara rulers including Krishnadevaraya also refer to the province Bayal-nadu as included in their political realm. *EC*, Vol.IV.Hg.1898.40,52,59,71,74,78.

<sup>3</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56,73,77,79,80.

<sup>4</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135.

<sup>6</sup> The Puthangadi deeds mainly deal with certain land grants to the Jain temple of Punchavayal now called as Vishnugudi and Janardhanagudi basties on the road connecting Panamaram and Pulpalli in Wayanad. Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.pp.49-50.

<sup>7</sup> This copper plate inscription was discovered by a Tribal man on the banks of the river Chaliyar in the present Nilambur taluk of Malappuram district in Kerala and later it was collected by Mr. Tacharakkavil Manavikraman Tirumulpad, the Raja of Nilambur and finally edited and published by T.A. Gopinatha Rao and G. Venkoba Rao in the year 1906 in *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147. Also see M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.52-57; 2017.pp.691-701.

<sup>8</sup> The term Kavuvu in *Malkavuvu* of the Nilambur record is a very familiar and exclusive term in Kerala, used to denote non-Aryan worshipping centres. The presence of a *Kavuvu* in the present Moolankavuvu could be influenced its later place name. M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.54-55; 2017.p.694.

<sup>9</sup> Hultzsch read this as “*sri-vishnuvarmma-[nah]-kutumbiya-kula-var[d]dhanasya-li [kh] itha[m]*”. *IA*, Vol.XXX.p.412. For further elaborate study regarding Vishnuvarman on the basis of this record See M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.52-54.

<sup>10</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.55-56; 2015b.pp.50-62; 2017.pp.696-697.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed study on the later Kadambas in the present Wayanad region See; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.135-148.

<sup>12</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,75,77,79,80.

<sup>13</sup> This fact was mentioned in a Virakal inscription dated Saka 929 (1007 CE) from the Magge village (HD Kote taluk of Mysore district), which says that Raviyammara was the *Rajadhiraja* of the Kingdom of *Bira-Bayal-nadu* (“*raviyammara-ada-rajadhiraja-bira-bayal-nad-rajyam-geyy-andu*”). *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.No.73.

<sup>14</sup> It states that “*Iravi-Iravivarmman alias Arayar Thiruvadi of Vira-Vayalarayar (Sri) Keralan alias Poothapadi Padainayar and Shekararaman alias Padainayar of Paadikumbam...*” *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59. But this record was later deciphered correctly by K. Maheswaran Nair, epigraphist of Kerala Archaeology Department as “*...iravi-iravivarmmanana-vira-vayalnadu-arayar-thiruvadiyum-irayarankeralanatha-poothapadi-padainayaru chekararamanana-paadikumbathu-padainayarum-nilalum-paniyum-koodi...*”. Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135. It can be translated as ‘Ravi Ravivarman the ruler of *Vira-Vayal-nadu*, Padainayar of Poothapadi the representative of the



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Raja of Kerala, Sekararaman the Padainayar of Paadikumbam, *Nilal* and *Pani* jointly ...'. Also see M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-141.

<sup>15</sup> Some lines in the Kittur record says that “*kittur-ada-ananta-kirtti-mahanagara-purada-raja-stana*” (‘the famous Kittur which was the royal residence’). *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56.

<sup>16</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140. According to Lewis Rice, besides Punnada, Durvinita “is described as ruling a country whose name I have read *Pannad*, though it is not clear. It looks like *Pakhad*.” *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.p.364. Some others read as *Pannada* or *Pannata*. See; *ARMAD*.1941.p.132; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83,92.

<sup>17</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140.

<sup>18</sup> *Alantur* has been read as *Alattur* by Lewis Rice, See; Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.313.

<sup>19</sup> The Uttanur plates also speaks about Durvinita’s conquest of these places. Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83.

<sup>20</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.p.364.

<sup>21</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.pp.3-5.

<sup>22</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37; *Vol.IV*.1898.Introduction.pp.3-4, Hg.56; *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.364; *Vol.V*.1984. p.140; *Vol.XII*.1984.pp.12-13; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.pp.362-363.

<sup>23</sup> McCrindle, J.W.1885.pp.180-182.

<sup>24</sup> *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.p.13; *Vol.XVIII*.1984.pp.362,367-368.

<sup>25</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.83; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.87,91; 2013.Index.A2,6.pp.435,437.

<sup>26</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.No.Hg.56.

<sup>27</sup> “...*sriman-maha-mandalesvara-rajadhiraja-bira-Bayal-nada-nadanga-kandavammam-bayal-nad-aydu-munn ruman-eka-rajya-geyyutt-ire-budavadi-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum-terumangalada-kilubaram-kerala-nada-punnad-adhigariyum-nidule-nada...ram-kandavamma-nada-punnad-adhigariyum-kikki-nad-adhigariy-ada-punnad-adhigariya-pani-geyyutt...*”. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.No.Hg.56. Here the line “*budavadi-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum*,” there is a possibility that it was wrongly read by Rice and it can be reread as ‘*poothapadi-padainayaritamum-nilalum-paniyum*’. These lines from the inscription can be translated as ‘Maha-Mandaleswara Rajadhiraja, lord of Bira-Bayal-nadu, Kandavamma, was ruling the five three hundreds of Bayal-nadu as a single kingdom: - Tirumangalam was placed under the responsibility (*kilubaram*) of Poothapadi Padainayar by Nilal and Pani of the Punnad Officer of Kerala-nadu, Punnad Officer (?) of Nidule-Nadu, Punnad officer of Kandavamma-nadu, and Kiki-nadu officer who was also a Punnad officer. *Nidule-nadu* can be identified as the same *Nanrulai-nadu* which was famous for the ‘three hundred’ organisation (*Nanrulai-nadu Munnurruvar*) find mentioned in four Vatteluttu inscriptions of 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE from Thiruvandavoor Mahavishnu Temple Alappuzha district along with another one belongs to 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE from the Thrikodithanam Mahavishnu Temple at Kottayam. *TAS*, Vol.II-III.1992.pp.22-25; *Vol.V*.Part-I.1924.pp.32-34; Part.II.pp.181-182.

<sup>28</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173.

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- <sup>29</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.247-48.
- <sup>30</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.My.25.
- <sup>31</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.247-48.
- <sup>32</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.
- <sup>33</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.10; *Vol.IV*.1898.p.8; *Vol.X*.1905.Introduction.p.xi; Lewis Rice, B.1878,p.138.
- <sup>34</sup> See the 'Jainism under the Western Gangas' part of the previous Chapter.
- <sup>35</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.
- <sup>36</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.115,117,146; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.142,Hg.121.
- <sup>37</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.
- <sup>38</sup> In Tamil Pallam denotes low land or ditch.
- <sup>39</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.280-281; *ASMAR*.1912,p.58.
- <sup>40</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>41</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.p.135.
- <sup>42</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.10,21; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.366,378.
- <sup>43</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103,116.
- <sup>44</sup> *E.C*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.
- <sup>45</sup> *E.C*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.116. However, the Atakur stone slab inscription dated 949-50 CE says that Butuga II killed Rachamalla, might be with the help of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III and became the lord of Talakad. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.41; *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.55,57.
- <sup>46</sup> Lewis Rice, B.1909.pp.85-86.
- <sup>47</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.139-146.
- <sup>48</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83,Ng.28,32,Hs.137;*Vol.V*.1902. Bl.77, 114, 137, 170, 171, 199, Ak.48, 138, Hn.65,69
- <sup>49</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.32.
- <sup>50</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.139-140,146. Inscriptions clearly say that Talakad was captured by the Hoysalas only during the time of Vishnuvardhana, and his coins glorify him as *Talakadu-Gonda*. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hs.143,Ng.76,Hg.50,56,73,75,77,79,80;*Vol.III*.1894.Introduction.p.14,Ml.31; *Vol.V*.1902.Bl.58, Ng.30.
- <sup>51</sup> *E C*, Vol.V.1902.Bl.58.

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<sup>52</sup> *E C*, Vol.V.1902.BI.199.

<sup>53</sup> *E C*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.28; *Vol.V*.1902.AK.62.

<sup>54</sup> *E C*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,79; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.139-146. We have records attesting to the existence of this petty kingdom even before the appearance of the Hoysalas on the political stage of Karnataka. Epigraphic records mention six rulers of this dynasty such as Raviyammara (1007 CE), Kandavamma (1079 CE), Siva (1083 CE), Kanthirava (1090 CE), Iravi Challamma (1107 CE) and Mukanna (1138 CE). *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,75,77,79, 80; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.139-146.

<sup>55</sup> *E C*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,79; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.139.

<sup>56</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.34,105,119,124,Hn.69,BI.178.

<sup>57</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.384; *Vol.III*.1894.Sr.74; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ng.28,32,70,Hs.137; *Vol.V*.1902.AK.48,Hn.69,102,BI.77,137,170,171a.

<sup>58</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.76; *Vol.V*.1902.BI.17, Ak.18.

<sup>59</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.132,384.

<sup>60</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.

<sup>61</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.

<sup>62</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.BI.119.

<sup>63</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Introduction.p.xviii.Ak.55,Hn.69.

<sup>64</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.23,62,104.

<sup>65</sup> One inscription mentions that when Somesvara, successor of Narasimha II when first began to walk, "*Chera went before him, calling out Bravo; mind your steps, Deva! While the Chola king and Pandya king on each side held his hand*". Here the record says that Ballala II was the father of Somesvara. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.12. There is some obscurity and controversy still exists about the life of Somesvara. *EI*, Vol.XXVI.1952.p.92; Derrett, John Duncan Martin.1957.pp.107,204-205;

<sup>66</sup> Derrett, John Duncan Martin.1957.p.107.

<sup>67</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.98.

<sup>68</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.123.

<sup>69</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.122; *Vol.IV*.1898.Kr.9,63.

<sup>70</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Md.122; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ng.78,98,Hs.9; *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ag.12,Ak.108,166,Cn.180.

<sup>71</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.TN.103.

<sup>72</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.36,Md.62b; *Vol.IV*.1898.Hg.10,Ng.55; *Vol.V*.1902.Ak.108,166 .

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- <sup>73</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Introduction.p.xxv.
- <sup>74</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.63.
- <sup>75</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.8,76.
- <sup>76</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.55,Hg.10 .
- <sup>77</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Introduction.p.19note.2, Md.122.
- <sup>78</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ag.53.
- <sup>79</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50.
- <sup>80</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Introduction.p.xxvi.
- <sup>81</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Cn.231.
- <sup>82</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.149,BI.187,Cn.206,232,Hn.47. They fought wars at *Soleur* (Sholayar) near Anamala in Kerala and *Mannana-Koyil* (Mannarkoyil) near Tirunelveli in Tamil Nadu. *EC*, Vol.V.1902. BI.187,Ak.149.
- <sup>83</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.51,52.
- <sup>84</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Introduction.p.xxviii.
- <sup>85</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.71. A Chamarajanagar record (1295 CE) of Ballala III says that he was a ‘tiger to the deer of the Kerala’. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.65.
- <sup>86</sup> *ARMAD*.1933.pp.109-114; *EI*, Vol.XLII.1992.p.188; *IA*, Vol.VI.1984.pp.22-25, 30-32; *Vol.VII*.1984.pp.33-35-36, 37-38; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.62-63,71-73,74-76,84-85, 96-97,105-106,107-111,112-114,121-124,129-130,136,138-140.
- <sup>87</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.p.136.
- <sup>88</sup> It is conspicuous that majority of land grants registered during his reign has either to Jain temple or to Jain monks and teachers. Gai, G.S.1996.pp.96-97,105-106,107-111,112-114; *ARMAD*.1933 pp.109-114.
- <sup>89</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.55; 2016a.p.53. For further detailed study about Gudnapura inscription, see the part of “Jainism under the Kadambas of Banavasi” in the previous Chapter.
- <sup>90</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.54-55; 2017.pp.693-695.
- <sup>91</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147.
- <sup>92</sup> *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; Lewis Rice, B.1983.p.283.
- <sup>93</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.54; 2017.p.694.
- <sup>94</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.133.

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<sup>95</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.

<sup>96</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-77.

<sup>97</sup> Foreword by M.G.S. Naryanan in Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.

<sup>98</sup> M, S.Dhiraj.2016a.p.58; 2017.p.694.

<sup>99</sup> The term *Melkavu* and *Kizkavu* are closely related to the popular Hindu culture of Kerala region which stand for Upper *Kavu* and Lower *Kavu* respectively and it also proves the existence of *Kavus* (sacred groves) at least from 6<sup>th</sup> Century AD onwards. However the description in the inscription about *Malkavu* or *Melkavu* is not denoting a village instead it must be the name of a non-Aryan shrine or worshiping place. Romila Thapar put forward the root of *mel* and *kiz* to proto-Dravidian and Dravidian origin and it mean that not only the ‘place below’ and the ‘high place’ but east (*Kiz-a-kku*) and west (*mel-u-kku* or *mel-ukku*) as well respectively along with *ten-kku* alias south and *vata-a-kku* alias north. She also links it with the Sumerian name *Meluhha* which they used to denote a Harappan trade centre. Thapar, Romila.2013.pp.279-280. *Thazhekavu* and *Melekavu* are another words usually using as an alternative for *Kizkavu* and *Melkavu* giving the same meaning as Lower *Kavu* and upper *Kavu* respectively.

<sup>100</sup> *Pattupattu*.1985.pp.260-261; *Pathitruppathu*.2012.Pathigam.5.Poem.44, 49. pp.162-163, 175-176,182-83; *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.251; *Silappadikaram*.2013 Cantos.27.p.385.

<sup>101</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.Plate.xxii.p.111.

<sup>102</sup> McCrindle, John Watson.1885.p.184.

<sup>103</sup> Ramaswami Ayyangar, M.S & Seshagiri Rao, B.1922.p.140.

<sup>104</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.44,65.

<sup>105</sup> *ARMAD*.1920.pp.23-24,27-29; 1921.pp.10,20-24; 1923.pp.114-115; 1925.pp.90-92; 1932.pp.240-41; 1933.pp.237-238; 1938.pp.86-90; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1,2,4; *Vol*.II.1923.SB.59,122,150,175-176,179,234,345,415; *Vol*.III.1894.Introduction.p.8; *Vol*.IV.1898.Ng.85; *Vol*.VIII.1904.Nr.35; *Vol*.IX.1905.Nl.60; *Vol*.X.1905. Mr.72, 73; *El*, Vol.III.1979.p.158; *Vol*.IV.1896-97.p.141; *Vol*.XXXVI.1970.pp.97-110; *LA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; *Vol*.II.1873.pp.155-161; *Vol*.VII.1984.pp.105-106,109; *Vol*.XII.1984.pp.12-13; *Vol*.XVIII.1985.pp.311-313; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.34-36,40-43, 9-51,61-65,135-139,182-189,218,253-256,274-277,279,294,327-333, 366, 377-378, 428-429,431,433-448; Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.311,313; Ramachandran, T.N.1944.p.18; Chatterjee, Asim Kumar. 1978. p.187.

<sup>106</sup> Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.310.

<sup>107</sup> *LA*, Vol.II.1873.p.20; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.p.4nt; *Vol*.II.1923.SB.67,397; *Vol*.VII.1902.Sh.4; *Vol*.VIII.1904.Nr.35,36; *SII*.Vol.II.1892.p.387; *ARMAD*.1921.p.19; *IHQ*.Vol.XXX.1954.pp.120; Krishna Rao, M.V.1936. p.195; *Lewis Rice*, B.1897.pp.308-310; Ramaswami Ayyangar, M.S & Seshagiri Rao.B.1922.p.109

<sup>108</sup> McCrindle, J.W.1885.pp.180-182. Here Ptolemy could be implied Kittur as Punnada country, the former was the capital of the latter. Kittur is situated in between Mysore and Gudalur. But in the grand Punnad country must be comprised the Southern Mysore and Gudalur regions.

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<sup>109</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.p.37nt2.

<sup>110</sup> Further more details regarding the Kadambas of Wayanad, see; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.135-148.

<sup>111</sup> EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56.

<sup>112</sup> EC, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.7.

<sup>113</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.SB.1, 31,64,67,258; Vol.III.1894.Sr.147,148.

<sup>114</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.38.

<sup>115</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.39.

<sup>116</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37. The gist of the tradition which linked with the Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition and the Punnada country has been illustrated by *Brihatkathakosa* of Harisena as is follows: “In the Paundravardhana country king Padmaratha was reigning in the city of Devakotta which was formerly known as Kotipura. He had a Brahmin dependant of the name of Soma Sharma who by his wife Soma Sri had a son named Bhadrabahu. One day when Bhadrabahu was at play with other children at Devakotta, Govardhana, the fourth Srutakevali, happened to see him, and perceiving that he was destined to be the fifth Srutakevali, took charge of him with his father’s consent and taught him all sciences. Soon after Bhadrabahu received dikshe (or the rite of initiation) from Govardhana and became an ascetic. In his wanderings he went to Ujjain and stopped in a garden on the bank of the Sipra River. At that time the king of Ujjain was the pious Jaina layman Chandragupta whose queen was Suprabha. While out to beg for alms, Bhadrabahu went to a house where there was only an infant crying in its cradle which told him to go away. On hearing this he came to the conclusion that there would be a twelve year’s drought in that country, and spoke to the community (sangha) thus; ‘There will be a twelve year’s famine here. As my end is approaching, I shall stay here alone. You go to the south.’ When he heard of this, king Chandragupta received dikshe from Bhadrabahu. Chandragupta-muni, the first of the Dasapurvis, became the head of all the sanghas under the name of Visakhacharya. By order of Bhadrabahu he led the sangha to the Punnada-vishaya in the south (“sanghopi-samastoguru-vakyatah-dakshina-patha-desastha-Punnata-vishayam-yayau”). Ramilla, Sthulavridha and Bhadracharya were sent with their sanghas to Sindhu and other countries. Bhadrabahu went to that part of Ujjayini known as Bhadrabada, fasted for many days and expired. When the twelve years of famine were ended, Visakhacharya, disciple of Bhadrabahu, returned with the sangha from the south to Madhyadesa or the Middle Country”. EC, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37; Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.p.4.

<sup>117</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.SB.1,254.

<sup>118</sup> EC, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.pp.38-39.

<sup>119</sup> The Digambara and the Svetambaras Jains were divided into several sections and sub-sections like *Samgha* (*Sangha*), *Gana*, *Gaccha* and *Sakha*. Among the Digambara sect there are a number of *Samghas* namely, *Mula-samgha*, *Dravida-samgha*, *Kastha-samgha*, *Mathura-samgha*, etc. On account of little reasons the *Mula-samgha* was again divided into four minor *Samghas*, Viz., *Simha-samgha*, *Namdi-samgha*, *Sena-samgha*, and *Deva-samgha*. Besides, among both Digambara and Svetambara sects there were number of *Gacchas* originated and it numbered more than hundred. The *Gacchas* derived because of the differences of opinion by various teachers and they ascribed new practices and also given new interpretations on the sacred doctrines in the holy texts especially on the *Sutras*. Sangave, Vilas Adinath. 1959. pp.58-60. There is a number of interpretations regarding the terms *Gana*, *Gaccha*, and *Sangha*. Certain scriptures interpreted that a group of three monks called as a

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*Gana*, a band of seven monks as *Gaccha*, and the regular community of monks was known as *Sangha*. Certain scholars identified *Gana* as *Gaccha*, and vice versa. Joseph, P.M.1997.p.419. Uddyotana-suri (779 CE), the author of *Kuvalayamala* described *Gaccha* as a travelling group of monks under a chief monk. Upadhye, A.N.1983.pp.192-193. Certain scholars identified *Gana* as *Gaccha*, and vice versa. Joseph, P.M. 1997.p.419.

<sup>120</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.pp.103-104; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.7; *Vol.II*.1923.Introduction.p.37.

<sup>121</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.p.4.

<sup>122</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.81.

<sup>123</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.24.

<sup>124</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.92,93,96; Joseph, P.M.1997.p.419.

<sup>125</sup> *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.pp.11-12,18; *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.No.49.pp.332-333,338,344,349.

<sup>126</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,160; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185,188.

<sup>127</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.97,98,103,106,109,112,114.

<sup>128</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.108,114.

<sup>129</sup> Nandi, R.N.973.p.42.

<sup>130</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.108 and note1.

<sup>131</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.Introduction.p.37; Upadhye, A.N.1983.pp.103-104.

<sup>132</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.7.Appendix.p.103; *Vol.II*.1923.Introduction.p.37; Upadhye, A.N. 1983.p.104; Certain scholars ascribed the authorship of the *Mahapurana* to Jinasena Swami of *Sena-sangha* than the Jinasena Suri of the *Punnada-sangha*. Jain, Jyoti Prasad.1960.p.203.

<sup>133</sup> Jain, Jyoti Prasad.1960.p.195.

<sup>134</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.104 note5.

<sup>135</sup> Jain, Jyoti Prasad.1960.p.218.

<sup>136</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.104.

<sup>137</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.105; Singh, Ram Bhushan Prasad.1975.p.9.

<sup>138</sup> Singh, Ram Bhushan Prasad.1975.pp.8-9.

<sup>139</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.105.

<sup>140</sup> The best example for this inference is Nanniya Ganga alias Butuga II (c.938-961 CE). We also have the Chandalava and Nolamba kings who used this name like Nanni-Chandalava (11<sup>th</sup> Century CE), Nannigasraya alias Nolambadhiraja-Nanniga (c.918-929 CE), and Nanni Nolamba. *EC*,

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Vol.I.1914.Introduction.pp.12-14.Appendix.p.106; Vol.IV.1898.Hg.104,Yd.25,37. Mushaka rulers of Ezhimala in the Malabar region of Kerala also known as *Nannans*. The Nannan references even can be find mentioned in the Tamil *Sangam* classics as well. Possibly, later the Nannans of Ezhimala were overpowered by the Kadambas of Banavasi and the Western Gangas. M.S, Dhiraj.2015.pp.304-305,310-312,314nt20.

<sup>141</sup> Singh, Ram Bhushan Prasad.1975.p.9; Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.103,105-107.

<sup>142</sup> Upadhye, A.N.1983.p.105-106.

<sup>143</sup> Pahedia, S.M.2017.p.9.

<sup>144</sup> Pahedia, S.M.2017.p.38.

<sup>145</sup> Flugel, Peter.2006.pp.343,379 note.155.

<sup>146</sup> By the Tenth Century CE, the *Kashtha-sangha* has been fragmented into four sects, Viz., the *Mathura-Gaccha*, *Latha-Bagada-Gaccha* (*Latha-Vargata-Gaccha*), *Bagada-Gaccha*, and *Nandi-Tata-Gaccha*. Flugel, Peter.2006.p.343.

<sup>147</sup> Pahedia, S.M.2017.p.38.

<sup>148</sup> Flugel, Peter.2006.p.343.

<sup>149</sup> Somani, R.V.1982. p.254.

<sup>150</sup> *ARE*.1960-1961.No.239.P.195.

<sup>151</sup> *IAR*.1979-80.p.85.

<sup>152</sup> *Panchayatana* is a form of temple construction consist of a chief shrine in the centre and surrounded it by four sub deity shrines.

<sup>153</sup> *EI*. Vol.XXX.1987.p.212nt2; Jain, K.C.1963.p.102; 1999a.p.1251; Sandesara, Bhogilal.J.1953. pp.1,5,8,13,18,26.

<sup>154</sup> Wilson, H.H.1855.p.421.

<sup>155</sup> Jain, K.C.1999a.p.1251.

<sup>156</sup> Jain, K.C.1963.p.102. Some scholars observed that the Pragvata people were the natives of Bhinnamala or Srimala, the first capital of the Gurjara kings. Sandesara, Bhogilal. J.1953.p.5.

<sup>157</sup> Jain, K.C.1999a. p.1253.

<sup>158</sup> Jain, K.C.1963.p.102; 1999a. p.1251.

<sup>159</sup> Jain, K.C.1999a.pp.1251-1252.

<sup>160</sup> *ARE*.1960-1961.No.239.P.195.

<sup>161</sup> Sandesara, Bhogilal. J.1953.p.42.Note.1.



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- <sup>162</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.214,217-219. Vastupala was the prime minster of the Vaghela king Viradhavala of Dhavalaka or Dholka. Jain, K.C.1963.p.214.
- <sup>163</sup> *ARE*.1960-1961.No.239.P.195.
- <sup>164</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33.p.216.
- <sup>165</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXII.1938.No.37.pp.286,288,291.
- <sup>166</sup> *IAR*.1979-80.p.85.
- <sup>167</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33.p.216,222. *Dharanapadra-gaccha* in the Ghaghsha inscription could be another name of *Chaitra-gaccha* of Junagadh inscription. *EI*, Vol. XXXIX.Part.VI.1985.No.33.p.216,222.; *IAR*.1979-80.p.85.
- <sup>168</sup> Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra.1921.p.212; Velankar, Hari Damodar.1944.pp.49-50.
- <sup>169</sup> Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra.1921.p.212.
- <sup>170</sup> *Chandrasena-suri* was the deciple of *Pradyumna-suri*. *Chandrasena-suri* authored *Utpadasiddhiprakarana* along with its commentary in Sanskrit. Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra.1921.p.211.
- <sup>171</sup> *EI*, Vol.XXII.1938.No.37.pp.286,291; *Vol. XXXIX*.Part.VI.1985.No.33.p.222.
- <sup>172</sup> Master, Alfred.1951.p.1004; Upadhye, A.N.1968.p.63; Shah, Umakant P.1968.p.247. Ratnaprabha-suri is also famous for his literary creation titled *Doghattivrtti*. Velankar, Hari Damodar.1944.p.49. The present researcher has no surety as the *Doghattivrtti* is a different name of *Upadesamalavrtti* by the same author. Ratnaprabha-suri's commentary on *Syadvadaratnakara* (a work based on Jaina philosophy of *pramanasastra*) of Vadideva-suri under the tittle *Syadvadaratnakaravatarika* is another monumental work produced by this great scholar. Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra.1921.p.211; Shastri, Devendra Muni.1983.p.24.
- <sup>173</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1968.pp.250-252.
- <sup>174</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1968.pp.250-252.
- <sup>175</sup> Gundert, H.1872.p.354.
- <sup>176</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1973.pp.25-26.
- <sup>177</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.1.pp.15-34.
- <sup>178</sup> For admission into the Salai, a candidate should have the knowledge in *Vyakarana*, *Mimamsa* and *Paurohitya* and also should have understanding regarding the affairs of the three kingdoms (*Trairajya Vyavahara*), possibly Chera, Chola and Pandya, and is able to get five *Chattars* to ratify that it is true. It is stated, among other things, if a *Chattan* uses abusive language against other *Chattars* within the temple premises, the former shall only get the food after paying a fine of five *kanam* of gold to the head of the *Chattars*. If one *Chattan* uses any weapons against another will invite a fine and sometimes thrown out of the Salai. *Chattars* are not permitted to carry any weapons into the places of meeting and also not allowed to keep concubines in their shelters. *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.1.p.33.

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- <sup>179</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.Vol.II.L.140,517-520,pp.195,201.
- <sup>180</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.L.5.p.191.
- <sup>181</sup> *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.pp.94-101; Parameswara Iyer, Ulloor S.2014.pp.398-399; Narayanan, M.G.S. 1973. p.36; 2013.p.362nt112.
- <sup>182</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1973.p.36.
- <sup>183</sup>“*porumakkatha-chollunee!-pooravelaykku-chenta-nal-nammude-chathrer-vetteettenmerondu-murinjithu//theshamoruthan-chatthanpolushatthamundu-kevalam*”.*Unniyadi Charitham*. 2016. Poem. 139-40,pp.149-150.
- <sup>184</sup> *Unniyadi Charitham*.2016.Prose.29,pp.155-156.
- <sup>185</sup>“*amrithakaraspariyaamandape-chentidathe-viravodatha-kareri-pinnilittanniya-sanghaan-sarasamoru-janawgham-vadhyakhoshabhimisram-karakalithakripanam;thaavakashraavakaasthe.kamani,kodi-valamvecchheeduvanooodakhosham-punarapi-pathinettum-choozhamayaanthi-sangha-pooruravamoru-thappum-thangi-nalchanthrabimba-prathinithikaleduthumkondu-pokintapole*”.*Chandrolsavam*. 2016.Part.V.Poem.23-24,p.154; Narayanan, M.G.S. 1973.p.37.
- <sup>186</sup> *Chandrolsavam*.2016.Part.V.Poem.5-41,pp.154-160; Narayanan, M.G.S.1973.p.37; 2013.p.362nt112.
- <sup>187</sup> Gundert, H.1872.p.355.
- <sup>188</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1973.p.24.
- <sup>189</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1968,pp.251-252.
- <sup>190</sup> Shah, Umakant P.1968,pp.251-252. Some of the *sastras* mentioned above as being imparted in the *matha* at Vijayapuri are still being practiced today in Kerala. The *Valaya-gandha-dravya-visesa* (perfumery or preparations from the fragrant *valaka*), even in the present Kerala people are fond of making perfume and draperies from aromatic roots and fibres of *andropogon muricatus* grass. *Anjana Jyotisha* or extrasensory perception seeing by pouring magical ointment on the betel leaf is still prevalent among the Keralites and it is locally called as *Mashinottam*. *Kuhayam* (*Kuhakam*) or black magic, a branch of astrology locally called in Kerala as *Koodothram*.
- <sup>191</sup> Some sources mentioned *Alathur* as *Alantur*. *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.83; Lewis Rice, B.1897.p.313.
- <sup>192</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972,pp.72-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>193</sup> Some of them are Alathur near Gundlupet, Alathur in Kudagu; Alathur in Coimbatore, Alathur in Tirupur, Alathur in Thanjavur, Alathur near Gingee, Alathur near Chengalpattu, Alathur in Mannargudi, Alathur in Tiruchirappalli, Alathur in Pudukkottai; Alathur in Palakkad, Alathur in Kasaragod, Alathur and Chetty Alathur in Wayanad, Alathur in Pathanamthitta.
- <sup>194</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75; 2013.Index.B1.p.474.

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<sup>195</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149. According to the record, the land was endowed in the *Baradur* in the *Tagattur Vishaya*. *Tagattur* must be the present Tagadur in the Nanjangud taluk of southern Mysore. Importance of *Tagadur* in the history of Deccan-Kannada rulers have evident from a number of inscriptions from Karnataka. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.115,117,146; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.142,Hg.121.

<sup>196</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R. 2009.pp.85-86; 2012.pp.43-45.

<sup>197</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173. *Tholur* in the Hosur record which is the home town of Madhava Sharman there are two historical villages with that name; one in near Selam in Tamil Nadu and another near Trissur district of Kerala. Both places are obvious for its traditional Brahmin settlements. Inscriptional evidence shows that the present Gudalur near Wayanad had certain subdivisions like *Elam-Gudalur*, *Mariyachi-Gudalur*, and *Ada-Gudalur*. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.71; *Vol.X*.1905.Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173.

<sup>198</sup> *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173.

<sup>199</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.My.25.

<sup>200</sup> *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.155-161; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.182-189.

<sup>201</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Introduction.p.10; *Vol.IV*.1898.Introduction.p.8; *Vol.X*.1905.Introduction.p.xi; Lewis Rice, B.1878.p.138.

<sup>202</sup> Here, it should be recalled that even during the colonial era, all these areas including the present Wayanad and Gudalur comprised two divisions, Viz., Malabar Wayanad and the Nilagiri Wayanad (South-east Wayanad) similar to the two divisions of Gudalur, Viz., *Elam-Gudalur* and *Mariyachi-Gudalur* along with *Sripura* mentioned in the Hosur plates of Sripurusha. *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173; Francis, W.1908. p.365.

<sup>203</sup> A version of the reading of Hosur record of the same ruler refers as *Sripuram*. See Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185-186,188-189. The original transcript of the Devarahalli record mentioned it as *Srivura*. See; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.158.

<sup>204</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20.

<sup>205</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,161; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.186,189.

<sup>206</sup> “*mannampaleya-ere-nellu-rajarpaludirkkandugam*”. *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,161.

<sup>207</sup> Francis, W.1908.pp.366-372.

<sup>208</sup> *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,160; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185,188.

<sup>209</sup> In the second volume of *Indian Antiquary*, Lewis Rice read *Pulikal Gaccha* as *Moolikal gaccha* (*Moolikalgachchhe*). “*sri-moola-moolasarnaabhinandita-nandi-sanghaanvaya-eregittur-niamni-gane-moolikal-gachchhe*”. *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,160. At the same time, by the fourth volume of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, he read as *Pulikal-Gaccha*. “*sri-moola-moola-ganabhinandita-nandi-sainganvayee-eregittur-nyaamni-ganee-pulikal-gachchhee*”. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85. The renowned epigraphist K.V. Ramesh as well followed the *Epigraphia Carnatic* version of Rice. Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.182,185,188. Here it could be reasonable to accept *Epigraphia Carnatica* version of

Rice's along with the understanding of K.V. Ramesh as *Pulikal*. At the same time, the term *Moolikal* or *Moolikkal* also a very common usage as place names in Kerala. We have a village *Moozhikkal* (in Malayalam *Moolikkal* usually will write and read as *Moozhikkal*) situated in between the road connecting Wayanad and Kozhikode, which is conspicuous for traditional sacred groves or Kavus.

<sup>210</sup> *IA*, Vol.I.1984.p.365; *Vol.XII*.1984.pp.18-19; *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.35; *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.p.349; *Vol.XXXII*.1959.p.320; Lewis Rice, B.1983.No.156.p.294.

<sup>211</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.My.4,Ml.9; *Vol.IX*.1905.Ht.73,Kn.19,Cp.184,Cg.66; *Vol.X*.1905. Mb.38,149, Sd.92,Bg. 52, Ct.31,117Sp.43,76,84; *Vol.XV*.1943.Hn.324.

<sup>212</sup> In the original transliteration, *Koyilgotta* has read as *Koyilgoda* and Lewis Rice read the same in the translation as well. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.186,189.

<sup>213</sup> Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.173; *EC*, Vol.X.1905.Gd.47.

<sup>214</sup> Krishna Ayyar, K.V.1938.pp.2, 83; Sreedhara Menon, A.2008 p.283.

<sup>215</sup> Kandachchi has mentioned as the daughter of the Pallava queen and one Maruvarman of *Sagara* family. She was the wife of the Ganga feudatory of *Nirgunda-nadu* namely *Prithivi-Nirgunda-Raja* alias *Paramagula* of *Bana-kula*. *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158, 161; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185-186,188-189. In a different reading Kandachchi as Kundavvi. See; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.161.

<sup>216</sup> *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.158,161; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185-186,188.

<sup>217</sup> A 513 CE dated western Ganga record of the Ganga king Avinita refers to his marriage with the daughter of Punnada king Skandavarman; subsequently Punnad country became part of the Ganga kingdom. This record further states that through the marriage of Avinita with Punnada princesses "having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs". *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.140. An early Pallava grant endowed from their capital at Palakkada gives the names of some Pallava rulers including Skandavarman I and his grandson Skandavarman II. *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.50. Here we have to remember a fact that Lewis Rice who deciphered the present Ganga record of Avinita, given probability to Skandavarman in this record as a Pallava ruler or "he may have been a feudatory who adopted his patron's name". *IA*, Vol.V.1984.p.135. No need of any doubt, the Skandavarman who given his daughter to Avinita Ganga must be a Pallava king and his realm comprised not only Punnada but the Palakkad region of Kerala as well. This hypothesis can be more clearly confirmed from another grant of the Ganga king Avinitha issued in his 12<sup>th</sup> year of reign to a Jain temple which was set up for the glory to her husband's family by mother of a Pallava king Simhavishnu. *ARMAD*.1938.pp.86,90; Ramesh, K.V. 1984.pp.49-51. Here the Pallava king Simhavishnu could be the son of Ganga Avinita by Pallava alias Punnada princess, Viz., daughter of Skandavarman. The *Pakhad* in the Ganga record must be *Palakkada* of the Pallava grant. This must be the present Palakkad comes under the present political boundary of Kerala. After the marriage of Avinitha and his son's conquest not only made them the kings of Punnada but Palakkad (*Pakhad*) as well. Apart from it, certain Ganga records clearly says that Ganga king Avinita's grandmother (wife of Madhava Mahadhiraja III or Mother of Konguni II) was the sister of Kadamba king Krishnavarman. *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.1; *IA*, Vol.V.1984.pp.134,140. Through these marriages, according to the Ganga record of Avinitha, "three powers" got together means that the amalgamation of the Kadambas, Pallavas, and the Western Gangas.

<sup>218</sup> *ARMAD*.1938.pp.86,90; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.49-51.

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- <sup>219</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.p.158; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.185-186,188-189.
- <sup>220</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.51-62.
- <sup>221</sup> For further details about *Changi-Bayal-nadu* and *Bira-Bayal-nadu* division of the Bayal-nadu alias Wayanad, See; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.145.
- <sup>222</sup> *ASMAR*.1912.p.58; *EC*, Vol.XIV.1943.TN.252; Ramesh, K.V 1984.pp.280-281.
- <sup>223</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82,108,109; Rangacharya, V.1919a.No.Tp.181,268,488; 1985.No.Mr.72,170.Rd.166; *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.Vol.III.p.112n. Govinda alias Manavala, the ruler of *Kolemuka-pattana* of *Kudukundi* in the Kerala country refers to in an Arakere record of the Hoysala Narasimha II. *Kolamuka-pattana* and *Kudukundi* can be identified as the present Kollam and Koyilandi alias Kollam-Koyilandi. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.82. *Kakara Manavala* of Kerala country refers to another two records from the same site. *Kakara* could be the present Trikkakara in Kerala, one among the chief medieval temple city of Kerala. *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Ak.108,109.
- <sup>224</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>225</sup> M.G.S. failed to read the name of the god mentions in the Thazhekavu inscription. He read this part of the inscription as; “*avvandu-nakaram-chethu-narapathennayiravaru-vecha-vilakkinukkum...*” Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75. By the detail rereading of the record, Raghava Varier identified the god find mentioned in the inscription as *Yakshan* or *Iyakkan*, the mail form of *Yakshi* or *Yakshini*. Varier readas:“*avvandu-nakaram-chethu-narapathe[nayir]rava[ra]ku[na]-iyakkanuku-vecha-vilakkinu kum*”.Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.36.
- <sup>226</sup> *Pothi* was an ancient grain measuring system existed in Kerala and some other parts of South India. One *pothi* measure ten *Idangazhi*. One *Idangazhi* measure four *Naazhi*. One *Naazhi* grain will weight around 200grm. Padmanabha Pillai, Sreekanteswaram G.2015.p.1270.
- <sup>227</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan translated as twenty four *pothi* from *Nakeraporai*, and he omitted the part of *Kudambadi* and twelve *pothi*. But the transliteration part read by him says that “*kudamabaadi-iruapthu-nalu-pothi-nakaraporai-pannirandu-pothi*,” can be translated as ‘*Kudambadi* twenty four *pothi* and *Nakeraporai* twelve *pothi*’. The present researcher’s observation is supported by the reading of Raghava Varier as well. Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.36. M.G.S read as *Nakeraporai* but Varier read as *Naakeraporai*. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972 p.75. Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.36. Though, circumstantial assumptions lead as to read *Nakeraporai* as *Nagapura*.
- <sup>228</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.p.395.
- <sup>229</sup> Williams, Monier.1899.p.532.
- <sup>230</sup> *ARE*.1960-1961.No.239.P.195.
- <sup>231</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.p.135.
- <sup>232</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S. 1972.p.75.

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<sup>233</sup> *ARIE*.1961-1962.1984.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.p.135. It is interesting to note that in the Sulthan Bathery Mariamman temple, devotees are still worshipping a sub deity named *Poothadi Daivam*.

<sup>234</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.Hg.56. In this record, the lines related to the present discussion erroneously read by Lewis Rice as “*budavadi-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum*”. But, it can be reread as “*poothapadi-padainayaritamum-nilalum-paniyum*”. See; also M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-143.

<sup>235</sup> Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.65-66,96.

<sup>236</sup> Now the temple has been renovated and worshipping as a Hindu Bhagavati temple known as Veliamabam Kotta Bhagavati.

<sup>237</sup> There are various observations regarding the date of *Unniyachi Charitham* that look into between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972. p.21; *Unniyachi Charitham*.2016.pp.51-59.

<sup>238</sup> It describes Poothadi as ‘*puthuviti-imbukazh-veezhithina-shobha*’, means ‘the splendour of the Puthuviti attributing fame for it’. *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.Prose.4.p.19; 2016.Prose.4.p.75.

<sup>239</sup> *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.Prose.3-6.Poem.4-5.pp.14-24; 2016.Prose.3-6.poem.4-5.pp.73-79.

<sup>240</sup> Gopi, Mundakayam.2014.pp.216-219.

<sup>241</sup> *ASMAR*.1912.p.58; *EC*, Vol. XIV.1943.TN.252; Ramesh, K.V.1984.p.280.

<sup>242</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.81.

<sup>243</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.92-93,96; Joseph, P.M. 1997. p.419.

<sup>244</sup> Some lines in the Kittur record says that “*kittur-ada-ananta-kirtti-mahanagara-purada-raja-stana*” (the famous Kittur which was the royal residence). *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.No.56; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.139-140.

<sup>245</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Introduction.p.4.

<sup>246</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.10,21; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103,116; Vol.VIII.1904.Nr.35; Ramesh, K.V.1984. pp. 366,378. Rice read *Elumale* or *Ezhimalai* as *Elu-Malavam* and translated as seven *Malavam*. *EC*, Vol.VIII.1904.Nr.35. But it should be read as *Ezhimalai* because we have a number of Hoysala records speak about the capture of *Ezhimalai* by the Deccan-Kannada rulers. *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.384; Vol.IV.1898.Ng.28,32,Hs.137; Vol.III.1894.Sr.74; Vol.V.1902.AK.48,Hn.69,102,BI.77,137,170,171a.

<sup>247</sup> The legend has told in various form by so many inscriptions. *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.132; Vol.III.1894.Md.121,TN.97; Vol.IV.1898.Ng.29,32,38,39,70,98,103,105,Kr.9,10,29,63; Vol.V.1902. BI.74, 112,171,Hn.65,Ak.71,82,108.

<sup>248</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.29.

<sup>249</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.67,143.

<sup>250</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.32.

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- <sup>251</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.349.
- <sup>252</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Cn.148.
- <sup>253</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Bl.58.
- <sup>254</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.254,258.
- <sup>255</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.132,384; *Vol.III*.1894.Sr.74; *Vol.IV*.Ng.28,32,70,Hs.137; *Vol.V*.AK.48,Hn.65, 69,102,Bl.77,137,170,171a.
- <sup>256</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.73,125,240,251,384,397.
- <sup>257</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.131-132,141-143.
- <sup>258</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Cn.149.
- <sup>259</sup> Some of the medieval records mentioned them as *Gavundas*. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56,73,80.
- <sup>260</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.3; *Vol.III*.1894.Nj.122,155,183; *Vol.IV*. 1898Hg. 103,Ch. 134, Gu.14, 57, Hs. 92, 129; *Vol.V*.1902.Ak.125,Ag.35; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.22,24,52; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.159.
- <sup>261</sup> *EC*, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.10,Sk.19,20a,71,83,185,197,267,277,Hl.25,37,8,Ci.18; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sb.47, 60,72,132,175,176,213, 225, 234,235,236,289,299,327,336,359,471,477, 500,525,549,563,564; *Vol.IX*.1905.Dv.42.
- <sup>262</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.46,50; *Vol.III*.1894.My.14,Nj.134; *Vol.IV*.1898. Hg.16,18,100,104, 114, 115, Gu.79,83,Hs.10-11; *Vol.V*.1902.Mj.53; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118, Sk.38, 41,88, 173,214, 225,266, Ci.18,37,45,64,72-73,Hl.7,45,76; *Vol. VIII*.1904.Sb.28,402; *Vol.IX*.1905. Cp.25,57, 64,66, 179,183,Nl.1,9,57,Ht.10,11,111,Cg.65,Ma.77, Dv.1,60,Kn.46,71,87; *Vol.X*.1905. Kl.175,Mb. 256, Sp.14.
- <sup>263</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,51,65; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.402,405,407; *Vol.III*. 1894. NJ,21, 96,116, 125,128,150,184-185,193-194,196, Ml.52,78,92,Md.40,79,85,Ml.104,107; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.20,Yl.11- 12,Gu.27,38,43,45,68, Hg.25,121,Hs.3,138,143, Ng.10,15,28,57,98,Kr.47,76; *Vol.V*.1902.Ak.17,20, 39,57,67,105,142,144- 146,150,157,179,184, 193, Cn.184, 189,212, 225,227, 231,233, 252, 260, Mj.17,41,44; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118,Sk.38,41,88,173,214,225,266,Ci.18,37,45,64,72-73,Hl.7, Hl.45,76; *Vol.VIII*.1904,Sb.28,402; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.25,57,64,66,179,183, Nl.9,57, Cg.65,Ma.77, Dv.1,60,Kn.46,71,87;*Vol.X*.1905.Kl.175.
- <sup>264</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.50; *Vol.IV*.1898.Yd.37,Hg.104,Hs.86; *Vol.V*.1902.Ag.65.
- <sup>265</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.39; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cg.50.
- <sup>266</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Ht.37.
- <sup>267</sup> *EC*, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.116; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sa.80.
- <sup>268</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,77,79,80.
- <sup>269</sup> *EC*, Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.472.

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<sup>270</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.Cg.63-64,67; *Vol.III*.1894.Ml.76; *Vol.IV*.1898.Hg.1,2,3,Ch.38,132,Hs.61-62,122; *Vol.V*.1902.Mj.20; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sk.1-2,35,37,40,288,302,Hl.6; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sb.134; *Vol.IX*.1905.Ht.1,Dv.2,Kn.40,Cp.1,148,152,162.

<sup>271</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,51,65; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.402,405,407; *Vol.III*.1894. NJ,21,96,116, 125, 128,150,184-185,193-194,196,Ml.52,78,92,104,107,Md.40,79,85; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.20,Yl.11-12,Gu. 27,38,43,45,68,Hg.25,121,Hs.3,138,143,Ng.10,15,28,57,98,Kr.47,76; *Vol.V*.1902.Ak.17,20, 39,57,67, 105,142,144-146, 150, 157,179, 184,193, Cn.184, 189,212, 225,227, 231,233, 252,260, Mj.17,41,44;*Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118,Sk.38,41,88,173,214,225,266,Ci.18,37,45,64,72-73, Hl.7, Hl.45,76; *Vol.VIII*.1904,Sb.28,402; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.25,57,64,66,179,183, Nl.9,57,Cg.65, Ma.77, Dv.1, 60,Kn.46,71,87; *Vol.X*.1905.Kl.175.

<sup>272</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.121.

<sup>273</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Bl.138.

<sup>274</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Bl.137.

<sup>275</sup> This Inscription mentioned as *Hoysala-goydi-setti* has to be read as *Hoysala-Gavunda-Setti*. *EC*, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.40.

<sup>276</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.53; Chandramouli, N & M.S, Dhiraj.2017.pp.26-27

<sup>277</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.46.

<sup>278</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.

<sup>279</sup> Chandramouli, N & M.S, Dhiraj.2017.p.25

<sup>280</sup> The British engineering wing discovered a Tirthankara image from the nearby jungle of the basti during the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Now this image is exhibited in the department of history, Calicut University. The *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, Madras circle says that “some sculptured Jain stones from the Jain temple at Sultan Bathery were brought down to Calicut by the executive engineer and placed in his office at Calicut. Some of them are in granite or soap stone. They are all fragmentary and represent pieces of large Jain image with carved canopy. Several smaller images and parts of a pointed arch shaped slab, carved with numerous small images representing Jain Tirthankaras. They were found when cleaning the dense jungle which grew round the large temple at Sulthan Bathery and which had to be cleared when some recent repairs were done to the temple”. *ARADSCM*.1910-1911.p.2.

<sup>281</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.3,6,29,39,64,67,71; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.257,321,395,402,405,407,478; *Vol.III*.1894. Nj.21,59,82,96,99,106,116,122,125,128,134,150,155,183,184,185,193,194,196,My.14,Ml.32,48, 52,76,78,82,92,104,107,116,Md.20,26,39,40,76,79,85,TN.109; *Vol.IV*.1898.Hg.1-3,16,18,25,37- 39,41,50,56,73,77,79,80,100,103-104,114-115,121, Ch.38,132, 134,Gu.14,27, 38,42,43,45,68, 57, 79,83,Hs.3,10-11,61-62,86,92,122,129,138,143,Ch.20,32,132,134,Yl.11,12,Kr.23-25,46,47,68,76, Ng.10,15,28,57,98,Yd.2,37;*Vol.V*.1902.Hn.4,45,107,161,Bl.86,137-138,141,171,199, Ag.1,35,65, Mj.6,7, 17,20,21,26-27,30,37-38,41,44,49,53,56,63,Ak.17,20,34,39,57, 67,90,105, 124, 125,141, 142,144-146,150,157,179,184,193,Cn.159-160,184,189,212,225,227,231,233,249,252,260; *Vol. VII*.1902.Sh.10,22,24,36,39,40,42,46,52,107-108,114,116,118, Sk.1,2,19,20a, 35,37,38,40,41,62, 71,73,75,79,81,83,88,172-173,185,197,205-206,208,211,214,217,225,266-267,269,276-277, 288, 302,



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321, Hl.2,6,7,20,25,36-37,45,75-76,81,115,Ci.8,18,37,45,64,72,73; *Vol.VIII*.1904. Sb.12,28, 43,47,60,72,75,77,97,99, 132,134,160,175-176,202-203,213,225,234-236,240,286,289,299,326-327,336-337,359,384,391,402,408,421,471-472,477,500,517,525,531-532,549,563-564, Sa.1,11,80, 89,Nr.49; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.1,7,25-26,57,64,66, 148,150, 152,154, 159,162, 179,183, 64,66, 179, 183,Dv.1,2,33,42,46,60,77,Nl.1,9,57,58,Ht.1,10,11,13,37,111,151-152,Cg.50,65,Ma. 52,75, 77,80, Kn.36,40,46,71,87,100,118; *Vol.X*.1905.Mb.256,Sp.14,Ct.36, Kl.175.

<sup>282</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,77,80.

<sup>283</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Kr.46,47,76,Ng.57; *Vol.V*.1902.Bl.137,138,Ak.142,Cn.249; *Vol.VII*. 1902. Sh. 10,39,116,Sk.35,37, 197,302,Hl.25,Ci.64,72; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sb.234,286,299,471,472.

<sup>284</sup> Oppert, Gustav.1988.p.13.

<sup>285</sup> Stuart, H.A.1893.p.242.

<sup>286</sup> Thurston, Edgar.1909.p.269.

<sup>287</sup>*EC*,Vol.III.1894.Ml.78,92;*Vol.IV*.1898.Hg.50,79,80,103,Hs.10,11,86,92,129,143,Kr.47,Gu.14,Hs.86 ,Ng.57;*Vol.V*.1902.Ak.125,Cn.252,MJ.41;*Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.22,24,36,118,Sk.75,83,173,211,214,Hl.2,Ci .45;*Vol.VIII*.1904.Sb.12,47,60,72,99,175,176,202,203,225,235-236,240,289,327,336-337, 517, 563, 564; *Vol. IX*.1905.Dv.42, Ht.11,Kn.71,Cp.150,179; *Vol. X*.1905. Kl.175,Sp.14.

<sup>288</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.3; *Vol.III*.1894.Nj.122,155,183; *Vol.IV*.1898 Hg.103, Ch.134, Gu.14, 57, Hs. 92,129; *Vol.V*.1902.Ak.125,Ag.35; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.22,24,52; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.159.

<sup>289</sup> *EC*, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.10,Sk.19,20a,71,83,185,197,267,277,Hl.25,37,8,Ci.18; *Vol.VIII*. 1904. Sb.47, 60,72,132,175,176,213,225,234,235,236,289,299,327,336,359,471,477, 500,525,549,563,564; *Vol.IX*.1905.Dv.42.

<sup>290</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.46,50; *Vol.III*.1894.My.14,Nj.134; *Vol.IV*. 1898. Hg. 16, 18, 100, 104, 114,115,Gu.79,83,Hs.10-11;*Vol.V*.1902.Mj.53;*Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118,Sk.38,41,88, 173, 214, 225,266, Ci.18,37,45,64,72-73,Hl.7,45,76; *Vol. VIII*.1904.Sb.28,402; *Vol.IX*.1905. Cp.25,57, 64,66,179,183,Nl.1,9,57,Ht.10,11,111,Cg.65,Ma.77, Dv.1,60,Kn.46,71,87; *Vol.X*.1905.Kl. 175,Mb. 256, Sp.14.

<sup>291</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,51,65; *Vol.II*.1923.SB.402,405,407; *Vol.III*. 1894. NJ,21, 96,116, 125,128, 150,184-185,193-194,196, Ml.52,78,92,Md.40,79,85,Ml.104,107; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.20,Yl.11-12, Gu. 27,38,43,45,68, Hg.25,121,Hs.3,138,143, Ng.10,15,28,57,98,Kr.47,76; *Vol.V*. 1902.Ak. 17, 20, 39,57,67,105,142,144- 146,150,157,179,184, 193,Cn. 184,189, 212,225, 227,231, 233, 252, 260, Mj.17,41,44; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118, Sk.38,41,88, 173,214,225, 266,Ci.18,37, 45,64,72- 73,Hl.7,Hl.45,76; *Vol.VIII*.1904,Sb.28,402; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.25,57,64,66,179,183, Nl.9,57, Cg.65, Ma.77,Dv.1,60,Kn.46,71,87;*Vol.X*.1905.Kl.175.

<sup>292</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.50; *Vol.IV*.1898.Yd.37,Hg.104,Hs.86; *Vol.V*.1902.Ag.65.

<sup>293</sup> *EC*, Vol.I.1914.Cg.39; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cg.50.

<sup>294</sup> *EC*, Vol.IX.1905.Ht.37.

<sup>295</sup> *EC*, Vol.VII.1902.Sh.116; *Vol.VIII*.1904.Sa.80.

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<sup>296</sup> EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,56,73,77,79,80.

<sup>297</sup> EC, Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.472.

<sup>298</sup> EC, Vol.I.Cg.63-64,67; Vol.III.1894.Ml.76; Vol.IV.1898.Hg.1,2,3,Ch.38,132,Hs.61-62,122; Vol.V.1902.Mj.20; Vol.VII.1902.Sk.1-2,35,37,40,288,302,Hl.6; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.134; Vol.IX.1905.Ht.1,Dv.2, Kn.40,Cp.1,148,152,162.

<sup>299</sup> This record refers that one “*Punarvasu Kochchata Kotta-Gavunda’s son Koratya-Gavunda, rider of vicious horses, protector of those who take refuge with him, a brave in action, burning for revenge, in the battle of Henjara, as if a destroyer like Murari, having charged across with his horse, destroyed the camp, seized the female apartments and the treasury, and set up the big flag, being pleased thereat, gave him the village named Appogal in the Tora-Badagare-nad, free of all taxes*”. EC, Vol.III.1894.Nj.122.

<sup>300</sup> EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,51,65; Vol.II.1923.SB.402,405,407; Vol.III.1894.NJ.21, 96,116,125,128,150, 184-185,193-194,196,Ml.52,78,92,104,107,Md.40,79,85; Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20,Yl.11-12,Gu.27, 38,43, 45,68,Hg.25,121,Hs.3,138,143,Ng.10,15,28,57,98,Kr.47,76; Vol.V.1902.Ak.17,20,39,57, 67,105, 142, 144-146,150,157,179,184,193, Cn.184,189,212,225,227, 231,233,252,260, Mj. 17,41,44; Vol. VII.1902.Sh.36,39-40,118,Sk.38,41,88,173,214,225,266,Ci.18,37,45,64,72-73,Hl.7,Hl.45,76; Vol. VIII.1904.Sb.28,402; Vol.IX.1905.Cp.25,57,64,66,179,183,Nl.9,57,Cg.65,Ma.77,Dv.1,60, Kn. 46, 71, 87; Vol.X.1905.Kl.175.

<sup>301</sup> EC, Vol.III.1894.Ml.32,52,107,Md.26; Vol.IV.1898.Yl.11,Hg.25,41,56,103-104,121,Kr.46, 47, Ng.15,Ch.38; Vol.V.1902.Ak.17,67,105,142,144,150,157,193,Cn.159-160,189,Ag.1,Mj.7; Vol.VII. 1902.Sh.10,36,107,114,Sk.19,20a,35,79,81,83,88,185,197,205-206,214,225,266,277,288,Hl.6-7, 20,25,37,45,75-76,Ci.45,64,72-73; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.28,75,77,203,213,225,234-236,240,286,299, 326, 337,359,391,408,421,477,525,531-532,Sa.80; Vol.IX.1905.Nl.1,9,Ma.75,Ht.37,111,Cp.57, 154,148, 150,Cg.50,65.

<sup>302</sup> EC, Vol.III.1894.Ml.32,52,107,Md.26; Vol.IV.1898.Yl.11,Hg.25,41,56,103-104,121,Kr.46,47, Ng.15,Ch.38; Vol.V.1902.Ak.17,67,105,142,144,150,157,193,Cn.159-160,189,Ag.1,Mj.7; Vol.VII. 1902. Sh. 10,36,107,114,Sk.19,20a,35,79,81,83,88,185,197,205-206,214,225,266,277,288,Hl.6-7,20, 25,37,45,75-76,Ci.45,64,72-73; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.28,75,77,203,213,225,234-236,240,286,299,326- 337,359,391,408,421,477,525,531-532,Sa.80; Vol.IX.1905.Nl.1,9,Ma.75,Ht.37,111,Cp.57, 154,148, 150, Cg.50,65.

<sup>303</sup> EC, Vol.VII.1902.Sk.81,83,88,205-206,214,Hl.6,25,Ci.45,64,72-73; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.77,202- 203,234-236,240,286,326,337,359,408,525,532; Vol.IX.1905.Ma.75,Cp.148,150.

<sup>304</sup> EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,67,71; Vol.II.1923.Sb.405; Vol.III.1894.Ml.78,92,Nj.21,59,122,193- 194,Md.85; Vol.IV.1898.Hg.39,50,73,77,79-80,103,Hs.10-11,86,92,129,143,Kr.46-47, Ch.20, 134, Gu.14,38,68,Ng.57,Yd.37; Vol.V.1902.Hn4,Ak.125,184,Ag.35,Cn.225,233,249,252,MJ.41; Vol. VII. 1902.Sh.22,24,36,118,Sk.1-2,20a,38,40,73,75,83,172-173,206,208,211,214,217,269,Hl.2,Ci.8,37,45; Vol. VIII.1904.Sb.12,43,47,60,72,99,160,175-176,202-203,225,235-236,240,289,327,336-337, 402, 421, 517, 563, 564,Sa.1,11,89; Vol.IX. 1905. Ma. 75,80, Dv.42, Ht.11, 13, Cp. 57, 64, 150, 159, 162,179,183,Kn.46,71,87; Vol.X.1905.Kl.175, Mb.256, Ct.36, Sp.14.

<sup>305</sup> EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.6,67,71; Vol.II.1923.SB.405; Vol.III.1894.Ml.78,92,Nj.21,59,122,193- 194,Md.85; Vol.IV.1898.Hg.39,50,73,77,79,103,Hs.10,11,129,143,Kr.46,47,Ch.134,Gu.14,38,68,Ng.57

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; *Vol.V.1902.Ak.125,184,Cn.225,233,249,252,MJ.41; Vol.VII.1902.Sh.22,24,36,118,Sk.1-2, 38, 40,73,75,83,173,206,208,211,214,217,269,Hl.2,Ci.8,37,45; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.12,43,47,60,72,160,175-176,202-203,225,235-236,240,289,327,336-337,402,421,517,563,564,Sa.1,11,89; Vol.IX.1905. Ma. 80,Dv.42,Ht.11,13,Cp.57,64,150,159,162,179,183,Kn.46,71,87,96; Vol.X.1905.Kl.175,Mb. 256,Sp.14.*

<sup>306</sup>*EC, Vol.III.1894.Ml.78,92; Vol.Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,79-80,103,Hs.10-11,86,92, 129, 143, Kr. 47,Gu.14,Ng.57; Vol.V.1902.Ak.125,Cn.252,MJ.41; Vol.VII. 1902. Sh.22, 24,36, 118,Sk. 75,83,173,211,214,Hl.2,Ci.45; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.12,47,60,72,99,175-176,202-203,225,235-236,240, 289,327,336-337,517,563,564; Vol.IX.1905.Dv.42,Ht.11,Kn.71,Cp.150,179; Vol.X.1905.Kl.175, Sp. 14.*

<sup>307</sup>*EC, Vol.III.1894.Ml.78,92; Vol.Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50,79-80,103,Hs.10-11,86,92,129,143,Kr.47, Gu. 14,Ng.57; Vol.V.1902.Ak.125,Cn.252,MJ.41; Vol.VII.1902.Sh.22,24,36,118,Sk. 75,83, 173, 211, 214, Hl.2,Ci.45; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.12,47,60,72,99,175-176,202-203,225,235-236,240,289,327,336-337, 517,563,564; Vol.IX.1905.Dv.42,Ht. 11,Kn.71,Cp.150,179; Vol.X.1905.Kl.175,Sp.14.*

<sup>308</sup> *EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.100; Vol.VII.1902.Sk.36-37,302; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.134.*

<sup>309</sup> *EC, Vol.VII.1902.Sk.20a; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.500; Vol.IX.1905.Ht.1.*

<sup>310</sup>*EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.3; Vol.II.1923.SB.407; Vol.III.1894.Nj.122,Ml.107,Md.26,39,79; Vol.IV. 1898. Ch. 32,132,Hg.103-104,Hs.86,92,Ng.28; Vol.V.1902.Ak.184,Hn.45,Cn.189,249,Mj.20-21,26,30,37-38,49,53,56,63; Vol.VII.1902.Sh.10,42,46,52,Sk.211,217,288,Hl.7,25; Vol.VIII.1904. Sb.160,240; Vol.IX.1905.Cp.1,7,25-26,152,154,Cg.50,65,Nl.57,Ma.77,Dv.1,2,33,Ht.33,46,77,151-152,Kn.118; Vol.X.1905.Ct.36.*

<sup>311</sup>*EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.64; Vol.II.1923.SB.407; Vol.III.1894.Nj.125,Ml.76,Md.40,Ml.52,116; Vol.IV. 1898. Gu.43,45,57,68,Hg.115; Vol.V.1902.Ak.105,Cn.260,Mj.7; Vol.VII.1902.Sk.79,276,Sh.107-108,Hl.35-76; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.225,500.*

<sup>312</sup> *EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.73; Vol.VII.1902.Sh.40.*

<sup>313</sup>*EC, Vol.III.1894.NJ.150,184,Ml.48; Vol.IV.1898.Gu.43,45,Hs.138; Vol.V.1902.Cn.184 ; Vol. VII. 1902.Sh.10,Sk.79; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.132; Vol.IX.1905.Ma.52,Ht.151-152.*

<sup>314</sup>*EC, Vol.III.1894.NJ.150,184,Ml.48; Vol.IV.1898.Gu.43,45,Hs.138; Vol.V.1902.Cn.184; Vol.VII. 1902.Sh.10, Sk.79; Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.132; Vol.IX.1905.Ma.52,Ht.151-152.*

<sup>315</sup> *EC, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.121,Ng.15; Vol.V.1902.Ak.67,Cn.184.*

<sup>316</sup> *EC, Vol.V.1902.Ak.184; Vol.VII.1902.Sk.217.*

<sup>317</sup> *EC, Vol.VIII.1904.Sb.213; Vol.IX.1905.Ht.10.*

<sup>318</sup>*EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.29,39; Vol.II.1923.SB.321,402,478; Vol.III.1894.TN.109,Nj.134,183; Vol.IV.1898. Yl.12, Gu.27,68, 79,83,Hg.1,25,114,121,Hs.3,122,Kr.23-25,58, Ng.15, 98; Vol.V. 1902.Ak.57, 105, 142, 144-146,157, 179, Cn.160,184,189,212,227,260, Ag.65,Mj.27; Vol.VII.1902. Sk.12,20a, 35,41, 71,83,88,225,267,276,Hl.6-7, 25, 75, 81,115,Ci.8,18,64,72-73,Sh.10,39-40,114,116; Vol. VIII.1904 .Sb.28,286,299,326,471-472,477; Vol.IX.1905.Nl.1,58,Ma.75,Ht.1,10,Cg. 50,Cp.66,Dv.60, Kn.36,100.*

<sup>319</sup>*EC, Vol.I.1914.Cg.29,51; Vol.II.1923.SB.321,402; Vol.III.1894.TN.109,Md.20,Ml.82,Nj.10; Vol.IV. 1898.Gu.27,42,68,79,Hg.114,121,Hs.3,61-62,Kr.25,76,Ng.15,98; Vol.V.1902. Ak.57,142,157,*

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179,Cn.227,160,189,Ag.65,Mj.6; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sk.20a,71,266-267,Hl.81,Ci.8,72-73,Sh.39,46; *Vol.VIII*.1904. Sb.28,286,384,471; *Vol.IX*.1905.Ma.75.

<sup>320</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.106; *Vol.IV*.1898.Hg.56; *Vol.VII*.1902.Sk.321; *Vol.IX*.1905. Nl.1,57, Ht.37, Cp.154,Cg.65.

<sup>321</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.

<sup>322</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.73; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.140.

<sup>323</sup> Significance of Raviyammara of Vira-Vayal-nadu (Bira-Bayal-nadu) in the history of medieval Wayanad has also been attested by a Malayalam vatteluttu inscription from the Mariamman temple in Sulthan Bathery in Wayanad district. It states that “*Iravi-Iravivarmman alias Arayar Thiruvadi of Vira-Vayalrayar (Sri) Keralan alias Poothapadi Padainayar and Shekararaman alias Padainayar of Paadikumbam...*”. *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59. But this record was later deciphered correctly by K. Maheswaran Nair, epigraphist of Kerala Archaeology Department and his reading of the text as “*...Iravi-iravivarmmarana-vira-vayalnadu-arayar-thiruvadiyum-irayarankeralanatha-poothapadi-padainayarum-chekararamanana-paadikumbathu-padainayarum-nilalum-paniyum-koodi ...*”. Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135. It can be translated as ‘Ravi Ravivarman the ruler of *Vira-Vayal-nadu*, Padainayar of Poothapadi the representative of the Raja of Kerala, Sekararaman the Padainayar of Paadikumbam, *Nilal* and *Pani* jointly ...’. Also see; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-141.

<sup>324</sup> For further discussion regarding the divisions of *Bayal-nadu* like *Bira-Bayal-nadu* and *Changi-Bayal-nadu*, see; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.p.145.

<sup>325</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56. In this record, the lines related to the present discussion erroneously read by Lewis Rice as “*budavadi-pandya-nayaritemum-nelala-paniyum*”. But, it can be reread as ‘*poothapadi-padainayaritamum-nilalum-paniyum*. For further discussion about the present Kittur Hale-Kannada inscription, see; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-143.

<sup>326</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.80.

<sup>327</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.77. For the discussion about *Changi-Bayal-nadu*, See; M.S, Dhiraj. 2015c.p.145.

<sup>328</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.79.

<sup>329</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.50.

<sup>330</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.100.

<sup>331</sup> A Ganga inscription mentioned *Navile-nadu* as *Navale-nadu*. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.

<sup>332</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.

<sup>333</sup> Puthangadi deeds mainly deals with certain land grants to the Jain temples of Punchavayal now called as Vishnugudi and Janardhanagudi basties which situate one the wayside connecting Panamaram and Pulpalli in Wayanad. Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.pp.49-50.

<sup>334</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.193.

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<sup>335</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20.

<sup>336</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.194. This record metaphorically narrates his death as “*Lord Hermmadi Gavunda, bountiful hero, as if having a game destroyed those who opposed him in the hill-fort. The Apsaras, coming to that Kulkulla fort, snatched him up and bore him away with affection to the city of the king of the gods*”.

<sup>337</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20.

<sup>338</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.96.

<sup>339</sup> Veluthat, Kesavan.2013.pp.41-42. Gundert version of *Keralolpathi* mentioned *Kulavur* as *Kuzhayur*. See; *Keralolpathi*.1868.pp.25-26.

<sup>340</sup> Veluthat, Kesavan.2013.pp.51, 90,149.

<sup>341</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.39.

<sup>342</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.39. The present record mentioned Nallur as Kote-Nellur, but another record discovered from the same site mentions Kote-Nellur as Nallur. *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.37, 39.

<sup>343</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.1.

<sup>344</sup> *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.193-194; Vol.IV.1898.Ch.20, Hg.39, 50, 73,77,79,80,100,103.

<sup>345</sup> The Union Minister V. Narayanasamy had announced in the Lok Sabha in 2009 that the centre government would declare both the Vishnugudi and the Janardhanagudi at Puthangadi as the national monuments, but unfortunately, on account of red tape, the processes have not yet completed. Manoj, E.M. 2016.

<sup>346</sup> *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra*.1931.p.192-193,210. When Mahavira was sitting on the lion-throne during the Samavasarana (celestial assembly), “*a drum sounded in the sky like a deep cloud, making the four quarters ring with its echoes*”.*Trisastisalakapurusacaritra*.1931.p.193. When Jina occupied on the lion-throne on the occasion of Samavasarana, “*on both sides Yakshas held two white Chauris, as if loads of devotion to the master, kept in the heart, had become external*”. *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra*.1931.p.192.

<sup>347</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013 Index.C28.p.495.

<sup>348</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75; 2013.Index.B1.p.474; Raghava Varier, M.R. 2012.pp.35-36. This stone record was discovered by K.K.N.Kurup in 1970 and deciphered and published by M.G.S. Narayanan through his work *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala* in the year 1972. Now this record has displayed in the Archaeological Museum at Krishnapuram Palace, Kayamkulam. Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.

<sup>349</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S 1972.pp.17-20.

<sup>350</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-143; Maheswaran Nair, K.1972.pp.65-66,96; *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.p.135; *EC*, Vol.IV.Hg.56. The *Poothadi* in the Hale-Kannada record read by Lewis Rice *Budavadi*. *EC*, Vol.IV.Hg.56. The *Unniyachi Charitham* mentioned Poothadi as *Puthuviti*. *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.Prose.4.p.19; 2016.Prose.4.p.75.

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- <sup>351</sup> *ARIE*.1960-1961.No.239.p.195.
- <sup>352</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75; 2013.Index.B1.p.474. M.G.S read as *Nakeraporai*, but circumstantial assumptions lead as to read *Nakeraporai* as *Nagapura*.
- <sup>353</sup> Williams, Monier.1899.p.532.
- <sup>354</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.p.395.
- <sup>355</sup> Pachori, Laxminarayan.1989.pp.34,43.
- <sup>356</sup> This Kannada record was deciphered by Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.46.
- <sup>357</sup> Gopi, Mundakayam.2014.p.202. It is not to be seen from the site possibly lost due to vandalism.
- <sup>358</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.pp.49-51.
- <sup>359</sup> The word *Puthiyangadi* means new market or street. *Puthiya* means new and *Angadi* denotes ‘street’ or ‘market’.
- <sup>360</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009 pp.85-86; 2012.pp.43-45.
- <sup>361</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.p.54; 2017.p.694; Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.123,315; Chakravarti, A.1944.p.43. One of the Mangulam Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions dated c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE from a cave complex at Mangulam village in Madura district record that the cave was caused to be carved by one *Antai Assutan*, an official (*Kaviti*) of the merchant guild of Vellarai. Antai Assutan was also designated as *Kalathikan* (*Kalatika*), the superintendent of pearls. The gift has made to the senior Jain monk (*Kani*) named Nantasri Kuvan. See; Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.pp.123,315.
- <sup>362</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.pp.49-50.
- <sup>363</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.56, 73, 77, 79,80; *ARIE*.1961-1962.p.59; Ramachandran Nair, Adoor.K.K.1973.pp.134-135; M.S, Dhiraj.2015c.pp.140-141.
- <sup>364</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83.
- <sup>365</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009.p.86; Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.p.70.
- <sup>366</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R, 2012.p.36. The ‘Veethyalayam’ portion of the Poothadi record has not read by the first Epigraphist, Viz. M.G.S. See; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.p.75.
- <sup>367</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009.p.86; 2012.p.45.
- <sup>368</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009 pp.85-86; 2012.pp.43-45.
- <sup>369</sup> C.A. Innes in the year 1908 reported that “*the most interesting, however, of the temples at Sulthan Bathery is the Vasti temple, an old Jain temple hidden in a lantana thicket a few yards south of the 60<sup>th</sup> milestone on the Mysore road, its very existence have been forgotten for many years. The upper part has fallen down, and the rest is fast falling into ruin, several trees having forced their way between the great granite slabs of which it is built*”. Innes, C.A.1908.p.477. The British engineering wing discovered a Tirthankara image from the nearby jungle of the basti during the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup>

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Century. The *Annual Report of ASI, Madras Circle* states that “some sculptured Jain stones from the Jain temple at Sultan Bathery were brought down to Calicut by the executive engineer and placed in his office at Calicut. Some of them are in granite or soap stone. They are all fragmentary and represent pieces of large Jain image with carved canopy. Several smaller images and parts of a pointed arch shaped slab, carved with numerous small images representing Jain Tirthankaras. They were found when cleaning the dense jungle which grew round the large temple at Sulthan Bathery and which had to be cleared when some recent repairs were done to the temple”. *ARADSCM*.1910-1911.p.2. Now this image is exhibited in the department of history, Calicut University.

<sup>370</sup> *Tagattur* must be the present Tagadur in the Nanjangud taluk of southern Mysore. Importance of *Tagadur* in the history of Deccan rulers have evident from a number of inscriptions belongs to the Deccan-Kannada rulers. *EC*, Vol.III.1894.Nj.115,117,146; *Vol.IV*.1898.Ch.142,Hg.121.

<sup>371</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.

<sup>372</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.pp.156-157.

<sup>373</sup> This Kannada record has at present kept under the custody of Varadur Jain temple trust in Varadur. This was first read and published by M.R. Raghava Varier.2009.pp.85-86; 2012.pp.43-45.

<sup>374</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier.2009.p.85; 2012.p.40.

<sup>375</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier.2009.p.86; Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.p.70.

<sup>376</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier.2009.p.87.

<sup>377</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R, 2012.p.43.

<sup>378</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B. 2008.p.155.

<sup>379</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R, 2012.p.43.

<sup>380</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2009.p.87. At the same time, we also have one ancient Chathurmuga basti in Hosangadi near Bengaramanjesvaram in Kasaragod.

<sup>381</sup> Padmakumari Amma, B.2008.p.158.

<sup>382</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.2012.p.43.

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*The published inscriptions on stone and copper plates were often erroneously read by the previous scholars. The present researcher thoroughly checked and verified the published transcripts and translations and with necessary modifications and additions utilized them in this study.*

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# FIGURES

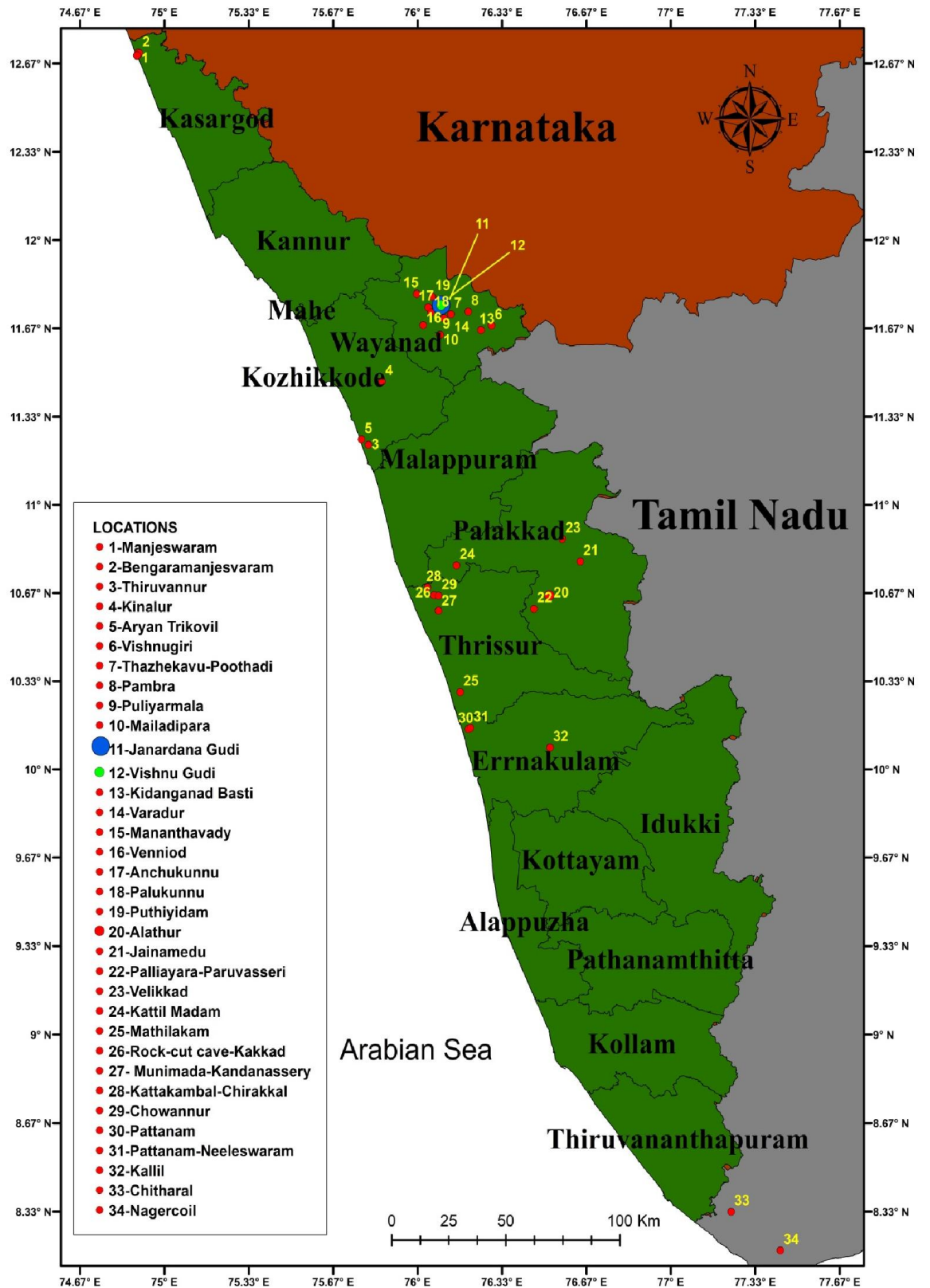


Fig.1. Map showing the Traditional Jain Settlements and Centers in Kerala

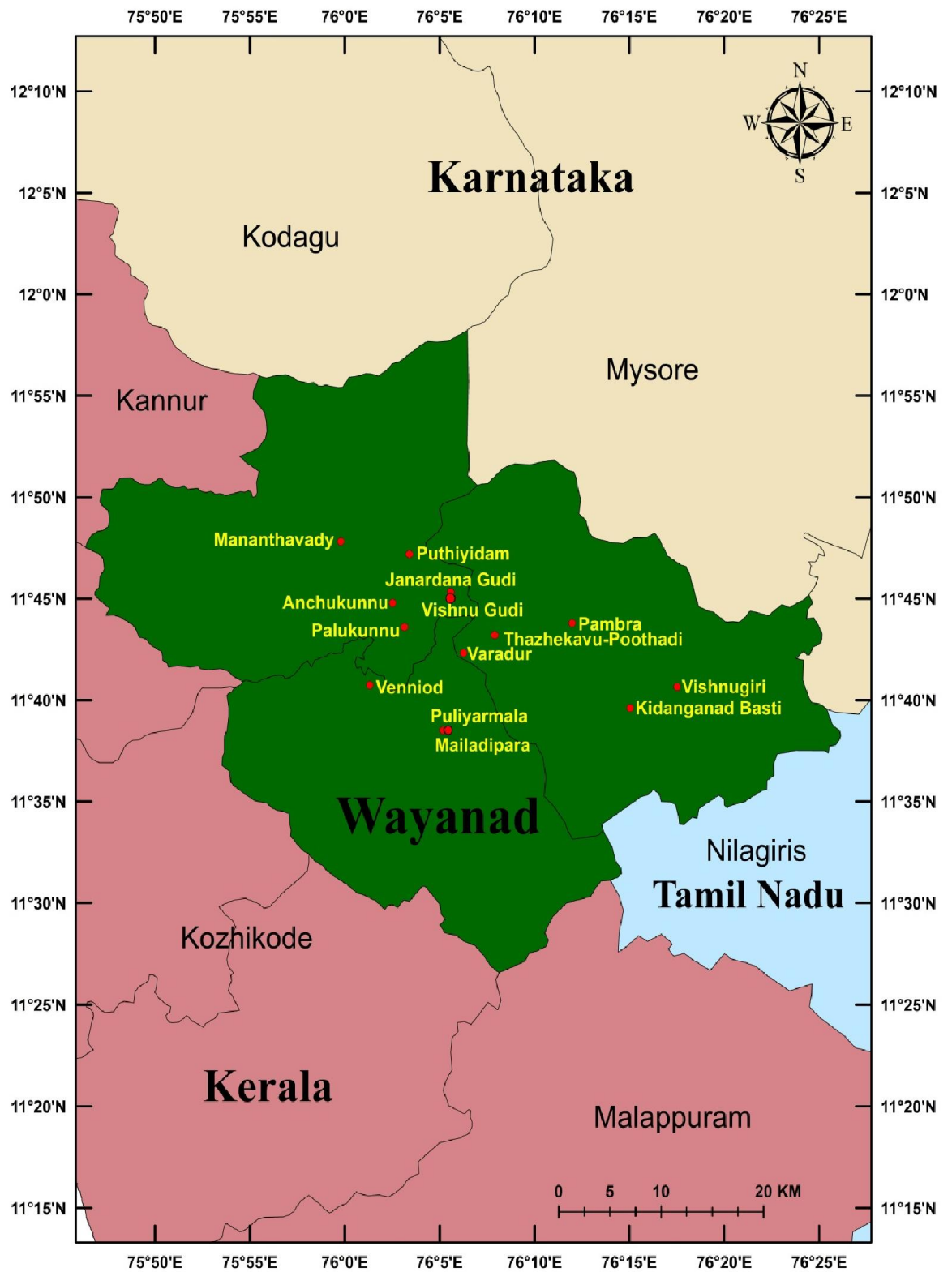


Fig.2. Map showing the Traditional Jain Settlements and Centers in Wayanad





Fig.3.Pattanam Tamil-Brahmi Potsherd Inscription-Pattanam, Ernakulam



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**Malayalam  
Transliteration**

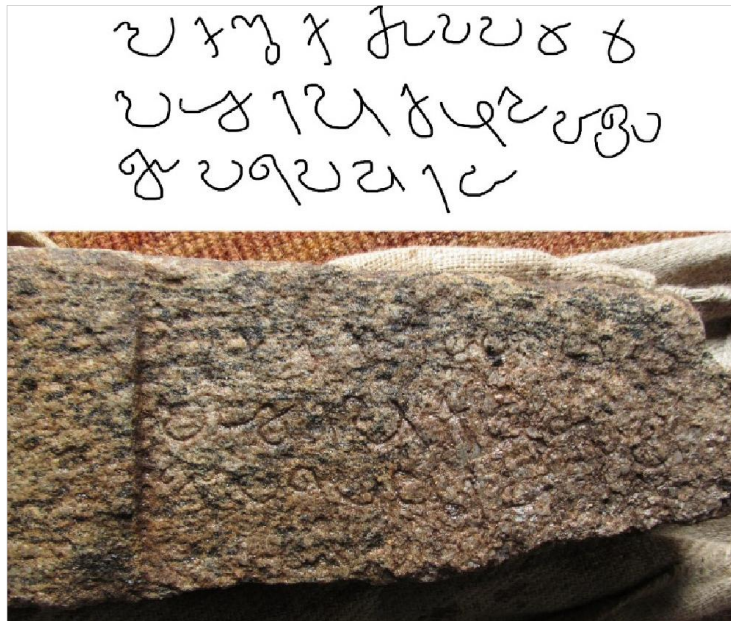
1. അ-മ-ന-
2. വ-ദൈ-കി
3. രു-ക്-കൈ
4. — — ന

**English  
Transliteration**

1. a-ma-na
2. va-dai-ki
3. ru-k-kai
4. — — nna

Fig.4.Mathilakam Inscription I (Part-I)-Mathilakam, Thrissur





**Malayalam  
Transliteration**

1. ങ്ങ-ക-വ-  
യ്-ച-ച
2. തു-ചെര-പു-ക-ഴ-  
റു-വാ-ണി
3. ചൊ- വ-രെയ-  
യൂ-ർ-നാ.....
- 4.....

**English  
Transliteration**

1. nga-lukku-va-y-  
cha
2. tu-chera-pu-ka-za-  
ru-vaa-ni
3. cho-va-re-y-yoo-r-  
naa...
- 4.....

Fig.5.Mathilakam Inscription I (Part-II) -Mathilakam, Thrissur



**Malayalam**

**Transliteration**

തിരു- കുണവായ്-  
തേവർകു...

**English**

**Transliteration**

thiru-kkunvay-  
thevarkku...

Fig.6. Mathilakam Inscription II, Mathilakam, Thrissur.





Fig.7.Kallil Rock-cut temple-Perumbavoor, Ernakulam



Fig.8.An unfinished image and a Tirthankara –Kallil.





Fig.9. Tirthankara under Asoka tree (*Pindikadavul*)-Velikkad, Palakkad



Fig.10. Unidentified Tirthankara-Velikkad



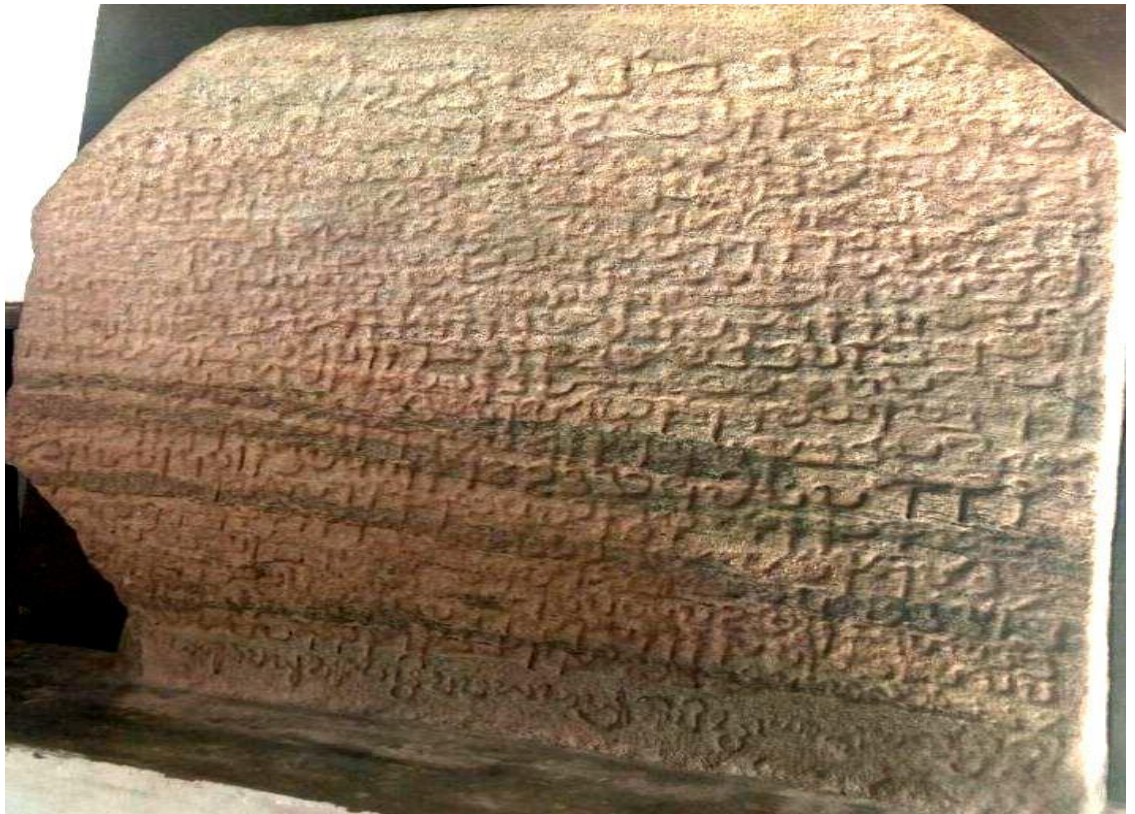


Fig.11.Alathur Inscription-Alathur, Palakkad

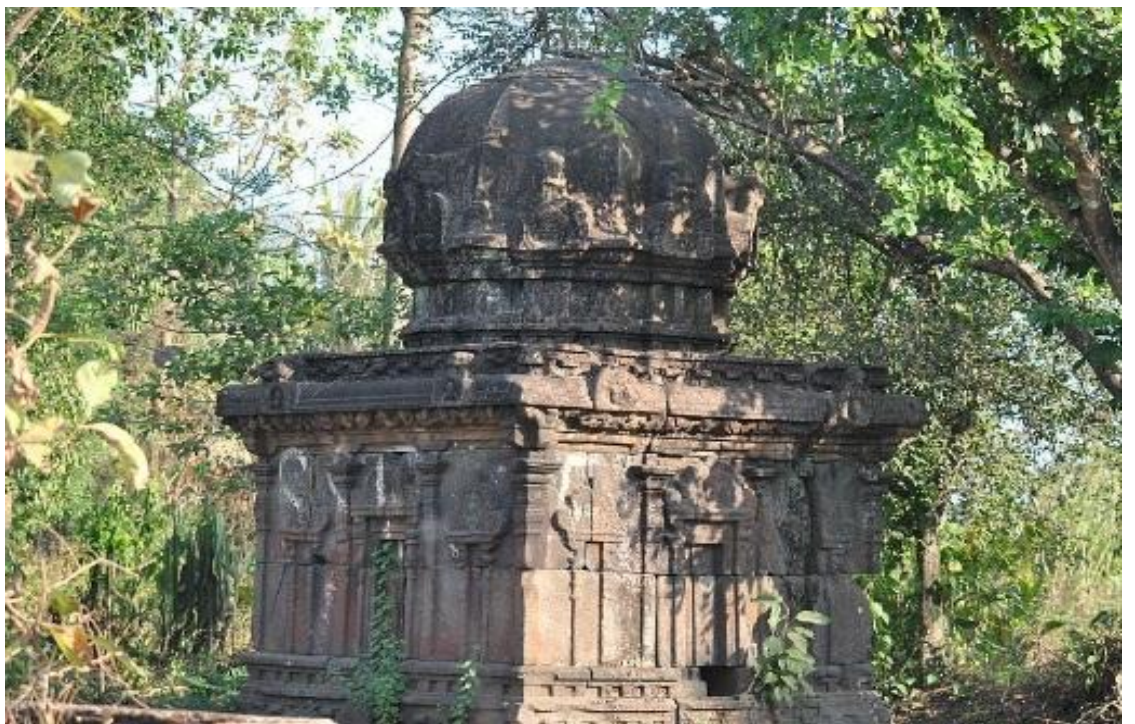


Fig.12.Kattilmadam-Pattambi, Palakkad





Fig.13.Dome Structure, Kattilmadam-Pattambi, Palakkad



Fig.14.Palliyara Tirthankara-Paruvasseri, Palakkad





Fig.15. Jainamedu Vestiges-Palakkad Town



Fig.16. Kinalur inscription, Kozhikode



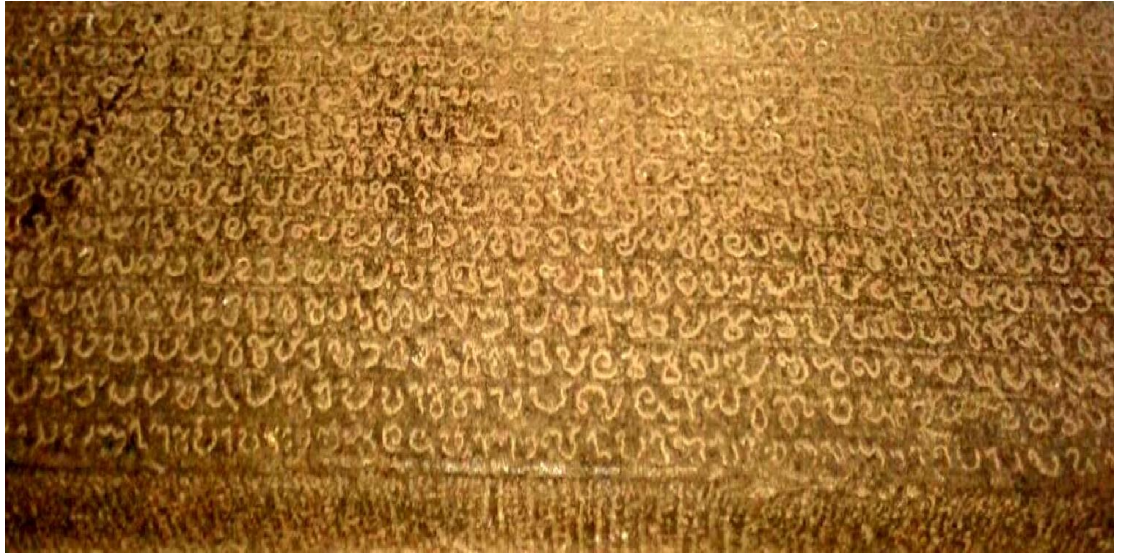


Fig.17. Thiruvannur Inscription, Kozhikode



Fig.18.Chitharal temple-Southern Travancore





Fig.19.Low Relief Sculpture of the Ambika Yakshi Legend- Chitharal



Fig.20.Tirthankara Images-Chitharal





Fig.21. Some of the Chitharal Inscriptions





Fig.22.Structural Remnants of Vishnugiri Temple-Moolankavu, Wayanad



Fig.23.Vishnugiri Inscription





Fig.24.Janardana Gudi Basti-Puthangadi, Wayanad



Fig.25.Erotic Sculptures-Janardhanagudi-Puthangadi, Wayanad





Fig.26.Vishnu Gudi Basti-Puthangadi, Wayanad



Fig.27.Standing Vishnu of Vishnu Gudi with Attributes-Puthangadi, Wayanad





Fig.28.General view of Kidanganad Basti-Sulthan Bathery, Wayanad



Fig.29.Loose sculptures of a Tirthankara, Vishnu, Vinayaka and Naga-Kidanganad Basti, Wayanad





Fig.30. Structural Remains of Puliarmala Basti- Kalpetta, Wayanad



Fig.31.Tirthankaras and Vishnu-Puliarmala





Fig.32. Thazhekavu-Poothadi Vestiges: Vatteluttu Inscription, Yakshas and Nagamandala on a Pillar-Pulpalli, Wayanad

## **Chapter – 2**

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### **The Extension of Jain Centres to the Geographical portion of Kerala**



## **The Extension of Jain centres to the Geographical Portion of Kerala**

The problem can be explained under two heads – the Jain centres in Travancore and the one in Malabar or Northern Kerala. The prominent Jain centres in the erstwhile Travancore region were Chitalar and Nagaraja temple in the present Kanyakumari district and Kallil temple in the present Ernakulam district. So also a few connected centres that are identified by the present study. The important centres in Malabar were the one in the Palakkad, Kozhikkod and Wayanad districts. It is interesting to note that the earliest Jain settlement in Kerala was Matilakam (Kunavayikottam) in the present Thrissur district. Attempt is made in this chapter to focus the advent of Jainism in to Kerala by founding the earliest settlement at Matilakam, the references to which can be traced to the Keralolpathy.

Legends speak of the geographical portion of Kerala donated by *Varuna* to the *Nagas* before it came to the hands of Brahmins from Parasurama.

*Nakasarve samagathya  
Sreemoõla sthana mandape  
Chatushtitamanaka  
Vayameva na samsaya  
Varunasthupurasmarakam  
Dathavan dwijasathama  
Samudranthe chaya bhumeer  
Jata chenmma shasanal*

*Naake drisya maya datha  
Madehasya vishoth karam  
Naaka nam sasana deva  
Neevarayathu Dehajam<sup>1</sup>*

The myth of *Keralolpathi* may be about the naga tribe of Kerala currently settled in the Idukki and Wayanad Districts and the folk song familiar among the Naga tribes and their naga worship strengthen the hypothesis that the Nagas were the Jains settled at the geographical portion of Kerala before Brahmin Migration.

#### Naakathanmar Darmavum Sangavum Ullavar

*Ulthidame uruvaana naakathare  
Kaithdame karuvaana naakathare  
Vaithdame vilavirukum naakathare  
Poythidame podiyakum naakathare  
Kathival kaienthum naakathare  
Ethisayum pukalkonda naakathare  
Chithi, Muthi kaikanda naakathare  
Villali veerarana naakathare  
Viruthuketti pada vellum naakathare  
Pullanevellam thurakum naakathare  
Punithradi vanangi veezhum naakathare  
Aranthane Uruvaana naakathare  
Aranthane kuruviyana naakathare  
Aranthane ullamana naakathare  
Aranthane yuyirana naakathare  
Aranthane kadavullana naakathare  
Aranthane kalviyana naakathare  
Aranthane ulaka maana naakathare  
Aranthane vayu maana naakathare<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Chattampi Swamikal Keralolpathy Malayalam translation in Maheswaran Nair (ed) Chattampi Swamikal Jeevitavum Kritikalum, 1995, P.316.( vide appendix -1).

<sup>2</sup> Keralolpathy Malayalam Version .Baratavilasam Achukoodam, Thrissur Kolla Varsham 1106.P.316 (vide appendix-1)

There is one Nagaraja Temple at Nagarkovil that later turned a Hindu Temple. But the images carved on the pillars of the Nagarkovil reveals the fact that it was an ancient centre of Jainism. There is one image of Parsvanatha and Mahavira, so also Padmavathy Devi in the pillars of the Mandapa of the temple; the three headed serpent over the head of Parsvanatha and triple Umbrella over the head of Mahavira that is depicted in the Jain iconography triangulate this fact. The place Nagarkovil was named with the influence of this temple – that is the kovil (temple) of the Nagas = Nagarkovil. All these points triangulate the fact that the practice of Naga worship and the Nagas may be the Jains migrated into Kerala long before the Brahmin migration.

P.K. Gopalakrishnan is of the opinion that we have the traditions in literature like Sangam works as well as the archeological evidences to supports the point that in the second century B.C itself Jain faith reached Tamilakam. Then he points out the fact that in those days Kerala was a part of Tamilakam. By analysing the context of early Tamil works like Tholkapium and Thirukural, he says that from that time itself Jaina religion had an influence in the Chera country.<sup>3</sup> Historian, M.G.S. Narayanan has the same opinion; he says that ‘there is the evidence of the spread of Jainism to Kerala even during the Sangam Age.’<sup>4</sup> He strengthen

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<sup>3</sup> P.K. Gopalakrishnan, *Keralathinte Samskarika Charitram*, 1974, Pp.45-51.

<sup>4</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, p. 183.

his position citing the history of the first Chera Chief Udayan Cheralathan stated who is stated to have courted his death by starvation through “*vadakkirika*<sup>5</sup>”, a practice which reminds one of the Jain practice ‘*Sellekaana vrita*’. He also points out the Bhadrabahu tradition. That is the shift of Chandragupta Maurya to Sravana Belgola in Mysore with a Jain saint Bhadrabadhu. He also focusses on more archeological evidence, that several inscribed Jain caves have come to light in the *Karurpukaliyur* region and these caves were donated by the Chera princes.<sup>6</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier also agrees with the Tamil tradition but he doubts on the the archeological relics which supports the Jain tradition prior to the 8th century A.D. But, here he misses one point that , when he mention the relics as the Jain temples, one point is there the time of structural temples in south begins only from 8th century A.D. i.e, from the Pallava period. So with these factors let us join to the conclusion that as from the *Sangam* age itself Kerala was acquainted with Jain faith as a part of Tamilakam.

Eventhough we have to trace some common tradition in the case of the spread of Jainism since the Sangam period itself we also have to see some unique developments in the strongholds of the major Jain centres. In this context a discussion on Kunavailkottam relevant. Most of the

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<sup>5</sup> A practice which the Jain ascetics gets their salvation by observing starvation untill death.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

scholars consider Kunavailkottam as the first Jain centre or the head quarters of Kerala Jainism as like Muzhikulam Temple to Brahmin settlements of Kerala. The legacy of M.G.S. Narayanan and M.R. Raghava Varier to the study of Kunavai or Kunavailkottam is remarkable.

Besides these scholars Prof. Krishnaswami Iyyankar and V.V.K. Valath also gave some contributions regarding the date of Kunavailkottam<sup>7</sup>. The Jain inscriptions from different parts of Kerala such as Alathur, Puthadi, Kinalur, Thiruvannur, etc and the Sandesakavyas like Unniachicharitam, Sukasandesa, and Koka Sandesa also made refer to it. The Sangam works Chilappatikaram leaves many evidences on this centre. The Archaeological survey of India also gave its own contribution by conducting the excavation in the concerned field. These collaborative evidences are used to strengthen the feasibility of examining the material and cultural environment that made the advent of Jainism possible in such an early date.

Thirukkunavai or Kunavalikottam is identified with *Thrikkanamathilakam* by the scholars and now it is known as Mathilakam, situated five miles to the north of Kodungalloor.

The Vattezhuthu inscription comes from Thiruvannur within the Calicut city limits mentioning Thirukkunavai as the model to Thiruvannur temple, just like the Thirumuzhikkulam as a model for other

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<sup>7</sup> V.V.K.Valath, *Sthala Charithra Namangal*, Thrissur Jilla,

*Brahmin* temples.<sup>8</sup> Yet another inscription belonging to Rameswaram Temple of Quilon dated Kollam Era 278 narrates that the King called *Ramarthiruvati Koviladhikarikal* who had the title Kulasekhara Chakravarthi made some offerings to the Lord of Thirukunavai. Further, an inscription found at Suchindram temple of Thiruvitamcore says that one Kunran Sulapani of Thirukkunavai burnt a perpetual lamp in the Suchindram temple in the 16th regional year of Chadayan Moran.<sup>9</sup>

The most important inscription came from Alathur. The Govt. of India Epigraphics Department had noticed in 1908 a Vattezhuthu inscription in Kavassery Amsam of Alathur in Palakkad district. Around the same period the state archaeological department discovered a ruined Jain temple close to it. The Epigraphists observe that it was belonging to the 10th century AD. This inscription states that this is the '*Silalekha*'<sup>10</sup>, arranged to be engraved by an assembly of several bodies, such as *Nalpathennayiravar*<sup>11</sup>, *Pathipadamulam* of Thirukkunavai Thevar, '*Attikosam*' and '*Adinganmar*' of '*Nalanjiyar*'. It seems to the fact lay down that the right of collecting levies like '*elaikulam*' from the *Nalanjiyar palli* and other connected establishments shall not be mortgaged to others".

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<sup>8</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala, 1972, Pp. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> V.T. Induchudan, Seminar paper read at Mahavir Nirvan Celebration Cochin, 17, November 1974, p.23.

<sup>10</sup> Stone Inscription.

<sup>11</sup> A trading group known from Tamil Vattezhuthu inscription.

From this fragmentary text it may be gathered that the inscription records an agreement by *Nalpathennayiravar*, the *adhikarar* of Thirukkunavi. It is regarding the *Pallikal* (non-hindu temples) of ‘*valanciya*’ and their property. Those who committed an offence against the agreement shall be deemed as offenders against the deity of *Thirukkunavai*. Though the precise meaning is not clear, the participation of *adhikarar* (officers) of Thirukkunavai, the agreement and the invocation of the authority of *Thirukkunavi* thevar in this document unequivocally prove that *Thirukkunavai*, which formed the model for this *pallikal* was also a Jain temple.<sup>12</sup>

Another inscription related to *Kunavai* temple was recovered from the neighborhood of an ancient Jain basti at Thalakkayy near Puthati in Wayanad. This record may be assigned to the close of 9th century A.D.<sup>13</sup> It is more important than the other two inscriptions that we referred, because it places its date as the ‘*Nuttiampattelu*’- meaning hundred and fifty seven of the temple. But according to M.G.S. Narayanan it is as ‘*Nurumuppattelu*’ –i.e., one hundred and thirty seven of the temple. Anyway this difference is negligible. Thus, according to this inscription

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<sup>12</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>13</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, “The Legacy of Jainism in Kerala” in M.P. Sreekumaran Nair (ed.), *Mahavir Nirvan Souvenir*, p. 2

the date of the foundation of Thirukkunavai is may be the beginning of the 8th century or the last of 9th century.<sup>14</sup>

Another source of information which supports the existence of *Kunavailkottan* is belonging to the *Kinalur* near Balussery, dated in the 189th year of the Thirukkunavai, which gives indirect evidence of the prominence achieved by Thirukkuravi in Kerala within a century after its foundation. It also deals with an endowment of rice offering and perpetual lamp to the Palli of Kunavainellor. M.G.S. Narayanan connects this Kunavainellor with *Thirukkanvai*.<sup>15</sup> These are the different inscriptions discovered by the historians and interpreted the connection of Kunnavaikottam with *Matilakam*. Though these inscriptions do not give any definite description to show that Thirukkunavai was a Jain temple, the Sangam literature and the excavations in the proposed place of Matilakam legitimize the facts given by the inscriptions.

Among the Sangam works, the Chilapatikaram gives us some information about *Kunavailkottam*. It is said that Chilapathikaram, written by Illankoatikal an inmate of Kunnavaikottam, was also a Jain.<sup>16</sup> The very opening lines of Chilappathikaram attest to it thus;

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<sup>14</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> V.T. Induchudan, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. K.M. George, "Jainamathavum, Chilapathikaravum" (mal) paper read at Mahavir Nirvana Celebration, Cochin, 17 November, 1974.



*“Kunavayil kottatharachu thuraniruntha*

*Kudakocheralinkovadi.<sup>17</sup>”*

M.G.S. Narayanan also supports the view that *Chilappathikaram* was written by a Jain ascetic. The pronounced Jain bent of mind exhibited by the author of *Chilappathikaram* would suggest that this place must have been a Jain monastic centre. According to K.K.N. Kurup it was Jain religion which inspired Illankoatikal to compose the epic. Yet another interesting assessment of K.K.N. Kurup is regarding the characters of this work such as *Kovalan* and *Kannaki* belonging to a merchant community of that period, i.e., *Peruvaniyarkudi*.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the reference of *Chilapatikaram*, the 14th and 16th century Sandesakavyas like *Kokasandesa*, *Sukasandesa* and *Unniachicharitam* make reference to it. The 14th century work *Unniachicharitam* describes Kunavai as an important town like Mangalapuram and Kodungallur. The anonymous author of *Kokasandesa* refers *Kunavai* as *Gunaka* or *Kunaka*. He had also stated that the Brahmins were not allowed to see the lord of Kunaka. The lines which describe the context are as follows;

*“Chelva chernakunayilakam*

*Pooku nee thekku nokki*

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<sup>17</sup> Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nair, *Chilappatikaram*, (Malayalam Commentary), 1975, p.1 (Vide appendix-3)

<sup>18</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, op.cit, Pp. 6-7.

*Chillum neram thiraviyavarum koyilkanam*

*Chemme kanmanarutu kunake*

*Thampurane dwijanmar*

*Entral neeyum thozhuka purame*<sup>19</sup>”

Besides the reference the next lines of Kokasandesam states Kunaka as a big centre of merchants or Vaniyas.<sup>20</sup> From these statements we can see the fact that the major population in this area was belonging to the Vaniya sect, the trading community, and we know Jainism was most popular especially among the trading communities in India. Edgar – Thursten had stated that some of the vaniyars used numerous titles like *Jatinagharattors* (dwellers in the city of light) and *Tiruvilakkanagarattars* (dwellers in the city of holy lamps). K.K.N.Kurup opined that probably by adopting these titles they may be cherishing the sacred memory of pavapuri, where Mahavira attained *Mahanirvana* and myriad holy lamps were lighted.<sup>21</sup> By depending and interpreting the above mentioned date Dr. Krishna Swami Iyenger identified *Kunnnavary* with modern Thrikanamathilakam in 1939.<sup>22</sup> In 1970, the archaeological excavations in the spot confirmed the fact that the Jain temple of Tirukunavay stood no where else than in the place that Krishnaswami Iyenger pointed out.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Prof. Elamkulam P.N. Kunhjanpillai, *Kokasandesam* (Malayalam Translation), 1999, p. 58.( vide appendix-4)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 59

<sup>21</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, op.cit, p. 5

<sup>22</sup> V.T. Induchudan, op.cit, pp. 9-10.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 10

In short, the results of the archaeological excavations of Tirukinavay or Thrikanamathilakam can be summed follows.

Part of a laterite wall, which was lying buried, was accidentally exposed while the villagers were quarrying the ground to plant coconut seedlings. An attempt was made to assess the nature and dimensions of this wall. “It is found to be about 5’clock, constructed out of heavy laterite stones. The wall was remaining completely buried in sand and when exposed showed a height of six. This structure lay extended in the east-west direction to considerable length, may be four furlongs. There is some indication that this was the southern wall of a square fortification; because traces of its continuation have been found on the western side also. It may be mentioned here that ‘Mathilakam’ in the place –name Trikkannamathilakam, means ‘inside fortification’. It suits the structure verymuch”.<sup>24</sup>

A little to the north of this wall, there was a site which attracted attention. Surface finds indicated that there might have been some structures here in the unknown past. Parts of these were peeping out of the ground and granite stones with carvings were lying here and there on the ground. Quite a lot of pottery could be picked up from the sides of the trenches dug by the villagers for planting etc<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> V.T.Induchudan,op.cit., p. 12

<sup>25</sup> Directly observed on 22.7.2006.

About half a dozen trenches were dug on this ground on an area of about 400 square feet. As was expected, the trenches uncovered portions of what might have been the foundation of a laterite structure. The presence of a large number of pot-lamps in almost all the trenches proved without doubt that the foundation must have been that of a temple. A large variety of pot-sherds, bangles, two Chola coins of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014) iron and copper nails etc., were the relics recovered from these trenches.<sup>26</sup>

The most important feature which should attract the attention of any scholar is the peculiar lay-out of the fort and the temple. It is said that the wall must have been that of a square fortification. The eastern side of this remains to be traced, but we can more or less guess its position even at this stage, by fixing the south-eastern corner of the southern wall which has been traced to some extent. This particular spot is traditionally called by the villagers “*Mathilamoola*” meaning “the corner of the wall”. The eastern wall of the fort may be starting from here, towards the north. A characteristic feature of the layout is that the temple stands right in the middle of which the eastern wall should be. If there were gate here, the temple would have been exactly at the gate<sup>27</sup>.

This lay-out is comparable to Kunavayikottam of *Silapathikaram*. The name *Kuna* (east) *Vayir* (at the mouth or gate) *Kottam* (Temple)

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<sup>26</sup> The Ramavarma Research Institute Bulletin, Vol.1, No.1, 1930, p.30.

<sup>27</sup> Directly observed on 22.7.2006.

means “the temple at the eastern gate”. Here is a fort with a temple at the eastern gate. *Trikkannamathilakam* is apparently the slang for *Tirukunamathilakam*<sup>28</sup>. That Kuna, in *Tirukkunnamathilakam* was meant to signify the east is clear from the fact that a little to the east of *Tirukkunamthilakam* a place is still called *Konathukunnu*, meaning a hill to the east (in slang it is called *Konothukunnu*). *Tirukkunamathilakam* means “the holy eastern fort”, called so possibly because the structure is located towards the eastern edge of the island of Kodungallur.<sup>29</sup>

As we see the excavated sources have a lot of resemblance to the literary sources especially to the reference of Chilapathikaram regarding the position of the temple. In connection with these factors, V.V.K. Valath put one evidence from terminology i.e., Kottam was meant for Jain temple in previous days and later it became a ‘hindu’ term.<sup>30</sup>

With the support of the sources, mentioned else where i.e., literary sources inscriptions and the excavation at the concerned spot, we can say that the Kunnavayil Kottam was a Jaina temple, but regarding the date of this temple, there is no unanimous opinion among the scholars. For example M.G.S. Narayanan put the date of this temple towards the close of the 7th century or at the beginning of 8th century AD<sup>31</sup>., because the 137th year mentioned in Talakavu record can be placed in the first

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<sup>28</sup> V.P.Sha, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, 1975, p.63.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 13

<sup>30</sup> V.V.K. Valath- *Keralathinte Sthala Charitrangal*, Ernakulam District, 1991, Pp. 18-19.

<sup>31</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbolism of Kerala*, p.34

fact of the 9th century on palaeographical evidence.<sup>32</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier also supports the tradition of this temple that it worked as a model for other Jain temple of Kerala<sup>33</sup>, by this statement he placed the date of the temple at the beginning of Jain centres in Kerala. By examining the date of the coins and levels it discovered, V.Induchudan sets the date of Kunavayil Kottam in the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D.<sup>34</sup> We can conclude thus 'may be from the early time onwards certain beginning of this centre were there, but it might have been completed by 7th A.D, because the excavation on the spot gives certain evidence to this point i.e., in some of the trenches, two foundations in two different levels have been found one above the other.<sup>35</sup> Let me turn, at this stage to the factors, which made possible such a centre at this place.

The inscriptions that we got from 'Alathur' and 'Thalakkavu' describe that '*Thirukonavai*' or '*Konavaikottam*' was run by '*Nalpathennayiravur*' or '*Valanchiyar*'. From their relation with '*Anchuvannam*' and '*Manigramam*'<sup>36</sup>, the trading organizations of ancient Kerala, from this we can assume that it also had some relation with trade and commerce.<sup>37</sup> Besides these references the author of *Unniyachi*

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<sup>32</sup> M.G.S. <sup>Narayanan</sup> *Perumals of Kerala*, p. 184.

<sup>33</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, 'Keralathile Adyakala Jaina Kshetragal' in *Samsakara Keralam*, Malayalam, Quarterly, 1989, March.

<sup>34</sup> V. Induchudan, op.cit., p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> The trading organaizations of ancient Kerala.

<sup>37</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, op.cit., p. 50

*Charitham*, a 14th century Kavya had described, Kunavai as an important town like ‘Mangalapuram’ and ‘Kodungalloor.’<sup>38</sup> The anonymous author of *Kokasandesha* also took it as a big centre of ‘Vaniya’ community.<sup>39</sup> That the community members used to cheat each other in business is attested to by the following verse:

*“Pinne kanaam chatiyil muthirum  
Vaniyakaran thammil  
Thinnam paeri theruvilundu  
Vaniyam cheyumaru”*<sup>40</sup>

All these factors point out to the chance of being one trade centre were there is support of Kunavayil kottam. Moreover, we know that Jainism was most popular among the trading community from its north Indian tradition<sup>41</sup>. Besides, we know that present town at Kodungallor in Trissur district is generally identified with the ancient port of Muziris just 5 miles away from the concerned relics of Jain temple. As early as the first century AD., Pliny mentions Muziris as the first emporium of trade in India and it was the capital of ‘Colabotras’ the rulers of Kerala. It was formerly known as Cranganore which is located 20kms north of Cochin on the mouth of the Periyar. It had facilitated the navigation system from inland to sea. It was a very busy trading city up to the middle of the 14th century. During the heavy floods in 1341 AD, the mouth of the Periyar

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<sup>38</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *Mahavir Nirvan Souvenir*, op.cit., Pp.5-4.

<sup>39</sup> Elamkulam P.N. Kunhjan Pillai, op.cit., p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> Vide appendix-5.

<sup>41</sup> K.K.N.Kurup, op.cit.,p.6.

silted up; simultaneously one of its distributaries got opened into the Arabian Sea near Cochin, opening up the excellent natural port of Cochin. There upon Kodungallor lost its importance and Cochin attained the status of a new port.<sup>42</sup> Any way Muziris had maintained a direct or indirect relation which Kunnavayil Kottam. M.R. Raghava Varier also describes about an ancient trade route from Idukki-Munnar, to Thrikkakara and Kodungallor, connecting the Kallil temple en route.<sup>43</sup>

Thus it may concluded that the inscriptions, Sandesakavyas and spot exacavations prove that Kunnavayil kottam was a Jain centre and the above mentioned sources prove the fact that this temple was there because of its dominance as a trading centre.

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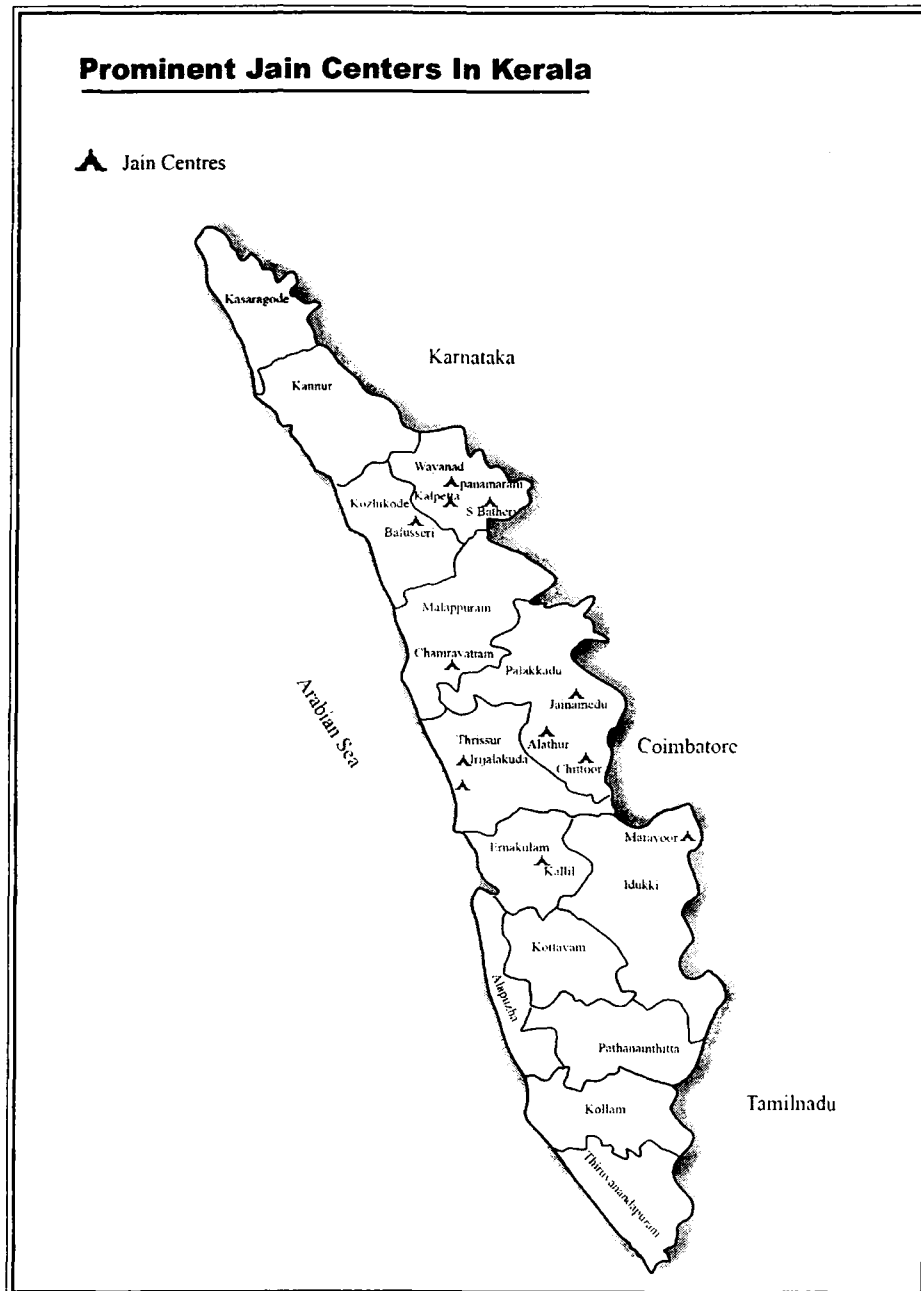
<sup>42</sup> Satyemurthi, 'History of Koduganlloor', *proceeding of the south Indian History Congress*. 18th session, , 1988, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, *Keraleeyatha Charitramanagal* 1990, p. 74.



### Map 3\*

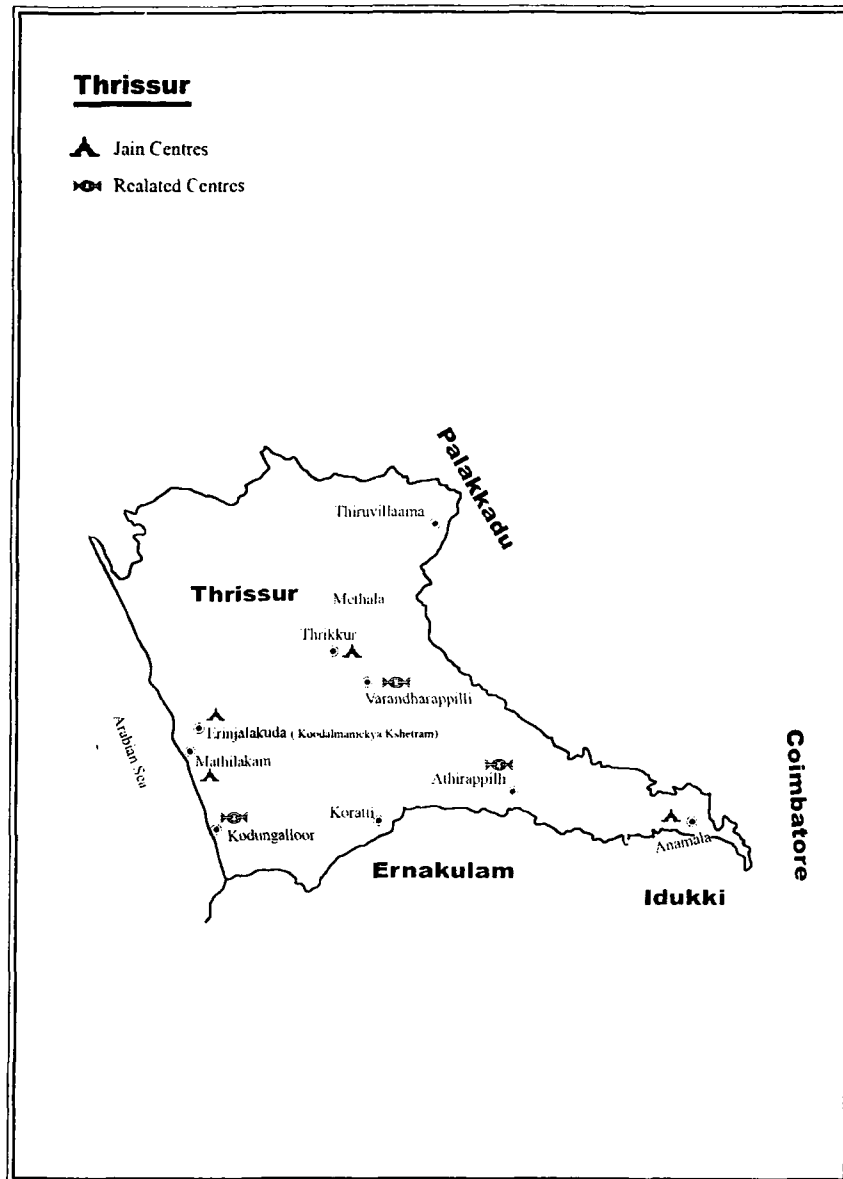
#### Map of Prominent Jain Centres in Kerala



\*prepared using computer graphics software as part of the study

## Map 4\*

### Map of Prominent Jain Centres in Trissur District



\*prepared using computer graphics software as part of the study

## **Chapter – 3**

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### **Jain Centres of Travancore Region**

## **Jain Centres in Travancore Region**

As stated earlier Travancore is rich in historical monuments specially those of Jaina and Buddhistic. The authority of Jainism in Travancore region, T.A. Gopinatha Rao has the opinion that for a time both, Buddha and Jaina faiths held Sway over the land, but the former died out early while the latter still lingers in a precarious condition, as a sort of a fugitive faith, Profoundly influenced by Hindu surroundings, the glory of this faith is treasured in the monuments that they have left in many parts of the region.<sup>1</sup> We get the idea about Buddhist faith, in the region mainly from the Buddha images discovered from, Mavelikkara, Kunnattur, Karunagappalli and Ambalapuzai taluks<sup>2</sup>. But, the Jain monuments are the carved images in the temple of Tiruchanattumallai near Chitral hill, Nagaraja temple of Nagarkoyil and the Kallil temple in northern Travancore.

### ***i) Jain Monuments of Chitral and Nagarkoil***

Among the above mentioned Jain centres, it 'Tiruchanattumalai' or chitral is the most famous. The centre is near to the old Jaina centres of Tamilnadu such as Tiruvelveli and Madurai and those centres have a tradition extending to 1st century B.C. But M.R. Raghava Varier

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<sup>1</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. 2, 1992, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Pavanam and C.P.Rajendran, *Baudhaswadheenam Keralathil*, 2008, Pp.88-94.

calculated the date of the development of this centre as 5th or 6th century AD.<sup>3</sup> Among the many inscriptions discovered from the centre, the one by 'Vikramaditya Varagana' of 926 A.D is most important.<sup>4</sup> According to the source, this place seems to have been sufficiently famous in earlier times so as to attract Jains from such places as '*Thirnargungondai*', '*Tirukoyilur*' in south Arcot District, Kudavasal in the Tanjore district etc. These visitors used to carve the votive images of Mahavira, Padmavati Devi, Parsvanatha and other Tirtankaras on the side of the over hanging rock of the shrine.<sup>5</sup> For example, one 'Virananda Adigal' from *Tirunarugondai*, who visited in Chitral and sculptured one *Tirtankara*, and even now the '*Tirunarugondai*', is a Jain pilgrimage centre.<sup>6</sup> Yet another figure Uttananadi Adigal from Kattamballi at Tirunarugandai also carved one Tirthankara image. The scholars didn't locate the place '*Kattampalli*'. But according to P.B. Desai, the term *Kattampalli* is very common to south Indian Jain centres. We also have one 'Kattampalli' in the Malabar side near Balusseri in Kozhikode district, from where we got the 'Kinalur' Jain inscription.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the above mentioned monks, one man called *Achanandi* visited Chitral and sculptured one beautiful figure of '*Ambika yakshi*' in

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<sup>3</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, *Keraliyatha Charitramanagal*, 1990 p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> T.A. Gopinath Rao, op.cit., p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, op.cit., p. 67

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 68

the shrine. He not only visited Chitral but other Jaina centres of south India such as, 'Anamala' 'Ivarmala', 'Azhakarmala', 'Karumkalakuti and Uttamapalayam' in Madurai district and Vallimalai in Vadakunurkad district in Tamilnadu, where he made some more images. So P.B. Desai considers him as the rejuvenator of Jainism in south India.<sup>8</sup> The presence of similar icons at Kazhukumalai in Thirunalveli and the Kottur Jain centre in Madhurai is indicative of the fact that Chitaral was a well known Jain centre in South India.

Regarding the Jaina images of '*Tiruchchanattumalai*', T.A. Gopinatha Rao gives us a detailed description in the second volume of Travancore Archaeological series. He says that the images of '*Tiruchchanattumalai*' keep the rules of '*Manasara*' i.e., the Jaina text which mentioned, how a Jain image or figure should be. Gopinath Rao describes about one group of Jaina figures carved on the overhanging rock of the Bhagavati temple. Among the group figures, one seated *Tirtankara* has a triple umbrella, one of the characteristic features of Jain iconography,<sup>9</sup> and it is noticeable in all other images at this place. It is seated in a 'yogic' '*padmasana*' posture, and his lotus petals are faintly visible. On each side of the image there is one '*yaksha*' or '*vidhyadhara*,' carrying a '*Chamara*'. Shantilal Nagar in his work

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 69

<sup>9</sup> R.P. Hingorani, *Jaina Iconography in Rupamandapa*, 1978 p. 13.

‘Iconography of Jains’ states that each *Tirtankara* has their own guards and vehicles and the guards were known as the ‘yaksha’ or ‘yakshi’.<sup>10</sup>

Next to the figure, one tall and gracefull figure is seen standing. As required by the ‘*Manasara*’ it is perfectly straight and completely free from clothing, stark naked. It is the figure of ‘Parsvanatha Tirtankara’. Moreover the head of the figure is covered by a three headed Cobra,<sup>11</sup> and this animal is the peculiar cognizance of Parswanatha Tirtankara.<sup>12</sup>

**Plate 12**  
**Monument in Chitral**



**Photographed on 16-5-2007 at Chitral as a part of field work.**

<sup>10</sup> Shantilal Nagar, *Iconography of Jain Deities*, Vol. 1, pp. 244-46, 1999.

<sup>11</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, op.cit., p. 126

<sup>12</sup> R.P. Hingerani, op.cit, p. 13

Near to the image, one more figure is there in a seated position. This figure also carries one inscription and it stated that, the image was carved at the instance of a 'varaguna', who was a disciple of 'pattini-bhatarar' (the fasting saint) of Tiruchacharanattu hill. We cannot be sure whether the varaguna mentioned here is royal personage or a commoner and whether the former, is the pandya king Varaguna or the Aye Chief Vikramaditya Varaguna. The inscription in 'Vattezhuthu' script employed would suit the age of either of these things.<sup>13</sup>

The next important figure in the shrine is that of, 'Padmavati Devi' standing upon 'padmam' (lotus). Like the Hindu 'Sakti', durga she also has a lion, her vehicle, on her right corner at the top. On the right stands a female dwarfish figure, an attendant carrying something in bowl which she keeps in her left hand. On the left of the Devi stand two short male figures in a reverent attitude and it is not easy to guess whom these figures represent. The Devi keeps her right arm bent with a parrot on the paw<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, op.cit., p. 127

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 127



## Plate 13

### Mahavira and Padmavathi Devi -Chitral



**Photographed on 16-5-2007 at Chitral as a part of field work.**

It is interesting to note that the sculpturing of the figure of devis of all religions of India, Hindu, Jaina or Buddha is always exactly similar, i.e., the figure of a goddess must be generally standing posture, carrying in her right hand, a flower, a parrot, or a mirror. Since all devis are sculptured exactly in the same manner, it is impossible to assert in any case whether a Devi figure belongs to the Hindu, the Jain or the Budha

tradition.<sup>15</sup> In short, the figure is closely attached to other Jaina figures in tune with the Jain iconography.<sup>16</sup> The description of these figures and its Jain nature really justifies the inscriptions that it was a famous Jain centre.

M.R. Raghava Varier highlights the socio-economic connection, which made the centre flourish for a long time. He says that it was a major centre of study, teaching different subjects. Both male and female teachers were there in the centre. Somany students from distant places came there for study purposes.<sup>17</sup> This centre also has some economic connections as described by Raghava Varier. There is an inscription in the temple which records an offer of gold by a lady called '*Gunathakikurathi*' to the temple. The inscription further states that 'the temple should be the concerned programme or '*vazhipadu*' with the interest of this gold. This indicates the fact the temple was engaged in gold exchange for interest.<sup>18</sup> Besides, this centre also maintained some connection with trade routes or centres. Because geographically its position is most suitable for a trading centre. Chitral or '*Tiruchchanattumalai*' is very close to the Aruvamozhi-'*Thurass*' or pass, which is the main trade route between Madura and Tiruvelveli with Vizhijam and Puvar. Vizhijam and Puvar were known for spices trade

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 127

<sup>16</sup> Shantilal Nagar, op.cit, p. 301.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 70

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 68

from ancient times itself. The Brahmi inscriptions from the spot, stated about commercial connection of Madurai and Tirunelveli from 1st BC onwards, and latter this centre came under the control of trade groups called '*Ayyovole*'. It is interesting to note that currently a separate sect known as *Ayyavazhi* is flourishing in this region. It is named after Ayya Vykundaswami, the pioneer of social movements in India. This religion is having more than two lakhs followers in Tamil Nadu especially in Nagarkovil and Kanyakumari side. Not only it is similar to the name *Ayyovol* but also it is against idol worship, but like the Jains who are erecting the mirror at the sanctum sanctorum to worship<sup>19</sup>. So Raghava Varier concludes the economic connection of Chitral by pointing out, that Madurai, and Tirunelveli came into prominence because of their commercial activities and Chitral Jaina centre was the net result of this development. He analyses that these developments took place in the 5th or 6th century AD.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the destruction of this centre, T.A. Gopinatha Rao states that before AD 1250, it was converted into a 'Hindu Bhagavati' temple, and continues to be the same.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Directly observed on the field work conducted in the area of Nagarkovil and Kanyakumari, 23-04-07.

<sup>20</sup> Shantilal Nagar op.,cit. Pp. 70-71

<sup>21</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, op.cit, p. 125



## Nagaraja Temple of Nagarkoyil

The next important Jaina temple in Travancore is that of *Nagaraja* temple in the town of Nagarkoyil. It continued to be a Jaina temple till at least Kollam Era 697<sup>22</sup>, when it received donations from the Travancore king *Bhatalavira Udayamarttandavarman*.<sup>23</sup> The officiating priests of this temple bore the characteristic Jain names Kamala Vahana Padita and Gunavirapandita, as is revealed from the inscription discovered from the temple.<sup>24</sup> The lands granted by Udayamarthandavarman are all uniformly said to be '*pallichandams*' - a term applied only to lands belonging to the Jaina and Baudha temples.<sup>25</sup> Subsequent to the reign of this king the temple seems to have become definitely Hindu in its nature and worship. As Gopinatha Rao puts it 'A shrine of Ananda was erected in it, delegating 'potti' Brahmins for its worship.'<sup>26</sup> It may be noted in this context that in north Indian Jain temples most of the ceremonies are conducted by the Brahmin priests. But in Nagaraja temple, Gopinatha Rao states that, these potti Brahmanas used to eat from the houses of other brahmanas though the other Brahmins did not practise the same.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras, vol.ii, Madras, 1919, p.995.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 127

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 128

<sup>25</sup> V.V.K. Valathi, op.cit, p. 128

<sup>26</sup> Eberhard and Jyotindra Jain, *25000 years of Jainism in India*, 1977 p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> Gopinatha Rao, op.cit, p.128

He also stated that, there were till recently two Jain houses situated towards the south of the temple and that they might perhaps be the remanants of a large colony of Jainas who might have once existed in Nagarkoyil. P.K. Gopalakrishnan states that, when the male members of these two houses died, the other members of these houses left the place and went away to their relatives.<sup>28</sup> Their houses have recently been assumed by the Government and new houses were erected in their location which is set a part for the residence of officiating *potti* priests of the Nagaraja temple.<sup>29</sup>

To support the above mentioned factors Gopinatha Rao presents a list of six Jaina images that he discovered from the concerned temples, three of which are seated figures of *Mahavira Tirtankara* and a seated figure of Parsvanatha and another parsvanatha standing and the south of Padmavati devi. One of the Mahavira images is carved on a pillar in the mandapa in front of the central shrine and two others in the central shrine itself. The images of Parsvanatha and Padmavati Devi are sculptured on pillars standing in the same mandapa. The five-headed cobra sheltering the head of the standing figure, the characteristic feature of Parsvanatha is well known to students of Jaina iconography. The standing figure is seen keeping its arms hanging down and the feet closed together. One more

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<sup>28</sup> P.K. Gopalakrishnan, *Jainamatham Keralathil*, 1994 p. 53.

<sup>29</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, p. 128

seated figure of parsvanatha can be gleaned from the five headed cobra<sup>30</sup>. Gopinatha Rao states that the standing and the seated figures are perfectly erect as required by 'Manasara'.<sup>31</sup> But as different from the Manasara rule, two brass figures are there, one male and another female, ornamented with some ear and head rings called '*Kundalas*' and *kankanas*.<sup>32</sup> But these small differences are negligible and though now converted into a Hindu temple, both the excavational and epigraphical data prove that it was a Jaina centre up to 16th century.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Directly observed at Nagar Kovil Nagaraja Temple on 24.4 .2007

<sup>31</sup> T.A.Gopinatha Rao,op.cit., p. 120

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 130

<sup>33</sup> Velayudhan Panikkassery, Kerala Charitrapatanangal, p. 165,1980.



Plate 14  
**Image of Parswanadha –Nagarkovil**



**Photographed on 22-4-2007 at Nagaraja Temple as a part of field work.**

**Plate 15**

**Image of Mahavira Yogic posture- Nagarkovil**



**Photographed on 22-4-2007 at Nagaraja Temple as a part of field work.**



Regarding the material background of the temple, we have no more sources, but this centre is very much closed to the Chitalar, and it maintained a good connection with the same centre.

## **ii) Kallil Jain Centre**

Kallil is the next important Jain centre situated in Asamanoor Panchayath of Kunnathunadu taluik in Ernakulam district, i.e., 8 miles away from Perumbavoor in northern Travancore. Like some other centers of Kerala, this cave temple is also situated in a hill top. But due to the geological convulsions, like the erosion of the soil and the heavy rain, almost all sides of the hill have been weakened. Although the Hindu fundamentalists treat it as a Bhagavti temple, still it has all the remnants of Jain belief.

According to V.V.K. Valath, the term '*Kallil*' itself denote a Jaina touch. He states, '*Kallu*', *Palli*, and '*Kottam*' are Jain in nature. For example '*undan kallu*' is a famous Jaina centre in Tamilnadu and '*Kalleswaram*' is an important Jaina temple in Bilari Village in Karnataka, and according to 'Alex Rea', an archaeologist of British India, the idol of this temple was known as '*Nagakall*'.<sup>34</sup> V.V.K. Valath also recollects the previous name of 'Chandra Giri Durgam' near Pollachi as '*Jaina Kallumala*'. The historian, R.Nagaswamy states that, the erection of herostone or '*veerakallu*' was a custom in connection with the passing

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<sup>34</sup> V.V.K. Valath, *Keralthinle Sthala Charitrangal, Ernakulam Jilla*, 1991 p. 132.

away of Jaina ascetics, in order to substantiate which he quotes a Jaina work:

*Chamanachamayathar chalekane vittam erunthu*

*Uyirvittal avarkalkku nichiti kaikkal*

*Ente ninaivukkal naduvathuvazhakkam*<sup>35</sup>

Besides the above mentioned temples from Tamilanadu and Karnataka, he also connects the term Kallil with the nearby places of Perumbavoor like 'Mudikkal' and 'Unukkal'. He also says that the term Kallil was evolved due to the coalition of *Pali* with Dravidian languages. He interprets the meaning of the word 'kallil' as the cave temple in a rock and the coalition as follows:

Kall (kallu+ill (illam) – Kallilam, means the temple within a rock. and that

KO + ill= koil – temple.<sup>36</sup>

In short, according to V.V.K. Valath the term 'kallil' is more enough to support the Jaina tradition of this centre<sup>37</sup>.

More than the location and the name of the temple, the Jain idols have something to say about the heritage of the temple. Within the natural rock cut cave, is set-up the figures of Parsvanatha, *Mahavira*

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<sup>35</sup> R. Nagaswamy (ed), 'Seminar on hero stones', quoted by V.V.K. Valath, op.cit., 1986 p. 133(Vide, Appedix-c)

<sup>36</sup> V.V.K. Valath, op.cit., 1991 p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.,p.129.

Tirtankara and Padmavatidevi.<sup>38</sup> On the facade of this cavern is carved an unfinished seated figure of Jain Mahavira, and people believe that heavenly sculptures of these holy images visit the place at night to perfect

### **Plate 16**

#### **Image of mahavira in a half relief modell at Kallil**



**Photographed on 22-4-2008 at Kallil as a part of field work.**

this one.<sup>39</sup> Yet another figure of Mahavira carved in half-relief on the rock forming the back wall of the natural cave, is seated upon a simhasana in the usual yagasana posture. In the front middle portion of the seat is carved the figure of a lion, the totem peculiar to this Tirtankara, over the head of the deity is the triple umbrella and on either side at the

<sup>38</sup> P.K. Gopalakrishnan, op.cit., p. 54

<sup>39</sup> H. Sankar, *An Architectural Survey of Temple of Kerala*, 1978, p. 52.

back stands in reverential attitude the figure of a 'gandharva' holding a 'charui' in its hand. Near Mahavira, on the right, is the stone figure of *Padmavati Devi* which is now covered with a metallic mask.<sup>40</sup> The goddess is at present treated as the principle deity of the temple.

On the left of *Mahavira Tirtankara*, is situated the figure of *Parsvanatha Tirtankara*. It is kept with its back turned towards the south wall; only a side view of it is available to the visitor, and therefore it is not easy to find out whether it is exactly *parsvanatha* or any other *Tirtankara*. Besides these images, we can see in the front of the temple a number of 'Naga' image or cult and V.V.K. Valath treats it as remnants to Jaina belief.<sup>41</sup>

All these factors strongly support the view that Kallil temple was a famous Jaina centre. Regarding the economic background of the centre, Raghava Varier states that the temple is situating so close to the trade route from areas of Hi Ranges like Munnar and Idukki to Kodungallur and Triakkara; the fame of Kodungallur as pepper centre may have derived from this route.<sup>42</sup> The absence of any inscription from the spot prevents us from telling something more on this point.

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<sup>40</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, op.cit., p. 130.

<sup>41</sup> V.V.K. Valath, op.cit, p. 139

<sup>42</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, op.cit., p. 74.

One cannot ignore, in this context, the evidence from Marayoor hills, 40 km away from Munnar city. A cave temple that resembles the Kallil temple is situated at Marayoor. Also there is one image seated in a yogic posture and it is kept in a small iron shelter. The image of the temple was recovered from the interiors of the cave. Now the temple is named as Thenkasi Nathan Temple, but the local people named the temple as *Chamana koil*, the term *Chamana* being Tamil version of the Sanskrit word *Sramana* which means Jain. Also the seated position of the image is closely related with the iconographic features of Mahaveera and the symbol of lotus and elephant in the rock pillars. These symbols are considered as a *Lanchanas* of Jains in their iconography. We can find that a lot of megalithic remains or Muniyaras near to the temple. Kodungallur Kunjukuttan Tampuran opines that Muniyaras and Kudakkals were used by the Jains also in the ancient time<sup>43</sup>. All these factors triangulate to the point that this was also a Jain centre before.

From Marayoor to the route of Kallil at Thattekad we can find a Kannaki temple. It is situated at *Kinacheri*, resembling the names of Kinalur Jain centre at Balusseri, as well as the ancient Jain centre of Kunavaikottam. Now the temple is in a ruined stage, the broken rock pillars and slabs are scattered over there. In one pillar we can find a part of peacock, the cognizance of the *Thirthankara Neminatha* and the image

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<sup>43</sup> Kodungalloor Kujukuttan Tampuran, Keralam, (Charithra Kavyam), 1911, p.50.

of the Presiding deity of Kannaki is kept in a newly built structure. It is quite interesting to note that the renovation is taken over by a Jain family from Wayanad<sup>44</sup>. All these connections point out to the fact that the Jains might have entered the Northern Travancore via the hinter land route from Coimbatore, Udumalai Tirumoorthy centre , Marayoor ,Thattekad and finally the famous centre at Kallil.

Plate 17

**The cognizance of Neminatha at Thirumoorthy Malai**



**Photographed on 5-5-2008 at Tirumoorthymalai as a part of  
field work.**

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<sup>44</sup> Directly observed on 16.8.2007.

**The depiction of Thirthankaras in a broken pillar  
at Thirumoorthy Malai.**



**Photographed on 5-5-2008 at Tirumoorthymalai as a part of  
field work.**

Geographically, the area of Marayoor is situated close to the southern parts of Coimbatore District. Coimbatore is famous for its Jain culture; for example the ancient Jain centre at Kallu Durgam had been found out from here. So also, we can find a Hindu converted Jain centre at a distance of 25 km from Marayoor, Thirumurthi Malai Sivan koil at Udumalai. This is also a Jain cave temple, with additions and modifications of a later stage. Now there is a pillard hall in front of the temple. It seems that the original site of this temple was about one



kilometer interior to its present site. There we can see an image of Mahavira in a yogic posture, but it is in a defaced stage. Close to the cave temple, there are some disturbed pillars, and in one of which is carved the images of twelve Thithankaras in a relief model. These evidences lead to the conclusion that the Jain culture entered into the Travancore region, especially to Kallil Jain centre, most probably through this route . It can be presumed that the ancient Munnar trade route was connected through the Kallil Centre and that it was very easy to enter Tamil country from Marayoor<sup>45</sup>.

Plate 19

Thenkasinada Temple- Marayoor (Image of Mahavira)



**Photographed on 16-4-2008 at Marayoor as a part of field work.**

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<sup>45</sup> Directly observed in the field study conducted in areas of Udumalai near Pollachi in the Coimbatore district on 5.5.2008



**Plate 20**

**Pillar with Lotus symbol - Marayoor**



**Photographed on 16-4-2008 at Marayoor as a part of field work.**

Cave-Marayoor



**Photographed on 16-4-2008 at Marayoor as a part of field work.**

Like most of the other Jaina centres of Kerala, Kallil also converted into a Hindu or a Bhagavati temple during 10th or the 11th century A.D. V.V.K. Valath is of the opinion that the Jains at this centre were persecuted by the saivites at a later stage<sup>46</sup>. He substantiates his position citing one 'sulaipratima'- or a ganching statue situated at Asamanoor, 2 km away from kallil centre. Asamanoor can be translated as land of rocks<sup>47</sup>. It is standing in a private property at Asamanoor .The local people reported that formerly it was situated close to Kurupampady *angadi* [market] through which the ancient trade route towards Munnar existed.

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<sup>46</sup> V.V.K.Valath, *Sthalanama Charithrangal Ernakulam Jilla*,

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

**Plate 22**

***Sulai Prathima- Asamannur***



**Photographed on 14.6.2007 at Asamannur as part of the field work**



The plate seems to be a monument in favour of persecution of the Jain traders by the Brahmins. Suvira Jaiswal also states that the Jains were persecuted in the south, in the times of Sankaracharya in the 9th century A.D.<sup>48</sup> If we look into the pillar, we can see a partly damaged inscription at the bottom. The script is in *Vattezhuthu*, ie the one in use in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. All these factors are triangulating to the point that most probably this pillar was a symbol of persecution of the Jains by the Brahmanical forces. It is in a stone pillar the middle part of the body and the head is pricked and the hands hanged to one side while the legs to the other side. Valath shows it as a symbol for the assassination of Jains by the saivists.<sup>49</sup>

Any way now the '*pujas*' in this temple are being conducted by a Namburi brahmana employed by the rich gentlemen of Kallil belonging to the pisharadi caste. The Baniya merchants from Cochin pay their homage to this temple, especially in the time of the festival, i.e., in the '*Tirukarthika*' of '*Vrichika*' month, attesting the fact that they are worshipping Jain gods and not Hindu<sup>50</sup>.

It is interesting to note that a number of temples like Kuzhupalli Kavu, Pallimattathu Bagavathi temple, and Palli Kavu around the Kallil temple carry the suffix / prefix *palli*. Majority of the Jain and Buddhist

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<sup>48</sup> Suvira Jaiswal, "Caste, Gender, And Ideology in the Making of India", General President's Address, Indian History Congress, 68th session, December, 2007, p.13.

<sup>49</sup> V.V.K. Valath, op.cit, p. 136

<sup>50</sup> T.A.Gopinath Rao, op.cit.,p.130.

centres in Kerala is known with the term *Palli*. We can point out the Palakkad Jain centres like *Palliyara Bagavathy* temple and *Palliyara Siva* temple; to triangulate this point. Besides, some place names close to these temples end with the term *Palli* like *Vempalli*, *Pezhakapally*, *Vazhapally*, *KunnaPally* etc<sup>51</sup>. It is very noteworthy to point out that the place name *Manickamangalam* and *Pallipurathu kavu* at Kalady panchayathu Ernakulam district has similar connections. Two place names such as *Angadikadavu* and *Nayarangadi* are situated within seven kilometers. These factors lead to a hypothesis that in previous times these locations were related with trade and trade activities. Because the Palakkad Jain temple is situated in the place known as Manickapattanam and Iringala Kuda Jain centre is known as Koodal Manikka Kshethram. Also in Wayanad area we are having a Jain centre known as Muthangadi<sup>52</sup>. (Detailed in the part of the Jain centres of Malabar) .So the terms *Muthu*, *Manickkam* is mostly related with Jain centres, sometimes the Jain *Thirthankaras* were known as *Manikkan*<sup>53</sup>. In Thanchavur the Jain temple is known as *Manikkaperupalli*<sup>54</sup>. The Kalady Panchayathu and the location Manickamangalam are situated on the Northern banks of the river Periyar, not far away from Kallil Jain centre.

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<sup>51</sup> Field report conducted around the neighboring areas of Kallil Jain Centre on 22.4.2008 to 26.4.2008

<sup>52</sup> Field report conducted around Kalady panchayathu and Manickamangalam on 20.4.2008.

<sup>53</sup> V.V.K.Valath, *Keralathile sthala caharithrangal- Ernakulam Jilla*, 1991, P.134.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., P.135.

In short, all these factors point out the fact that around the Kallil Jain Centre there existed a wide spread Jain Culture which later assimilated or converted to Hindu pattern of living. Also the Jain culture of this area spread through the hinterland trade route lying between Kerala and Tamilnadu, via Anamala, Marayoor and Thattekad to the famous Jain centre Kallil. Then they may have made their contact with the ancient centres like Kodungallor – Mathilakam Jain centre and the ancient port of Muziris through the northern banks of Periyar like Manickamangalam and Kalady.

## **Chapter – 4**

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### **Jain Heritage of Palakkad Region**

## JAIN HERITAGE OF PALAKKAD REGION

The Jains must have entered Kerala through the *Palakkad* gap from the Kongu lands of Tamil Nadu during the early historic period when the Cheras ruled over the territory to the west of the *Chola kingdom* and the coastal strip from the Palaght gap to the cape.<sup>1</sup> The Kongu country, controlled by the early Cheras, had been a major centre of Jainism right from the pre-Christian era onwards. The *Palakkad* gap had connected the Kongu lands to the port towns of Kerala such as *Kodungallur*, *Ponnani* and *Calicut* in ancient times. Inscriptions, dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries testify to the presence of traders from Tamil Nadu, engaged in trading activities in the region during the chola times.<sup>2</sup>

The most important evidence regarding their route from Tamil Nadu to Palakkad is quite visible through the Palakkad pass. The most important location of palakkad pass is *Chittoor* taluk where we can see some place names ended in the term '*para*' like *Vaalu vacha paara*, *Kanakkan paara*, *pothoopaara*, *kuzhinjapaara*, *Ayappan paara* etc. Historian V. V .K. Valath points out that the terms Kallil and Paara are denoting the Jain connection , not simply saying but triangulate the terms with famous Jain centre at Kallil near Perumbavoor and the *Jaina* '*kallu*

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<sup>1</sup> P.N. Chopra, T.K. Ravindran and N. Subramanian (ed) History of South India, Vol. I: Ancient Period, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1979, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, Perumals of Kerala, Calicut, 1996, p. 171



*mala'* near Pollachi . In the same route there is one place name called *Chunkam* meaning tax, this is referred in the archival record as Kambilli Chunkam trade route<sup>3</sup>. These entire routes are significant in the sense that we can see at the interval of every one or two kilometers the presence of *Athani* or good's stand. It is mainly made of three or four big pieces of rock, three or two pillars and one huge rock covering the top.

Plate 23

**Good's Stand [athani] near Chittoor**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

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<sup>3</sup> Survey and Settlement Register, village no:13, Kuttipalam, Cochin State, Trichur, 1082ME (now in the Chittoor Taluk of Palakkad, District)

Plate 24

**Good's Stand at Chunkam**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chunkam as a part of field work**

These were used by the traders from Tamil nadu to take rest and as a support to their commodities. There are three small rock -built temples which one can see in the same route namely *Chittor Amma kshetram* on the banks of the *Sokanasini Puzha* [River] or in other words it is known as *Achiyamman Koil*. This temple structure is vertical in shape, fully built of rocks including the rock. Outside the temple rock pillars are circling, though some parts are destructed. The style of architecture resembles a



Jain nature at Waynad. Just near to this centre there is one smaller temple of *Muniyappan*, fully abandoned and destructed but reflecting the same architecture style of *Achiyamman* temple. The Jain monks and nuns were known as Appan or appachi or achiamma respectively<sup>4</sup>. The local people said that there was a hospital for animals near these temples and that it was there up to 1925<sup>5</sup>.

Plate 25

### **Muni Appachi Koil Chittor**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

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<sup>4</sup> VVK Valath, *Sthalanamacharithrangal*, Palakkad district, 1986, p 71.

<sup>5</sup> Personal interview , Prabakaran panniperuthala, farmer , Chittor 13/11/2007

Plate 26

**Lion, the cognizance of Ajitha Thirthankara, at Muni Appachi koil.**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

Plate 27

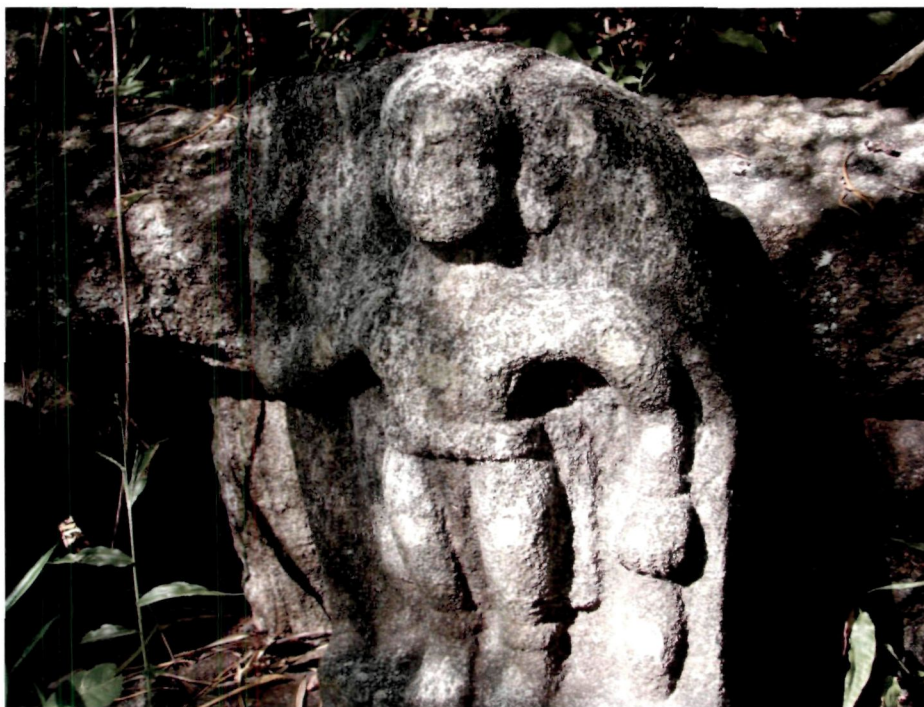
**Elephant, the cognizance of Mahavira at Muni Appachi koil**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

## Plate 28

### The abandoned Muni Appan koil at Chittoor



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

Three kilometers away from this centre on the way to Alathur there is one temple known as *Kanakkan paara Vinayaka kshethram*, with the same strcture. But the image of Vinayaka resembles a Parswatha Thirthankara and the head of the image adorned with five headed cobra also a Lanchana of Parswanatha *Thirthankara*.



**The five hooded Serpent and Ganesa image  
at Kanakkan paara.**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Kanakkan paara as a part of field  
work**

**The rock roof and Lotus symbol at kanakkan paara**



**Photographed on 13-11-2007 at Kanakkan paara as a part of field work**

One more point that is to be noted is that nowhere in Hindu iconography *Vinayaka* is adorned with Cobra but with the rat. Near the temple the Athani was there untill 30 years ago but now it is destructed.<sup>6</sup> Also the *Adinatha thirthankaras'* symbol elephant and the the Jain's general symbol Lotus or Padma are carved in relief style on different parts of these centres. In short, still the evidences quite visible in the route

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<sup>6</sup> Personal Interview, Chandran Kanakkan paara, age 51 14/11/07

from Gopalapuram to Alathur prove the Jain migration from Tamilnadu to Kerala through the Palakkad Pass.

A tradition prevalent among the surviving members of the Jaina community in Palakkad informs us that the Jains had also come from Karnataka. According to this version, four Jaina merchants—*Ijjianna Sutter, Lakkappa sutter, Doddapayappa setter and chilkkupayappa Sutter*—immigrated to palghat from Kellam-pulli in Mysore and settled down at *manikkapattanam and Muttupattanam* after purchasing lands from the palakkad Raja.<sup>7</sup> The tradition contains some truth that give the fact that Jainism had been under severe strain in Karnataka in the 13th century.<sup>8</sup>

Trade relations between Kerala and the regions of Tamil Nadu and karnataks had been responsible for the presence of Jainism in Palakkad. However inscriptional evidences are available only for the traders' groups from Tamil Nadu who find mention in the epigraphs at *peruvembu* (11th century) and *Godapuram/Alathur* (10th century)<sup>9</sup>. The Alathur inscription refers to *Valaanciya and Nalpettennayiravar*. Where the Government of India Epigraphist noticed the inscription first in 1908, it was not known that it contained references to the traders of the period of second Chera kingdom (9th -12th centuries A.D). M.G.S. placed the inscription 9 or

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<sup>7</sup> V.C. Vijaya Chandra Jain, 'The Jain Temple at Palghat', in Government Victoria College Magazine, Vol. V, no.3, February 1939, p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> P. B. Desai, Jainism in South India, Ootacamund, 1957, p. 401

<sup>9</sup> S.R.sharma, Jainism and Karnataka Culture, 1940, p.291.



10th century and characterized it as *Vattezhutu* in Tamil script. The inscription states that “this is the sila lekhai arranged to be engraved by an assembly of several bodies such as *Nalpattennayiravar*, *patipadamulam* of *Tirukkunavayttevar*, *attikosam* and the adigammar of *Halanjiyar* and it seems to lay down that the right of collecting levies such as *ulaikkalam* etc., from the *Nalanjiyarappalli* and other connected establishments shall not be mortgaged to others.”<sup>10</sup>

It was M.G.S Nnarayanan, who deciphered and reconstructed this fragmentary inscription. He suggested that, “*atikarar* may be read in place of *atikanmar* and *Valanciyyar* in place of *Nalanjiyar* in the official version”.<sup>11</sup> According to him the inscription records an agreement by *Nalppattennayiravar* (the forty eight Thousand) the two *Pattakal* (Bhattar or scholars), the *Adhikarar of Tirukkunavay* etc. regarding the *pallikal* (non-Hindu temples) of *Valanciyyar* and their property and that those who committed an offence against the deity of *Tirukkunavay*. It is further stated that they shall be considered as having slaughtered cows and committed the five great sins, and that they and their descendents shall be kept out from the lands of the *Pallikal*, the lands of *Ulaikkalam*, and *Karanmai*.<sup>12</sup> These references are similar to the contents of inscriptions found at *Tiruvannur* near Calicut city. *Kinalur* near *Balusseri*, and

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<sup>10</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture, Bharatiya Book Corporation, Delhi, 1994, p, 163.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* .

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*.,p163

*talakkavu* near putadi. Kunavay (*Thrikkanamarilakam* or *matilakam*) refers to the earliest structural temple of the Jainas in Kerals, dated to the early 8th century A.D.<sup>13</sup> The Kunavay shrine is said to have been a model for the construction of the Jain temples in sites including *Godapuram*.

The inscriptions contain references to the term Palli and Pallikal, used in Kerala in ancient times to mean Jain and Buddhist institutions.<sup>14</sup> The Godapuram inscription suggests that the Jain shrine and its property, controlled by the Jain traders, called Valanchiyar, were well protected by the Perumals during the 10th -11th centuries. Valanciya, also mentioned in the inscriptions found in the locality around Alathur taluk. The *Peruvembu* inscription that also refers to Rajendra Chola represented one of the economic or craft organizations of south India, “largely looking after their mercantile interests.”<sup>15</sup> *Nalppettennayiravar* was a group often mentioned in the Jain, Saiv and Vaishnava epigraphs of Tamil Nadu.<sup>16</sup>

No satisfactory explanation is available about the disappearance of the Jains of Perumal era or the destruction of their shrines. However, it is clear from the available information that Alathur taluk in palakkad was one of the oldest Jain centres in the State. The two Jaina settlements

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p164

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.164.

<sup>15</sup> T.V.Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 1955, p.335.

<sup>16</sup> . M.R. Raghava Varier, ‘Kerala Jaina Kendrangalude Bandham’ in Jina Darshan (souvenir), Wayanad Jain Samaj, Kalpetta, 2006, p. 45.

located in the region-Godapuram and Cheru Kannambra—were along the ancient trade route connecting the Chera capital of Mahodayapuram to Tamil Nadu. The shrines at these places are not far away from Koodalmanikkam and Matilakam (Thirissur) shrines.

The argument by M.G.S Narayanan that the decline of the Jaina centres was contributed by the disruption of trade routes in the aftermath of the disappearance of the Mahodayapuram-based rule of the *Perumals* sounds convincing in this context.<sup>17</sup> References to trader's groups from Tamil Nadu are frequent in the inscriptions connected to the era. The spread of temple-centred Bhakti movement in the 10th century and the subsequent ascendancy of the *Namboodiri Brahmans* in Kerala's social scale proved to be harmful to the interests of the Jains and Buddhists. It is likely that the destruction of the Godapuram shrine and the conversion of the Kannambra shrine into a Hindu temple could have taken place in the post-kulasekhara period<sup>18</sup>.

Destruction of Jain and Buddhist shrines as also attacks on them find mention in the records pertaining to the major ruling dynasties of the south starting with the pallavas. The Pallava ruler mahendravarman (580-630) is said to have pulled down a Jain monastery and built a Siva

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<sup>17</sup>Ragava Varier, in his keynote address at a seminar on 'Jainism in Kerala' organized by the Wayanad Jain Samajam at Kalpetta on October 14, 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

temple in its place.<sup>19</sup> It is not clear whether such a fate had befallen on the Jain shrines of Kerala like the one at Godapuram. Conversion of the Jain monasteries and shrines into Hindu centers had been the practice resorted to in Kerala. The popularity of Siva and Bhagavathi cults in Kerala must have made it easier for Brahmanical Hinduism to convert the Jain shrines devoted to Yakshis such as *Jwalamalini* and *Thirthankaras* into Hindu temples in due course<sup>20</sup>. There are many Hindu shrines in the State that had earlier been connected to either Jainism or Buddhism. There exists a tendency to associate the early Jaina and Buddhist shrines with Bhagavathi and Siva.

The Jain shrines at Chitharal (Bhagavathi), Kallil (Bhagavathi) Matilakam (Siva) and Koodalmanikkam (Bharata) are examples of those converted into Hindu temples. No temple exists at Matilakam except “portions of a medieval citadel wall and the foundations of an early medieval temple of peculiar shape of about the 8th or 9th century.”<sup>21</sup> The Kannambra shrine is now known as *palliyara Bhagavathey*. The Bhagavathey, in origin, was Jwalamalini, the Yakshi of the Thirthankara, Chandraprabha. The connection between the Jains of Palakkad and Tamil Nadu is also indicated by the popularity of the Jwalamalini that was an essential component of the Jain tradition of Tamil Nadu.

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<sup>19</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Foundations*, p. 198.

<sup>20</sup> S.R.Sharma ,op.cit.,p.253.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.,p.166.

According to the Digambara tradition, she “rides on a buffalo and has eight hands carrying disc, arrow, noose, shield, trident, sword, bow etc.”<sup>22</sup>

The emphasis given to the Mysore connection in the Jain accounts persuades us to believe that the Jains of Palakkad taluk formed part of the second wave of Jaina migration into the region in the medieval period. It is said that the name Manikkapattanam derived from one manikkam, included in the 1000 Putiyapanams given to the Raja of Palghat for purchasing the lands for settlement by the Jains.<sup>23</sup> *Panam* was the name of a gold coin in circulation in Kerala in the 16th century.<sup>24</sup> It was current in Kerala Tmil Nadu and Karnataka from the 11th century onwards. Inscriptions dated to the 12th century A.D refer to the use of Panam in Kerala.<sup>25</sup> This indicates that the Jain migration from Karnataka to Palakkad could have taken place between the 11th and 16th centuries. The nature of trade in jewels and precious stones between Kerala and the rest of the south in ancient times could perhaps explain the Jain migration into the region. This is because Innes mentions that the names *Manikkapattanam* for jainamedu and *Muttupattanam* here were initially used to refer to two Jaina settlements that dealt with Jewels and precious

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<sup>22</sup> P.B. Desai, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> V.C. Vijaya Chandra Jain, op. cit., p.206.

<sup>24</sup> Dr. Johnsy Mathews, *Economy and Society in Medieval Malabar (AD. 1500 – 1600)*, St. Mary's Press & Book Depot, Kottayam, 1996, p.54.

<sup>25</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, 'Socio-Economic Structure' in *Perspectives on Kerala History Vol. II, Part II*, P.J. Cherian (ed), Kerala Gazetters, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 118.

stones respectively. The surroundings of Chandranatha temple became known as 'Manickapattanam'. This name could be seen in the prayers of Jains. In the Tanjore rock edict of Kulotunga Chola III (AD 1194) mentions a Jain temple named Chedikulamanickaperumpally. To give the name of Jain *Thirtankaras* to the hills and rivers by the Jains was common.<sup>26</sup>

The next important Jain centre in Palakkadu is that of Jainamedu. It is said that the *Chandranatha* temple of *Jainamedu* has only the tradition of five centuries. But, two hundred meters north to this centre lays the remnants of an ancient temple which is so old than the Chandranatha temple.<sup>27</sup>

The Chandranatha temple of Jainamedu built completely in rock. Chandranatha, Vijayalakshmi, Jwalamohini, Rishabhanatha, Parsvanatha and Padmavathidevi are the deities here. The square columns of the temple contain the sculptures with lion, lotus and so on. These resemble the pallava style.<sup>28</sup> H. Sarkar, for instance, had observed that the shrine had observed that the shrine had housed an image seated in Vajra paryanka pose and is stylistically ascribable to the ninth century. Its "modeling is more realistic than is generally met with in the south: the narrow round shoulders and the tender slimness of the body are

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<sup>26</sup> V.V.K. Valath, *Keralathile Sthala Charitrangal*, Palakkad Jilla, pp. 169-170

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173

reminiscent of some northern tradition.<sup>29</sup> The headless image, which had seen in the collections of the photographs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Was recently dug out from the premises of the shrine.

Whether it was of the ninth century or not, the fact remains that the headless image partly supports the Jaina tradition that says, Tipu Sultan had set fire to the *Agrasala* of the temple, demolished the granite parapet walls round it and mutilated the presiding deity, Chandranatha/chandraprabha.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that the idol of the shrine was replaced with new one when the *Basadi* was renovated by the Jains who had fled to other centers like Esvarankode, Mundur and Poothanore. It is most likely that the settlements in Palakkad taluk must have declined after the Mysorean invasions. At the beginning of the 20th century, the total number of Jainas had not exceeded 30. Innes records that there were 15 Jainans each in Manikkapattanam and Mundur.<sup>31</sup>

The Muttupattanam shrine, known as *chikka Basti* and dedicated to Rishabha Tirthakara, was completely destroyed during Tipu's campaigns. The granite slabs, according to tradition, were used for the construction of the Palakkad fort. There is, however, no corroborative evidence to prove this. It cannot be ascertained whether the Mysoreans,

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<sup>29</sup> H.Sarkar, Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1978, pp 53 – 4.

<sup>30</sup> V.C. Vijaya Chandra Jain, op.cit., p.206.

<sup>31</sup> C.A. Innes, Malabar Gazetteer, (Reprint), Thiruvananthapuram; 1997, p. 473.

like the Portuguese who had destroyed the Tirukkunavay or Matilakam Jain tempole in the 16th century,<sup>32</sup> had any role in the destruction of the Jain shrines in Palakkad.

At present, there are three categories of Jaina shrines in the district. The first category includes those shrines converted into Hindu temples. The only known example of this kind is the Palliyara Bhagavathi temple located at Cheru Kannambra in the Alathur taluk, about 34kms away from palakkad. This relic is standing in the Palakkad Thrissur route. The idols of '*Jwalamohini*' '*Yakshi*', the subordinate deity of '*Chandraprabha*' thirtankara is installed in the temple. The idol of '*chandraprabha*' is installed in the outside of the *sreekovil* treated by the local people now as '*sastha*'. But it is clear from the features of these idols that, these are Jain icons; because the symbols occur here obey the rules of Jaina Iconography.

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<sup>32</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, Foundations, p. 165.



**Plate 31**

**Palliyara Bagavathy Shethram at Cheru Kannampura**



**Photographed on 14-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

**Plate 32**

**The Image of Chandra Prabha at Palliyara Bagavathi Temple**



**Photographed on 14-11-2007 at Chittoor as a part of field work**

There is one Siva temple near the Bhagavathi temple under the same trustee but this also seems to be converted one from Jain to Hindu .The Mandapa and the symbols or the lanchanas painted there express a Jain Character.

**Plate 33**

**The Image of Ya ksha at Palliyara Siva temple**



**Photographed on 14-11-2007 at Cherukanampara as a part of field work**

**Plate 34**

**Fish [matsya], the cognizance of Aranatha at Palliara Siva  
Temple**



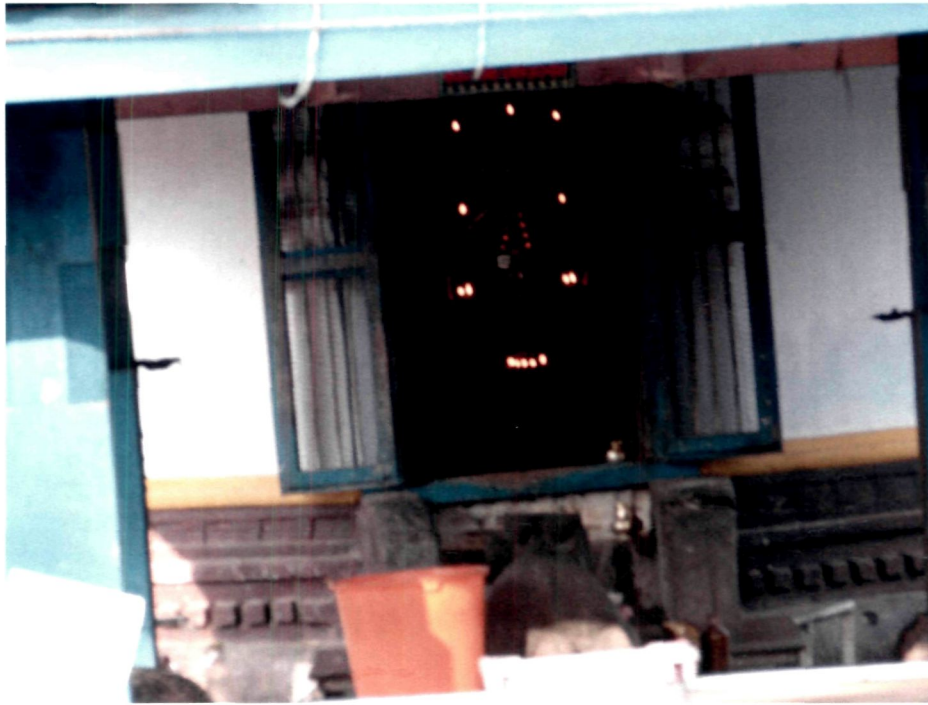
**Photographed on 14-11-2007 at Cherukanampara as a part of field  
work**



## **Plate 35**

**Palliyarra Siva Shethram the image of Siva**

**With triple headed Crown**



**Photographed on 14-11-2007 at Cheru kanampara as a part of field  
work**

The figure of Siva does not resemble a Hindu iconography. The local people believed that the paruvassery Bhagavathy temple was first situated here and still some remnants of the old temple are found here. It is situating on the ancient trade route from Gopalapuram to Thrissur through Chittur pass and from this location only 40 km is there to reach Thrissur through the places like Thenidukku and Chottupadam .The

good's stand or Athani is we can see near to these temples. One more point to note of these temples is that, it is situating near the acres of paddy field named 'Manicka padam'<sup>33</sup>. The location of Jainmedu as Manickapatanam is worthy to be remembered.

The second category of Jain shrines comprises of those found in a ruined stage. This includes the ruins of Veezhumala in Godapuram in the Alathur taluk, Muttupattanam and Esvarankode in the Palakkad taluk. The third category includes the Jain shrine used for regular worship as in the case of the Jain temple at Jainamedu, on the banks of the River Kalpathy<sup>34</sup>.

Besides the idols and relics of buildings, a vattezhuthu script is also obtained from Kavasseri. It was in 1960 that the Kerala archaeological department digs out the script and idols from Kavasseri. The idols included that of *Mahavira* and *Parsvanatha*. Along with these they discovered the parts of some rock columns and roof articles. They were in a scattered form. The ground from which these were dug out is known as *chakyarthottam* and the total hilly area is known as Pallikunnu. The name chakyarthottam is relevant. The 'chakyar' of the name may be the transformed form of 'Sakyar'. To differentiate the Jains from Hindus the name 'Sakyar' may be used.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> .Palakkad Thaluk settlement register , survey no:53/14, Alathur Village,1903,P.13.

<sup>34</sup> L.A.Krishna Iyer, Kerala Past and Present , Vol.1,1948,p.32.

<sup>35</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, *Keraliyatha Charitramanangal*, p. 75

With regard to the fragmentary vattezhutthu inscription, the governments of India Epigraphists observe that it may be placed about tenth century and gives the following details:- “Dynasty-nil, king –nil, Date-nil, language-Tamil script Vatteluthu’.

More over, the Kavassery script also included some interesting historical facts. The reference of Thirukunavai Thevar’s Athikarar, pathi, Pathamoolam and one Athikosam is important. These points to relations of Palakkad Jains with Kongu-Pandy regions. But today the Palakkad Jains have more relationship with the Karnataka region.<sup>36</sup>

### **Iconographic and architectural features**

T.A. Gopinatha Rao had argued that the icons in the Jaina shrines of Kerala conformed to the prescriptions of *Manasara*. These features included cropped head, standing/seated postures, deep contemplation; the right palm facing upwards upon the left palm held in the same manner of (and both of them resting upon the crossed legs) *simhasana*. The figures of Narada and other rishis, hosts of gods (and goddesses), Vidyadharas, the *Dikpalas* seated upon elephants, *Yakshas* and *Yakshesvartas* and other, the *srivatsa* mark of golden colour on the right side of the chest ( a little over the nipple) and nudity.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, op.cit., p. 76

<sup>37</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, ‘Jaina Baudha Vestiges in Travancore’, in Travancore Archaeological Series Volume II & III (ed), Department of Cultural Publications, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1992, (Reprint), p. 119.

The Godapuram site brought to light, two of the finest Jaina sculptures in granite in the state. The image of Mahavira from the site, says Sarkar, “is shown seated on a simhasana in *sattva –paryankapose*, with the customary three-tiered umbrella over his head; his *lanchana* has been depicted in the form of three front –facing lions in between the cross-bars on the pedestal. There is an attendant figure on either side of the throne-back, holding a flywhisk in the right hand, and the left is in the *kati-hasta*. The image is considerably defaced. The figure of *parsvanantha*, recovered from the same site is in the *kayotsarga* pose, standing on a double-lotus *pita* and having a three hooded cobra over the head. Though the facial features are now defaced, it retains much of the original grace of its slim *elogaste* form. The tail of the *naga* coils around the *pitha* and then goes behind the things and back of the image. Stylistically the image may be dated to the ninth century.”<sup>38</sup> The Jina images as well as the granite inscription from the Godapuram site are now kept in the Thrissur Archaeological Museum.

The image of Mahavira recovered from Alatur is seated in the *Paryankasana* pose on a simple but nicely finished *Bhadrāsana*. The figure is exceedingly graceful and the proportions are well modelled. The usual marks of Jain sculpture are absent except the triple umbrella, nudity, long arms, youthful body and the ‘*lanchana*’ of Mahavira namely

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<sup>38</sup>.H.Sarkar,op.cit.,p53

the lions. The 'Gandharvas' flank the sides of the Jina. The well modelled proportions of the body, the graceful face etc. indicates an early period, probably 9th-10th century AD.<sup>39</sup>

The other sculpture is that of Parsvanatha which is also intact except for certain cracks here and there. All the lanchanas for the Jain figure are not seen in the sculpture. Instead of a seven hooded or five – hooded cobra above Parsvanatha, a three-hooded cobra alone is seen.<sup>40</sup>

Iswaran Kottai is another Jain centre near Jainamedu, the idol of which is different in style from the other Thirtankara idols of Kerala. According to P.B. Desai this idol or image does not indicate any particular Thirthankara but a 'roll model' to Tirtankara images.<sup>41</sup> In Jain dictionary these sorts of images are known as 'pin.likadavul'.<sup>42</sup>

M.R.Raghava Varier has compared the two Jain images at Esvarankod with the representation of Pindikkadavul among the Jains in Tamil Nadu. *Pindikkadavul* means the god of the Asoka tree<sup>43</sup>. *Pindi* means the Asoka tree in Tamil and Pindiyan connotes the *Arhat*.<sup>44</sup> Varier points out that the idea of Pindikkadavul, must have entered the plains of Plakkad from Tamil Nadu. However, Vijaya Chandra Jain, one of the descendants of Ijjanna Sutter, had in 1939 noted that there was "a

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<sup>39</sup> M.G.S. Narayan, op.cit., pp. 72-73.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.,p.73

<sup>41</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, op.cit., p. 76

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.,p.76

<sup>43</sup> P.B.Desai,op.cit.,p.49.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.,p.50



small temple of Adinatha at Esvarankode, which is about 10 miles off, Palghat, and is situated on the Southern bank of the Puleyampulli-thodu.<sup>45</sup> This and the iconographic features of the images contradict Varier's version. It is interesting to note that one of the idols has features such as triple umbrella, chauri-bearing gandharvas on both sides, and the lions. The image is placed on square-shaped granite *pita*. The other image, to its left, is also has the features such as triple umbrella and flywhisk-bearing deities. The triple umbrella is seen in the middle of a pillar-like structure behind the image.

One of the descendants of Ijjanna Sutter, V.C.Vijaya Chandra Jain has left behind a glowing tribute to the Jaina shrine at Jainamedu in 1939 as follows:

The temple is a small rectangular building, 32 ft. by 20ft and is built entirely of granite. The roof is of the terraces type carried on granite beams. Over the roof is a second tiled roof. The building is supported by eight granite pillars each 6ft. high, and also by the granite walls of the chambers. In front of the building there is a ruined mntapam or a raised floor on which the worshippers used perhaps to sit. In front of this again there are the ruins of the foundation of a building, probably of a gopuram. On the northeast corner of main building there is circular well built of granite. It is 15 kole deep, and contains a never-failing supply of water

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<sup>45</sup> V.C.Vijaya Chandra Jain, op.cit., p.206.

throughout the year... The interior is divided into four chambers. In the first chamber is the statue of Chandranath Swami in white marble. All round the first chamber there is a passage through which a man can freely walk, and which is surrounded by high walls of granite which entirely conceal it from the public gaze".<sup>46</sup> In the second chamber are the Yaksha and Yakshi of Chandranath, viz. Syama yaksha or Vijayaksha and Jvalamalinidevi. In the middle of the second chamber is the statue of Rishabha Tirthankar, the founder of Jainism, in the Avasarpini-kala, with some idols such as Parsvanath, Siddhar and Gumata Raja. In the third chamber are Dharanendra, padmavati and Brahma Yaksha. The fourth chamber is vacant. The Jaigandhy or gong is hung there for being rung at the time of worship. In the compound is a stone image of Kshetrapala.<sup>47</sup>

Sarkar noted thus: "In front of the present temple stands the base of an earlier shrine, and like any Brahmanical shrine in the far south it too, has a Balipitha near the entrance. It is worthy of note that the granite adhishtana of the deserted temple is of the *manchaka* type."<sup>48</sup> Nothing, except a *Balipita*, remains in the Muttupattanam shrine at present. Innes recorded that "only a stone or two is now visible."<sup>49</sup> Vijaya Chandra Jain wrote about the existence of a stone well in addition to the Balipitha.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.205.

<sup>47</sup> H.Sarkar., op.cit., p.53

<sup>48</sup> C.A.Innes, op.cit., p.473.

<sup>49</sup> V.C.Vijaya Chandra Jain, op.cit., p.205.

<sup>50</sup> Kollam ... Mithuna Masam 20nu Nhayarazhcha Suklapaksham Chathurthipushya Nakshtram Pakal Ranstumanikku Vamana Swamikal Siddhi Atannu.

No well is found now. The Balipitha is now considered as the Samadhi of one Seshupatter. It bears a Malayalam inscription saying that one Vamana Swamikal had attained Samadhi.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that the lands possessed by the Jains till the second half of the 18th century would have passed into the hands of the Tamil Brahmins who had served the Mysorean rules during their occupation of Palakkad.<sup>52</sup> Land records of the residents in the Jaina settlement show that the lands, till the early 20th century, belonged to the Kalpathy Viswanatha Swami Temple Devaswom.

Kalpathi, near Jainamedu, is also considered as a Jaina centre. Now it is a Siva temple. The name 'Kalpathi' means the 'foot on the rock' Buddhists and Jaina gave purity to lotus flower. May that Jina, the dust of whose lotus feet removes mental impurity'. This belief tempted them to encarve the feet and lotus on the rock. Manimekhalai contains references for Buddhas and Jina's pedestal called as 'Thamarappaduikai. Buddhist hailed Buddhas foot as 'Manipadmam'.<sup>53</sup>

Kalpathi at Palakkad may be originated after the Rajakalpathi, 19kms away from Madurai. There are many remnants of Jain worship at Rajakalpathi. Radhotsvam of Kalpathi recollects the 'Kettukazhcha' festival of Buddhists. Chinese traveller Fa-hien attests that he observed

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<sup>51</sup> Dr. C.K. Kareem (ed), Kerala District Gazetteers Palakkad, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972, p. 158.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.204.

<sup>53</sup> V.V.K. Valath, op.cit., p. 178

the same Radhotsvam at Patna. Gopinatha Rao states that the Chettikulangara Radhotsavam is a Hinduised form of Jaina tradition. The same aspect is attributed to Kalpathi Radhotsvam.<sup>54</sup>

In Wayanad also, there is a place named Kalpathi. As more than one Kunavaikottam and Kunnavaianallur the Jains also have more than one Kalpathi. Kalpathinilam in Palakkad district, Kalpathi kunnukad, old Kalpathi etc also points to this.<sup>55</sup>

All these Jain temples around Palakkad attest to the wide spread Jain culture that existed in the region for a long period. The importance of Palakkad pass is also related with the history of Jainism. A way which connects Madhurai, Coimbatore, and Salem etc. with the seashore west and crossed the peninsular India passed through Palakkad. This pass had been used for invasions, commercial and cultural interactions for a long period.<sup>56</sup>

The Roman coins which were excavated from both sides of the pass indicate the trade route which existed earlier. East to the pass in Coimbatore district the place like Karuroor, Kathankanni, Pollachi, Vellaloor and Puthukkottai, Kaliyambuthur etc in Madurai district and Karivalam ventanlloor etc in Tirunelveli district are the centres where

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 179

<sup>55</sup> Survey and Settlement Register, Palghat taluk, Malabar District, Calicut Regional Archives, File No: 113, 1903.

<sup>56</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, op.cit., p. 77

Roman Coins are largely discovered. All of these coins belong to first and second century AD.<sup>57</sup>

The route through the plain including Ponnani which connects Tamilnadu and goes thorough the Palakkad pass is so convenient than the sea routes which have big curves. The Roman coins and Tamil Brahman inscription related with the route are contemporary. There is a route which cuts across Coimbatore and reaches Puthukottai, vai, Dharapuram, Dindigal and Palani. This way also goes through the Palakkad pass and it is believed that this may be caused for the interactions between ancient Jaina centers of Tamilnadu and Palakkadu region.<sup>58</sup>

The old Jain centres existed east to Western Ghats, Jain centres belonged to early medieval period to the west of the ghats, the route through the Palakkad pass and its importance, points to make an inference about the flourishing of Jains from east to west. The Jaina centres of Kerala are the parts which were formed in a wide geographical area including Tamilnadu and Kerala. The description about '*Nalpathennayiravar*', '*Valanchiyar*' etc in the different inscriptions including Alathur inscription points to Tamil –Kerala trade relations. Only in the Jain inscriptions the '*Nalpathannayiravar*' got mention,<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 77

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 78

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 78-79

also these groups keep relation with the trade units of '*Anchuvanam*' and *Manigrammam* of early medieval Kerala.<sup>60</sup>

The derivation of the name Palakkad is also a way in which connected with Jaina tradition to the Scholars like Francis Buchanan. According to him the name '*Palaghat*' might have originated from the Jain settlement of this area and from traditions and language *Pali*, was spoken<sup>61</sup>. No authentic record is forthcoming to say clearly the derivation of the name Palaghat.

In short it is clear from the above mentioned facts that Palakkad and neighbouring areas once known for its Jain tradition and the present relics are treated as a symbol of that fame. Moreover the sources support the fact, that such a centre evolved there because of its geographical position, that is fit for both commerce and trade from Kerala to Tamilakam and viceversa, the Alathur inscription also supports the same cause.

### **Jain centres around Kozhikode.**

In addition to the Jaina centres of Palakkad, the district of Kozhikode also has some Jaina relics. The important centre that exists here is 'Kinalur' near Balluseri, 18 miles to the north –east of Calicut and

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 79

<sup>61</sup> Palakkad District Gazetteir, 1976,p.64.

we have got an inscription dated in the 189th year of '*Tirukkaliyappatevar*'<sup>62</sup> Which gives indirect evidence of the prominence achieved by Tirukunnavay in Kerala within about a century after its foundation. The inscription deals with the institution of rice offering and permanent lamp to the 'palli' at '*Vijayarageswaram*' at Kunavaynallur. The astronomical details given in the text would help us to fix AD 1083 as its date, the shape of Vatteluthu script and the language also suit the date.<sup>63</sup> Though there are no relics now in Kinalur related to Jaina sect but the discovery of this inscription from here helps the scholars to assign this place as a Jain centre in ancient times.

Yet another temple there in Kozhikode is the Aryanthirkovil in Valiyangadi. Now this temple is run by the Svetambara sect of the Jains from western part of the country. But the temple still bears the remnants of Digembara sect from early medieval period.<sup>64</sup>

Besides the Jaina centres of these two districts that is of Palakkad and Kozhikode, we have a number of Jaina relics in Wayanad, perhaps it is the most important Jain centre of Malabar or northern Kerala, discussed in the following chapter.

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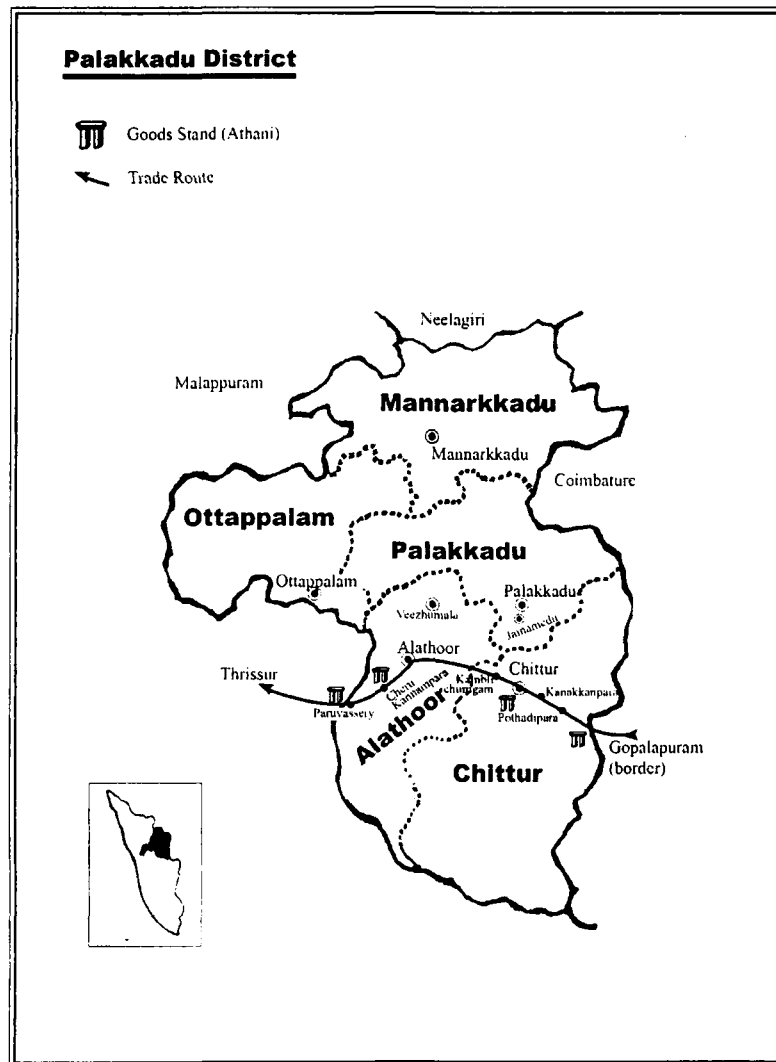
<sup>62</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, op.cit. p. 20

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21

<sup>64</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, op.cit., p. 83.

Map 5\*

### Trade route of Jains – Palakkad District



\*Prepared using the computer graphics software as part of the study



## **Chapter – 5**

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### **The Legacy of Jainism in Wayanad**

## THE LEGACY OF JAINISM IN WAYANAD

Wayanad in the north eastern part of Kerala situated on the Western Ghats. Geographically it is contiguous to the Karnataka state is bounded on the north by the Kannoor district of Kerala and the Mysore district of Karnataka State, on the east by the Nilagiri district, on the south by Malappuram district and Kozhikode districts and on the west by the Kozhikode district. An extension of the Deccan Plateau, this part of Kerala is rich in historical monument, especially those of Jains such as deserted and ruined temples, images of '*Thirtankaras*', '*yakshas*' and '*yakshis*', inscriptions on stone and copper etc.<sup>1</sup> Also, it has an uninterrupted continuity of *Jain* community and their cultural legacy from 9th century AD to the present day and even now a good number of *Jain* followers are residing there in Wayanad, most of them belongs to *Digambara* sect known as '*Gaundars*'. According to the latest survey about 800 '*Jaina*' families and of 1500 Jain population are there in Wayanad.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the Jain migration of Wayanad, some scholars attribute the antiquity to the time of Edacal caves, but except from the '*swastik*' symbol, i.e., the symbol of the 7th *Tirthankara* '*Suparsanatha*',<sup>3</sup> more evidence are not there to prove the fact. But there may be a chance for

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<sup>1</sup> M.R.Ragava Varier, "Varadur Jaina Inscription of Saka 1606", in *Journal of Kerala studies*, 1976, p.499.

<sup>2</sup> Personal Interview, V.V.Jinendraprasad, Kadamana, 2006, March 5.

<sup>3</sup> P.K.Gopala Krishnan, *op.cit*, p.57

the Jain migration from Sravana Belgola of Mysore, because where the religion reached by 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, more over Wayanad is so close to *Sravana Belgola* by its geographical position.<sup>4</sup> In 1970, historian, K.K.N. Kurup discovered an unnoticed ‘*vatteluthu*’ inscription from the vicinity of a *Jain* temple at *Thalakavu* in *Putadi* village of south Wayanad. Dr. M.G.s. Narayanan approximately assigned the date of this inscription to the close of the 9th century on the basis of the characteristics of the script and the style.<sup>5</sup> According to this text ‘in the year of one hundred and thirty seven of ‘*Thirukunavay tevar*’ the ‘*Nalpattenayiravar*’ founded a Nakaram (town) and instituted a lamp and set apart some lands for the purpose.<sup>6</sup> This ruined ‘*Basati*’<sup>7</sup> is now used as a ‘*Bhagavati*’<sup>8</sup> temple for worship by the local people. But how such a center of trade or ‘Nakaram’ was ruined or occupied by the forest is a problem to be answered in the history of Jainism. However, this statement of the inscription proves the fact Jainism reached in Wayanand in exactly by the 9th century AD or before and also it keeps this tradition to the present day.

Besides the above mentioned ‘*Thalakavu*’ inscription, the historian M.R. Raghava Varier also deciphered one Kannada inscription; it is

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.45.

<sup>5</sup> K .K .N Kurup, op.cit, p.2

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Pp.2-3

<sup>7</sup> Jain worship centres are known as *Bastis* or *Chityas*

<sup>8</sup> Mother goddess

known as the *Varadur* inscription of *saka* era of 1606 or 1684-85 AD. This inscription helps us to know about some of the ancient *Jain* centres of Wayanad and its background. The object of the record is to register a grant of various *puja*<sup>9</sup> equipments in gold, silver, bronze and copper to some Jain *Bastis* in Wayanad by one *Lalitappa*, grandson of *Bommarasa* at ‘*Aramane basti*’ at *Karkala*<sup>10</sup> (Karnataka). But the important of the present record lies, as we already referred that it mentions the names of some old *Bastis* in Wayanad, they are (1) *Arepat.*, (2) *Henaradu Bidi* (3) *Bennegodu* (4) *Puttangadi* (5) *Rosangadi* and 6th is *Palagundu*.<sup>11</sup>

Among these temples, *Arepati* is now extinct. In the inscription this centre was known as ‘*Arepati Chityalaya*’. It was situated on the eastern bank of the *Panamaram* River. Old men of the locality remember the place where the temple stood but now there is no trace of such a structural building. Some of the silver, copper and bronze articles given to this temple are kept in the *varadar basti* now, which is two miles to the east of the *Arepati Chaityalaya*. It is told that the *Arepati Chaityalaya* was destroyed by the natural calamities so it was shifted to *Varadur*.<sup>12</sup> It was built in last century and got repaired some fifty years ago. It is clear from the record ‘the *Arepati*’ ‘*chaityalaya*’ was dedicated to *Adinatha* or *Rsabhanatha Tirthankara*, and while all other *Jaina* temples are referred

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<sup>9</sup> Rite of worship.

<sup>10</sup> M.R.Ragava Varier, op.cit., p.50

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.51

<sup>12</sup> Personal Interview, V.V.Jinendra Prasad, 5.3.2006.

to as Basti in this record this is the only one named as *caityalaya*. However, at the present state of our knowledge we do not know whether there was any distinction between *Caityalayas* and Bastis. There must have been the images of ‘*Gomuka yaksha*’ and ‘*Cakreswari yaksi*’, the attending deities of *Adinatha*, for whom twelve ‘*kasis*’ were given in the record. But neither these images nor the articles could be seen in the *Varadur Basti*.<sup>13</sup>

The term ‘*Hanneradu Bidi*’ is referred in inscription is about the present Sultan Battery. According to local tradition there were twelve Jain streets in and around Batteri and in Kannada ‘*Hannerdu Bidi*’ means Twelve Streets.<sup>14</sup> This was one of the seven traditional Jain settlements, the other six being *Mankiyapuri*, *Ksirapuri*, *Kalpatta*, *Arepati*, *Vannayotu* and *Hosangadi*. Right from the early medieval period the Jain streets and the temple at Batteri had won some reputation. This fact is clear from the *Thalekkavu* inscription, from *Thalekkavu*, 20 miles to the north of Batteri.<sup>15</sup> At present there are no Jains in Batter but the members of the old generation of the Jains in Wayanad recollect the day when this temple was under worship. This is built at huge granite slabs and sculptured

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<sup>13</sup> M.R.Ragava Varier, op.cit., Pp.500-501

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.500

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.501

heavy pillars; this temple is now a protected monument under the department of Archaeology, Kerala state.<sup>16</sup>

The next important centre which described in the inscription is ‘*Puttangadi*’, two miles to the east of *Panamaran*. There is a small farmer community of Jains at *Puttangadi* and there are two dilapidated Jain temples which closely resemble the *HanneraduBidi Basti* in architectural style and pattern. One is situated between ‘*Panamaram*’ and *Nadavayal*, known as Puttangadi or now as *Janardhana* temple. Another one is known as ‘*Vishunugudi*’, it is on the way to varadur from Meenagandi.

Plate No 36

Visnugudi



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,p.502

The *Puttangadi* was known as *Mannikapuram* and so it was supposed to be a centre of trade in gems and pearls. In course of time this name was changed to *Muthangadi* and now as *Puttangadi*.<sup>17</sup>

There is a Kannada inscription in the temple without mentioning king or date which registers a grant to the temple by some private individual. There are beautiful sculptures and erotic images on walls and pillars. Pictures of devotees, minor deities, saints and beautiful dancing figures cover the pillars of the *Mukhamandapa* and the *Gopura*, *Saraswati* with *Vina* on a pillar in the *Mukhamandapa* and the *Anantasayana* at the entrance of the main temple and the *Dvarapalas* at the entrance at *Garbhagriha* deserves special mention. We can also see the symbols of different *Thirtankaras* on the walls such as lion of *Mahavira*, elephant of *Ajitha* so on.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Personal Interview with, Ajith Kumar, custodian, Puthangadi Jain temple, 10.11.2007

<sup>18</sup> Directly observed at Vishnu Gudi temple near Panamaram on 10.11.2007

Anandasayanam at Visnugudi.



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

The next structural temple built of granite slabs, '*Visnugudi*', is seen two furlongs to the east of the so called *Janarddana* temple. Remains of a ruined *gopura* and *Mukhamandapa* could be seen in front of this temple. On the northern wall of this temple, there is a *sculpture* of Krishna dancing on a single –hooded serpent. Immediately on the right side of this figure is a '*Tirthankara*' in '*Kayotsaraga* posture'. According to Jain mythology Krishna is the cousin of *Neminatha* the 22nd *Tirtankara*. Figures of saints, in *Paryankasana* and *Kayatsarga* Postures are carved on pillars of *Mukhamandapa* in front of the main structure.



Plate 38

Defaced Mahavira Image at Janardana temple, Panamaram



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

**Defaced Theerthankara in kayotsarga posture  
at -Janardana temple Panamaram.**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

The southern wall of this temple is beautified with the figures of fish and tortoise. The fish might represent the cognizance of '*Aranatha*<sup>19</sup>', the 8th *Tirtankara* and the tortoise, that of *Munisuvrata*<sup>20</sup>, the 20th *Tirtankara*.

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<sup>19</sup> B.C.Zbaraah,(ed), Fairs And Festivals of India, Vol .3,2003,p.63.

<sup>20</sup> D.R.Bandarkar, op.cit.,p.73.



Plate 40

**Cognizance of Aranatha- fish (Matsya) at Visnugudi.**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

Plate 41

**Cognizance of Munisuvrata- (Koorma) at Visnugudi.**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

At the entrance of the Navaranga hall is a beautiful sculpture of Garuda, the '*Yaksha*' of Neminatha, 22nd Tirthankara. From this Yaksha figure sculptured with importance at the entrance from the panel of dancing Krishna and Tirthankara panel on the northern wall, it could be rightly assumed that the presiding deity of this temple was Neminatha.

The sculptured pillars of the Navaranga hall possess artistic excellence. No one pillar is like one another. Figure of male and female dancers, devotees, musicians playing various instruments and minor deities of Jain mythology are carved on these pillars.

**Jain Mythology on Pillars at Janardana Temple (Musical forms)**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

Both of the above mentioned temples and the compound around them are owned by the priestly class of the Jains at Puttangadi, and one of these temples must be the one referred in the inscription.



Due to the occurrence of some *Vaishnava* figures on the pillars and walls of the above mentioned temples somebody considered those as *Vaishnava* or Hindu temples. But if it was considered these as Hindu temples, it would be difficult to explain the occurrence of the images of Jain saints and deities on the pillars and walls sculptured with consider importance. On the other hand there is reasonable explanation of the *Vaishnava* images. As Fergusson has rightly pointed out, in the medieval period Jains “allowed the existence of Hindu Gods and have admitted into their sculptures at least such of them as are connected with the tales of their saints. Further it is to be borne in that some *Vaishnava* symbols like ‘matsya’ (fish) *Kurma* (Tortoise) etc. are *lanchanas* or cognizance of some Jain *Tirthankaras*.<sup>21</sup> K.K.N. Kurup also supported this view.<sup>22</sup> In present Wayanad, P.M Vardhamanan says that Jains and *Vaishnavas* are having inter-marriage and interdining. If one Jain girl is married to a *Vaishnava* boy, she becomes *Vaishnava* and if *Vaishnava* girl married to Jain boy she becomes a Jain.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to these temples the three Bastis mentioned in the record are *Bennegodu*, Palagundu, and Hosangadi. *Bennegodu* and Palagundu Bastis are on the way from Panamaram to Manantodi, the headquarters of North Wayanad. *Bennegodu* is the Kannada rendering of

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<sup>21</sup> B.C.Bhattacharya,op.cit.,p.42.

<sup>22</sup> K.K.N.Kurup,op.cit.,p.5

<sup>23</sup> P.M.Vardhamanan Yamily,'Jainism in Waynad' in *Guru Vandanam* , Souvenior published by Jain Milan , Waynad, p.57

the Malayalam *Venneyotu* similarly *Palagundu* is the Kannada equivalent of Malayalam *Palakunnu*. Each of these old sites has one new Basti. However, there are now no remains of any old structural building but for the images of Tirthankaras.<sup>24</sup>

*Hosangadi Basti*, the last one referred in the inscription, is now known as *Manantodi Basti*. This is on the western side of the *Manantodi* River a tributary of Kabani. In old times there was only one shop at *Manantodi*, which was some two miles to the east of the present town. To this day, the place is called '*Outengadi*' meaning single shop. It was one the western side of the *Manantodi* River that a weekly market was started in later period. Subsequently a new market place came into existence and hence the name *Hosangadi*, the new bazaar. Even to this day the cattle-fair and the weekly market is on the western side of the river. The present Basti at this place is built on the ruins of an old temple. Beams and broken pillars are scattered on the premises of the new temple. Interestingly enough one of the broken pillars has the figure of *Yakshi Kusumandini* the guardian angel of *Neminatha*<sup>25</sup>. That this is *kusumandini* is clear from the depiction of her cognizance, children<sup>26</sup>. This *Basti* lost its prominence when the new township developed on the

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<sup>24</sup> M.R Ragava Varier, op.cit., 503-504

<sup>25</sup> B.C.Bhattacharya, op.cit., Pp.72-73.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.74.

eastern side of the river, because of the fact that trade relations of *Manantodi* are with Mysore.<sup>27</sup>

Besides the reference to these six *Bastis* in the Varadhur inscription, we can have some more relics of the same period of *Jain Bastis*. In different parts of Wayanad such as one is near Puthadi and it is in a ruined stage, the native people called it as a '*Kalluvettikshetram*', the others are *ponmudikotta* near SultanBatteri, *Erumadu* and *Veliyambalam* near *Nilagiri* etc. According to Raghava Varier Jainism got a set back in south India but the religion outlived the set-back with a parallel movement to the *Bhakti* movement of *Hindusim*. One of the main features of this revivalism was the introduction of temple cult and the worship of '*yakshas*' and *yakshis*.<sup>28</sup> So the above stated temples may be developed as a side to this movement.

Regarding the architectural style of these centres, Raghava Varier assumes that these temples follow the style of *Hoysala* and *Vijayanagara*, specifically to construct the part such as '*Garbhagriha*', '*Sukanasi*',- *Navarangamandapa* and *Mukhamandapa*, they follow Hoysala style but for to construct the pillars and the sculptures they imitate the *Vijayanagara* module. According to him the basic difference between these two styles is that, when the *Vijayanagara* architects

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.,p.503

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.,p.504



follows crude or <sup>29</sup>rough style, the *Hoysala* presentation was soft and accurate.<sup>30</sup> Here arises one problem of Chronology, because we can see that the date of Hoysala Kingdom started after 10th century, especially the date of Vishnuvardhana is 1108-1152<sup>31</sup>. But the *Vijayanagara* kingdom begins by the time of 1357,<sup>32</sup> that means here we can see a difference of more than two centuries. Historian, M.G.S. Narayanan has assigned the date of *Talakkavu Jaina* inscription as 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. century, this inscription depict of some donation to a Jain temple<sup>33</sup>. From this it is certain that some Jain temples were there in Wayanad from 9th century onwards. So on the basis of this chronological difference we need more study on this point.

In spite of the first migration of the Jains, a later wave of Jains also came to Wayanad from Karnataka region. The exact date of this immigration is not known, but with the conversion of Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysala Ballala dynasty, Jains lost a powerful royal patron also he was not hostile to other religious orders<sup>34</sup>. This may be the reason of this later migration. They also made their own contribution to the history of Jainism in Wayanad.

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<sup>29</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, *Keraliyatha Charithramanagal*, p.96

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.97

<sup>31</sup> B. Vasanthashetty, *Studies in Karnataka History*, p.55

<sup>32</sup> K.N. Nilakantan Sasthri, *op.cit.*, p.117

<sup>33</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *op.cit.*, p.2

<sup>34</sup> M.R. Ragava Varier, *op.cit.*, p.95

By the time of 18th century Jainism in Wayanad got a big set-back, according to Raghava Varier this part of the country was disturbed by perpetual conflicts between local chieftains of Kerala and attacks from Mysore. In the subsequent period Wayanad became the battle field of Pazhassi Raja and East India Company. The result was that the Jains like other communities also had to seek refuge elsewhere in the plain leaving behind their temples and other properties<sup>35</sup>. But another argument for their decline is, because of one big famine, they leave the place for they were mainly engaged in agriculture<sup>36</sup>. What may be the reason for the dilapidated condition of the Jains in Wayanad it is clear that the Jains even lost their own identity by the same reason.

By the last century with the attempts of the late M.K. Krishna Goundar and a saint from *Sravana Belgola*, they got realized the fact that some people of Wayanad belongs to the Jain community, only then these people realize that they are Jains. This means the reason for their dilapidation was bigger than we already discussed, because by the reason they even lost their own identity<sup>37</sup>. But after this M.K. Krishna Goundar published one book known as '*Mahapuranam*', then the outer world came to know about this fact, i.e., some Jains are there still in Wayanad.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.,Pp.97-98

<sup>36</sup> O.K.Johny, *Wayanad Rekhakal*,p.49

<sup>37</sup> Personal Interview, Santivarma Jain, 4.3.2005

Thus because of the attempts of these persons, Jainism continues to exist in Wayanad.

### **Sulthan Batheri Jain temple**

This is an ancient Jain temple situated at Sultan Bathery town. It is supposed to have been built around twelfth century A.D. The temple was taken over, by Tippu sultan and used as the Battery for his army. It is now under the possession of Archaeology Department they repaired the temple in 1996. Though this temple surroundings had a large Jain population in ancient times, there are no Jains in this area now. On the pillars and on the walls of the temple are engraved with the images of *Tirthankaras*. One of the specialties of this temple is that no piece of wood is used for the construction of the temple even the roof of the temple is made of stones. The Wayanad Jain community conducts a Navakhalasha Panchamritha Abhisheka Pooja at this temple on the occasion of Mahaveer Jayanthi every year<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Personal Interview with Sisupalan. A., Monument attendant , Batheri on 10.3.2006

**Plate 43**

**Jain temple at Sulthan Batheri**



**Photographed on 10-3-2006 at Batheri as a part of field work**

**Plate 44**

**The image of Neminatha with the cognizance of peacock**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Batheri as a part of field work**



**Plate 45**

**Cognizance of Neminatha- Peacock at Batheri.**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Batheri as a part of field work**

**Plate 46**

**Cognizance of Chandranatha-Swan at Batheri.**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Batheri as a part of field work**

Plate 47

**Elephant, the cognizance of *Mahavira* in front of the Jain temple, Sulthan Bathery**



**Photographed on 4-3-2006 at Batheri as a part of field work**

**Adibaleswara Swami Temple, Manantbavady**

This is temple situated about 1 k.m. from Mananthavady. It is supposed to be centuries old. In 1960 the hereditary custodian Late Shri.D.Padmaja Tharakan handed over the temple to a trust, which was

formed with Late Shri. Palukkunnu Chandrayya Gowder as President. The temple was renovated in 1958 and Pancha Kalyana was conducted<sup>39</sup>.

### **Anandapuram Shri. Adblshwara Swami Temple, Puthlyadam**

This temple is situated about eight k.ms from Mananthavady town. It was constructed in 1957 and Pancha Kalyana Prathista Mahotsava was conducted in June of the same year.

### **Ananthanatha Swamy Temple, Ananthakrshnapuram**

This is one of the main Jain temples of Wayanad. It was situated in a place called Kalpavathy or old Kalpetta. It was originally managed by the Uralan Shri. Payappa Tharakan after whom the management was taken over by Sri. P.C. Mandappa Gowder in 1926, who formed a trust to manage the temple in 1931. This temple, which was dilapidated, was shifted and newly constructed at the place called Ananthakrishna puram and Pancha Kalyana Mahotsava conducted in 1933 under the Leadership of Late Shri. M.K.Subbiah Gowder and then by Late Shri. M. K.Ananthayya Gowder. Presently the temple is situated on the Kalpetta Mananthavady road about five k.ms from Kalpetta town.

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<sup>39</sup>Personal Interview with P.M.Vardhamanan, President Jain Samaj , Pallikunnu Unit, on 11.3.2006

### **Ananthanatha Swamy Kshethram, Varadoor**

This Jain temple was originally situated at Arapatha near Mananthavady. It was shifted to Kottavayal and from there again to its present near Varadoor in 1964. The temple was constructed under the leadership of late Shri.V. K. Vardhman Gowder. Panchakalyana Mahotsva was conducted in 1977 when the present idol was installed. A copper inscription has been found in this temple. And this inscription reads that, "Lalithappan son of a Kamataka king, came to Wayanad 300 years ago and donated valuable things to all the Jain temples." The temple is run by a trust, formed in 1953 by late V.P. Ananthayya Gowder<sup>40</sup>.

### **Parsva Natha Swami Kshethram, Pallikunnu**

This is another oldest Jain temple in Wayanad. The temple is situated at Palukunnu, which is about six kilometers away from Anjukunnu on Mananthavady - Kalpetta main road. It was renovated in 1950 by Kalathingal Krishna Gowder. About three decades back Parsva Natha Swami Kshetra trust was formed. The current President is Shri P.M. Vardhamanan.

### **Shanthi Natha Swamy Devaswom, Venniyode**

This is a very old Jain temple of Wayanad. The temple was run and managed by the hereditary 'Uralans'.

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<sup>40</sup> Personal Interview with AjithKumar , Custodian , Chandranatha Temple , Panamaram on 11.3.2006.



These 'Uralalns' (hereditary custodians) handed over the temple to a trust consisting of twelve members on May 1955. In 1964 the temple was renovated and Panchakalyan was conducted under the leadership of Late Shri M. K. Jinachandran. Earlier to this a Panchakalyana was conducted in 1928 under the leadership of Sargur Shri Chandra Sagara Swmaji. The annual pooja of this temple is conducted on Vaishaga Shuklanavami. The present temple is managed by a trust under the president ship of Shri. MJ. Vijayapadman. The temple is situated about eight kilometers from Kambalakkad town<sup>41</sup>.

### **Chandranatha Giri Kshethram**

This temple is situated on top of a single huge rock called Myladipara near Kalpetta. There was a huge idol of Chandranatha Tirthankara, which was worshipped in earlier times. This idol was destroyed by miscreants and only remnants of it remain today. A number of caves are situated behind the rock, which was used by Jain monks in earlier times. A temple renovation committee was formed about three decades ago under the President ship of M. S. Padmiah Gowder and later Shri P.M. Vardhamana took over the President ship. A *pooja* is conducted during March/April every year in which all the community members participate

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<sup>41</sup> Personal Interview with P.M. Vardhamanan, President Chandra Natha Giri Temple, Kalpetta on 12.3.2006

## **The Present Status of Jains in Wayanad.**

According to the latest survey, the total Jain population is 1581, and the community has been divided into nine units, they are: *Aryakunnu* Unit, *Kalpetta* Unit, *Kariyambatta* Unit, *Kariukutty* Unit, *Muttil* Unit, *Neervaram* Unit, *Poothadi* Unit, *Puthiyidam* and *Venniyode* Unit<sup>42</sup>. Among these units *Kalpetta* unit is the biggest unit, consist of 63 families and has the total strength of 249 members. The noted writer and the formal union minister M.P. Veerendra Kumar belongs to this unit<sup>43</sup>. Most of them belongs to *digambara* sect of Jains and among this they are divided into 'Bispanthi and; Thorapathi'. Now they are known Goundas and Tharakas<sup>44</sup>.

These nine units of Jains now rendering their worship on some new temples constructed by them in the recent times lies near the old remnants. They are shi. Adhishswara Swami temple at Mannathavady, Anandapuram Swami temple at Puthiyedom, Ananthnatha temple at Kalpeta north, Gandaranatha temple of Puthanangadi near the old vestiges, Shanthinath temple of Veniyode and Chandranatha temple, near *Kalpetta* town, covered elsewhere in the study.

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<sup>42</sup> M.P.Sanath Kumar,(ed.)*Jain Directory-1997*,Pp.47-130

<sup>43</sup> Personal interview, M.C.Vasanthakumar,6.3.2006

<sup>44</sup> P.M.Vardhamanan Yamily,op.cit.,p.57

**Candranatha temple of Puthanangadi**



**Photographed on 4-3-2007 at Panamaram as a part of field work**

The Kalpetta Jain Temple has some tradition. It is situated in a huge rock and said that there was a huge idol of Chandranatha which was worshipped earlier time but only the remnants remain today. A number of caves are situated behind the rock, which is reported to have been used by Jain mendicants in earlier times<sup>45</sup>.

Now the study covered all the facts related into ancient and present Jain community of Wayanad and their vestiges. But when we consider the economic relation of this community, we can see it is quite different

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<sup>45</sup> M.P.Sanath Kumar, (ed.) Jain Directory 1997, Pp.21-42

from *Jaina* settlements of Travancore region. While the Jains in Travancore were mostly concentrated on trade and commerce but in Wayanad, in ancient and present times, most of them are engaged in agriculture and relating activities.

In the early times the Jains practiced an eco-friendly cultivation method, because they were against digging or ploughing the land. But with the new social structure and the development of new mode of production they are compelled to accept the new methods of cultivation<sup>46</sup>. It is said that, it was the Jains who introduced the rice and coffee cultivation in Wayanad<sup>47</sup>. When they migrated to the land, the aborigine people were engaged in shifting cultivation but by seeing the new system some of them were settled and began to practice the permanent system of cultivation<sup>48</sup>.

For the promotion of cultivation, they constructed many dams and ponds in various places like '*Cherral*' *Kazhampukunu*, *Nambiarkunnu*, *Chuliyode*, *Kolliyadi*, *Thaloor*, *Sulthan Bathery*, *Meenangadi*, *Panamaram*, *Anjukunnu* and *Nadavayal*. They store the water on these ponds and dams and irrigated the crops. *Doddappan* pond near Sultan

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<sup>46</sup> O.K.Johny,op.cit.,p.52

<sup>47</sup> Personal Interview, V.V.Jinendra Prasad Kadamana, 5.3.2005

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.,Pp.53-54

Bathery is one of these kinds. Doing these activities they contributed much to the field of irrigation also<sup>49</sup>.

Even though they were mostly concentrated on agriculture they are not totally exempted from trade, and commerce, we already referred about one '*Nakaram*' (Town) built by *Nalpattenayiravar* (Forty eight thousand quoted from *Talakkavu* inscription, and also about an ancient trade fare, in the banks of Mannathavady river-near to an ancient Jaina temple. Besides these reference the *Sandesakavya*, *UnniyacciCarita*, a 14th century work describes '*Triumarutur*' on the way from *Tirunelli* temple to the plains, the home town of the heroine which could easily defeat Kollam (Quilon) Kodungallur (Cranganore) Kunavay (Gunaka or modern- *Trikananmathilakam*) Mangalapuram (Mangalore/and *Dwarasamudram*, the capital of the Hoysalas. The mention of *Dwarasamudram*, a great city clearly indicated that the Wayanad people had known its glory most probably from the traders of Karnataka. Based on this literacy evidence M.R. Raghava Varier identified the medieval city of *Tirumarutur* with the modern village of Varadur, the find-spot of the important *Jaina* inscription of Varadur<sup>50</sup>. In short, these facts shows that the *Jain* migration into Wayanad was happened due to the fertility of

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<sup>49</sup> O.K.Johnny,op.cit.,p.53

<sup>50</sup> M.R.Ragava Varier,op.cit.,Pp.506-507

the land for cultivation and by its scope for trade especially with Karnataka.

Thus, with the study of the Jain centres in Wayanad this study covered all Jain centres in Kerala both from Travancore and Malabar regions. But to complete the Jain history of Malabar region has to add the details of two Jain *Bastis* of Manjeswaram the northern part of the Kasaragod district. Geographically and culturally this area is having much attached to the Karnataka state.

### **Kassaragod District**

Kasaragod, the northern most district of Kerala is bounded by Dakshina Kannada district at the north and the east and Kodaku district at the south east, Kannoor district at the south and Lakshadweep at the west. This district also has some Jain tradition in connection with Karnaka. Two Jain temples, one in a ruined condition, are found in Bangara-Manjesvara. One is a chatur-mukha (four-faced) basadi on the southern bank of the river. The icons of Adi-natha, Santi-natha, Candra-natha and Vardhamana are found in the sanctum. The temple is perhaps, around three centuries old and it has been renovated recently. Another temple, which people call the smaller chatur-mukha, is found in the same place. There are a number of metal images in the basadi. There is a Caubisi

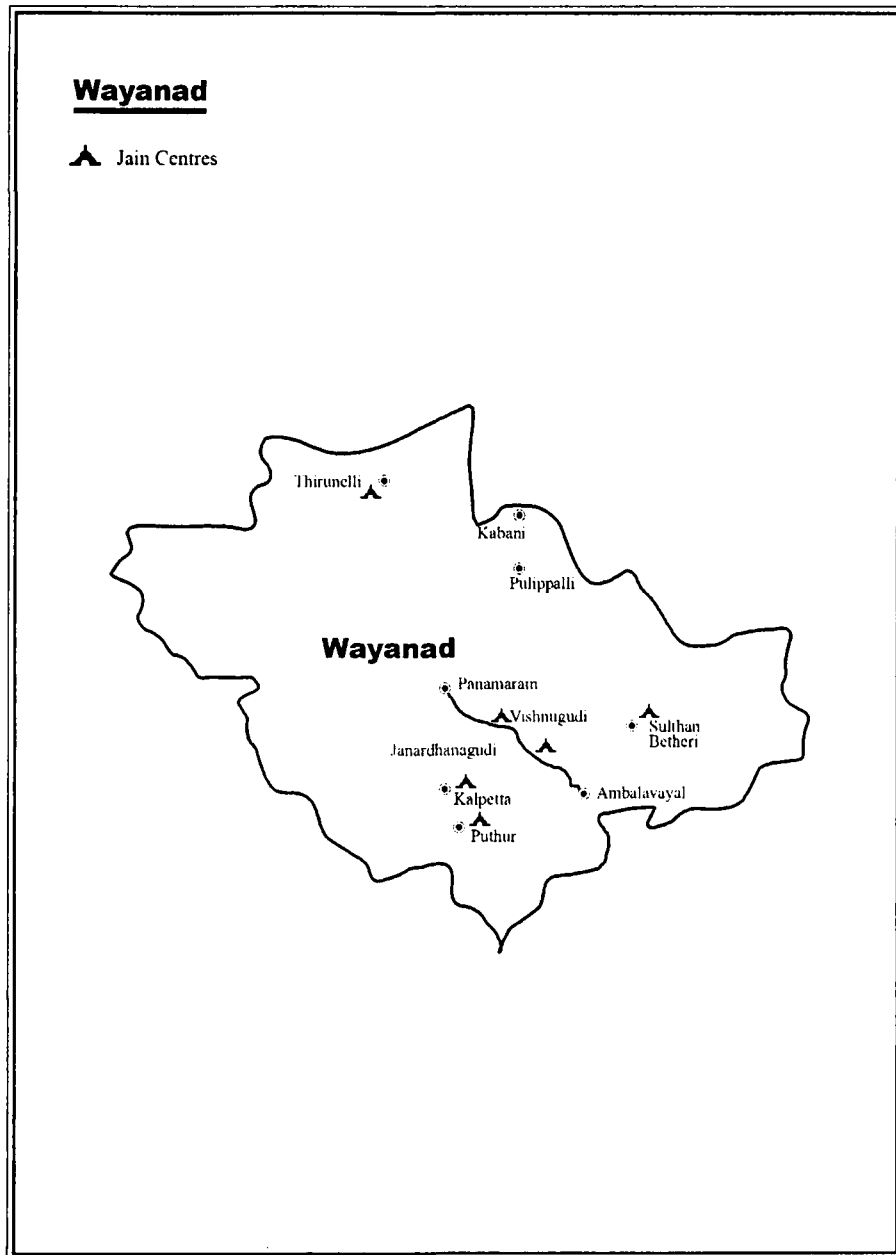
(images of 24 Tirthankaras in one) in which Parsva-natha, who is depicted in kayotsarga position, is prominent. The icons of Brahma-Deva, Kusmandini, Padmavati and Sarasvati are available. The metal image of Suparsva-natha is very beautiful and is made of alloys. In the sanctum sanctorum, there is a caubisi in which also Parsva-natha is prominently depicted. The basadi is in a dilapidated condition and is perhaps older than the other basadi.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> P.M.Joseph, op.cit.,Pp.14-16.

## Map-6\*

### Jain Centres In Wayanad



\*prepared using computer graphics software as part of the study



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## F. LIST OF PLATES-FIELD WORK

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2	Belur temple an over view	21-03-2006
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5	The image of Parswanatha (Parswanatha Basthi Hale-Bidu)	22-03-2006
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## Appendix

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## Appendix 1

The lines from *Keralolpathy* depicting the myth of the donation of  
Kerala to the *Nagas* by *Varuna*.

“നാകാസർവ്വമാഗത്യ  
ശ്രീമൂലസ്ഥാനമണ്ഡപേ,  
ചതുഷ്ഠിതമാനാകാ  
വയമേവ ന സംശയഃ  
വരുണസ്തുപുരാസ്മാകഃ  
ദത്തവാൻ ദിജസത്തമാ  
സമുദ്രാന്തേ ച യാഭ്യമിൻ  
ജാതാചന്മശാസനാൽ  
നാകേഭ്യശ്ചമയാദത്താ  
മദ്ദേഹസ്യവിഷോക്തരം,  
നാക, നാം ശാസനാദേവ  
നിവാരയതു ദേഹജം

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## Appendix 2

The lines from *Keralolpathy* depicting the moral virtues of *Nagas*

നാകത്താൻമാർ ധർമവും സംഘവുമുള്ളവർ

ഉൾത്തിടമേ യുരുവാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
കൈത്തിടമേ കരുവാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
വൈത്തിടമേ വിലവിരുകും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
മെയ്ത്തിടമേ മേനിയാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
പൊയ്ത്തിടമേ പൊടിയാക്കും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
കത്തിവാൾ കൈപ്പുത്തും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
എത്തിശൈയ്യും പുകൾകൊണ്ട നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
ചിത്തി, മുത്തി, കൈകണ്ട നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
വില്ലാളിവിരമാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
വിരുതുകെട്ടി പടവെല്ലും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
പുല്ലനെവെല്ലാംതുറക്കും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
പുനിതരടിവണങ്കി വീഴും നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'യുരു'വാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'കരുവി' യാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'യുള്ള' മാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'യുയി'രാനനാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'കടവുള്ള'ാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'കൽവി' യാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'യുലക' മാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ  
അറന്താനെ 'വയു' മാന നാകത്താൻമാരെ

### Appendix 3

**Lines from Chilappathikaram referring the Jain Centre**

**Kunavaykottam**

കുണവായികോട്ടത്തരച്ചു

തുറന്നിരുത്ത കുടകോച്ചേരലിളങ്കോവടി

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### Appendix 4

**Lines from Kokasandesam referring the Jain Centre**

**Kunavaykottam**

ചെൽവഞ്ചേർന്നക്കുണകയിലകം

പുക്കു നീ തെക്കുനോക്കി

ചെല്ലുന്നേരം തിറവിയവരും കോയിൽ കാണാം

ചെമ്മേ കാണുമാനരുതു കുണകെ

ത്തമ്പുരാനെ ദ്വജൻമാർ

ക്കെൻറാൻ നീയും തൊഴുക പുറമേ.

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## **Appendix 5**

**Lines from Kokasandesam referring the Vaniya caste and their  
business deals.**

പിന്നെ കാണാം ചതിയിൽ മുതിരും

വണിയക്കാരൻ തമ്മിൽ

തിണ്ണും പേളി തെരുവിലുണ്ട്

ഒണിയം ചെയ്യുമാറ്

Vide Page No 91

## **Appendix 6**

**Lines from Chilappathikaram referring the erection of Hero  
Stones for Jain ascetics.**

ചമണചമയത്താർ ചല്ലേക്കനെ വിത്തം ഇരുന്തു

ഉയിർവീട്ടാൽ അവർകൾക്കു നിചിതി കൈക്കൽ

എന്റെ നിന്നെവുക്കൽ നടുവതുവഴക്കം.

Vide Page 143



# JAIN-CENTRES

Padmakumari Amma. B “Jain-buddhist centres in the early history of Kerala”  
Thesis. Department of History , University of Calicut, 1995

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**JAIN CENTRES**

## JAIN CENTRES

Jainism in Kerala has a long history of about one thousand years. It must have arrived in Kerala soon after it spread in other parts of South India. Now there is only a very limited number of the followers of Jainism in Kerala. Kasarkod, Wynad, Palakkad pass and Aruvamozhi pass are the routes which led the Jains to Kerala from the neighbouring States of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The existing temple relics reveal the fact that the Jains have come to Kerala through all these routes. Since they were mostly traders, it can be assumed that they might have established themselves in the important centres of trade in Kerala.

The inland trade was different from the sea trade in the case of Kerala. The South Indian traders usually dealt with the collection and sale of luxury articles like precious stones. Therefore Jain colonies are found near the urban

centres and on the routes leading to them. This is the reason why the most important Jain monastery, the rules of which others followed, was established in Tirukkunavāy, near Mākōtai, the Cera capital. Thus it is understandable that Jains acquired importance only after the later Cera kingdom was founded.

#### KĀSARAKŌḌU DISTRICT

The present district of Kāsarakōḍu at the northern part of Kerala was a part of Karnataka. Though, as a result of the reorganisation of States, Kāsarakōḍu became part of Kerala, the people continue to maintain their Karnataka heritage. Kerala and Tuḷunāḍ have a long history of close cultural contact and it lead to the development of a mixed culture. No evidences are available to ascertain the exact period in which

Jainism spread to Kāsarkōḍu. Newly discovered Jain images from Mañjēśvaram shows that Jainism was present in Kāsarkōḍu during 9th 10th century A.D.

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#### MAÑJĒŚVARAM TEMPLE

Mañjēśvaram is a place at the northern most part of Kerala. Though it falls within the borders of Kerala state, culturally it forms a part of Karnataka. All the historical influences felt on the south Canara were shared by this place. It had grown into a centre of trade during the very early period. The temple at Mañjēśvaram and Caturmukha Basti at Bankramañjēśvaram are the remains which show that Manjesvaram was a centre of Jainism during 9th 10th century A.D.

Mañjēśvaram temple is a very ancient Jain temple. It has Garbhagriha, Śukanāsi Navaraṅga and Mukha Maṇḍapa. The temple which is 48' long and 18" wide is in a ruined condition. The main

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idol of the temple is Parsvanatha, standing in the Kayotsarga posture under a five-headed serpent. It is flanked with Sasanadevatas. It shows deep meditation. The sculptural peculiarities and the features of Yaksa and Yaksi reveal that it belonged to 10th century A.D.,<sup>1</sup>

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1, Stella Kramrisch clearly states that the images found at Manjesvar temple belongs to 10th century A.D. These sculptures have resemblance with the idols found at Alattur. She says: "Jaina images in stone of this period (10th century A.D) have also been recently come across at Manjeswaram in the northern most boundary of Kerala, with long ear lobes, shaven head and well sculptured cover of a five-headed serpent and with Yaksa on the right and Yakshi on the left."

Stella Kramrisch, Arts and Crafts of Kerala, Cochin, 1970. p. 71.

The present writer visited the temple in 1990 and interviewed Mrs. Sunanda Devi, who conducts pooja there.

See plate. 3.

## CATURMUKHA BASTI

Caturmukha Basti is situated on the top of a hill, two furlongs towards the west of Osangadi, a small town at Benkramanjesvaram. This temple is known as Caturmukha basti, because four Jain figures of Adinatha, Candraprabhanatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira are fixed on a four sided pedestal<sup>2</sup>. These standing images have four feet height and they are in Kayotsarga Posture. Three small stone images of Parsvanatha, a Yaksha, and a Yakshi have also been discovered from this place. The idol of Yakshi deserves special attention. It has eight hands each with different weapons. The Yaksha has four hands, and each hand possesses a weapon. The foundation is square in shape. It is placed on a

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2. See plate no. 2

raised platform over which the walls have been built. It has four faces and doors on each side. Each entrance is approached by a flight of steps. These architectural peculiarities also made it clear that it belongs to the 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Stella Kamrisch states that these idols belong to 10th century A.D. She adds: "A more noteworthy sculptured image of Jaina has been noticed at Bangramanjesvar quite recently. It is called Caturamuka Basthi (four feet height) because four Jaina stone images are fixed on a four sided slab. Three small stone images of Parsvanatha, Yaksha and Yakshi, seven inches in height, have also been discovered in this place. These images have the essential marks of a Jaina figure viz. long hanging arms, the Srivatsa symbol; mild form (Prasanta Murthi) youthful and beautiful body and nudity". Ibid. PP. 71-72.



## WYNAD DISTRICT

Wynad is quite different from the other parts of Kerala. It is situated about 100 Kms. east of Kozhikode in an altitude of 700 to 1200 ft. above sea level. It is an extension of the Deccan plateau high above the level of the rest of land in Kerala and culturally also close to Karnataka. The landscape and climate differ from other parts of Kerala.

## TĀLAKKĀVU

There are no evidences by which one can establish the earlier home of the Jains who are found in Wynad. Circumstantial evidences seem to strengthen the view that they came from Karnataka. Following the route along the side of

river Kabini which flows from west to east, they might have reached Pulppalli and settled there<sup>3 A</sup>.

A Vatteluttu inscription discovered from Tālakkāvu at Putadi near Pulpally reveals the connection of Tālakkāvu Jain temple with Trikkāṇāmatilakam, which was the most important Jain centre of ancient Kerala. The script and language of the inscription would suggest that they settled here in the 9th 10th centuries of the

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3 A. The Tālakkāvu inscription clearly shows that Jains have settled at Wynad during 9th 10th century A.D.

For details , see Cultural Symbosis, op. cit. p.19. See also M.R.Raghava Varier, "Yakshi Cult in Kerala" Mahavir Nirvana Souvenir, Calicut, 1974. p.20.

Christian era. Today we find neither Jains nor Jain temples there<sup>4</sup>.

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4. Sulttan Battery can be considered as an ancient Jain centre. The Tirthankara image exhibited in the Department of History, Calicut University, is from Kidanganad Basti, in Sulttan Battery. On the basis of the sculptural peculiarities of the Sasanadevatas figured on both the sides of the image reveals that it can be assigned to 9th 10th century A.D. It was brought from the office of the Executive Engineer, Calicut where it was brought from Wynad. The Annual Report of the Archeological Department, Madras discloses this fact. "The excutive engineer west coast division brought to the notice of this department that while cleaning the jungle near Sultan Battery in Wynad, certain images were found and requested to know how they were to be disposed of. The place being one of importance in as much as it was once occupied by the Jains, he was requested to send them to the Madras Museum. The report adds" some sculptured Jain stones from the Jain temple at Sultan Battery were brought down to Calicut by the Executive Engineer and placed in his office at Calicut. Some of them are in granite or soap stone. They are all fragmentary and represent pieces of large Jain image with carved canopy. Several smaller images and parts of a pointed arch shaped slab, carved with numerous small images representing Jain Tirthankaras. They were found when cleaning the dense jungle which grew round the large temple at Sultan Battery and which had to be cleared when some recent rapairs were done to the temple." Annual report of the Archaeological department southern circle-Madras, for the year 1910-11. Madras, 1911, p. 2.

In 1970, Dr.K.K.N.Kurup of Calicut University discovered a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription from the vicinity of the Tālakkāvu Devi temple. This inscription as deciphered by the Govt. Epigraphist, was published by Mr. Induchudan in 1970.<sup>5</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan published the text with necessary corrections and a study. He pointed out that this inscription is related to a Jain temple<sup>6</sup>.

The year given in the inscription is the 137th year of Tirukkūṇavāy ("Tirukkūṇavāy tēvarkku cellāninra yāntu orunūrrumuppattēlu"). On the basis of the internal evidences, M.G.S.Narayanan determined the age of the inscription as follows. "This record which may be assigned to the close of 9th century,....., since it not only quotes the authority of Tirukkūṇavāy, but also employs the era of Tirukkūṇavāy foundation"<sup>7</sup>. In the light of this inscription he is led to the

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5. Induchudan.V.T. The Indian Express, Saturday 11th July.1970.

6. M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit.p. 75.

7. See Appendix, I-A

conclusion that Tiurkkunavāy temple was built around the middle of the 8th century A.D. It is clear that the inscription itself is related to a donation to a Jain temple.

Since Tirukkunavāy was a famous Jain temple, the inscription's reference to the construction of it implies that Tālakkāvu also was a Jain temple. The rules of Tirukkunavāy provided was the model for Tālakkāvu temple, as it is stated "those who obstruct (the properties of Tālakkāvu) shall be deemed as offenders against Tirukkunavāy"<sup>8</sup>.

The authorship of the inscription is attributed to an organisation called "Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar". The same group called Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar made the agreement referred to

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8. Ibid. Lines; 10-12.

The rules of Mūlikkalam Vishnu temple governed the Hindu temples during this period. for eg: Kaviyūr inscription which was formulated in 4051 Kali era ((A.D. 952) T.A.S. Vol I. P.407.) Thrikkakkara inscription of Bhaskara Ravi which belonged to 2+29-year. T.A.S. Vol. III. P. 153.

See also Studies in Indian History, op. cit. pp. 336-340

M.G.S.Narayanan, Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture, Delhi, 1994. p.186.

in Ālattūr inscription. It may be inferred that Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar was the organisation responsible for controlling and assisting the Jain temples in Kerala. This is also another indication of the fact that Tālakāvū temple was a Jain temple. The temple was given "Kuḍampāṭi, 24 potis and Nakarapporai 12 potis".<sup>9</sup> for the maintenance of a lamp. By donating land towards the expenditure of the temple, it was meant that the necessary income could be obtained through agriculture. This merchant organisation must have purchased the land thus donated, suggesting that a small Jain community was eventually settled there, consisting of some cultivators, functionaries of the temple and worshippers at the temple.

The importance of such a settlement in the middle of the forest along a difficult route for travelling merchants can be understood easily, as D.D.Kosambi had pointed out in the case of the earlier Jain-Buddhist viharas in the ghat regions

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9. Poti is the measure of land of 2640 square yards. (Tamil lexicon-Vol V P. 2919.) One poti is about 489 acre. The area of total land donated to this temple is 36 poti, ie 17.604 acres

of Maharashtra.<sup>10</sup> The caravans were in need of safe places to be used as shelters for men and animals travelling with precious commodities. A small community of fellow-religionists could give the caravan groups a sense of security and protection from wild animals and tribal people. The forests of this northern region of Kerala are described in earlier Tamil Sangam literature as the home of wandering Marava robbers and wild elephants<sup>11</sup>. Several herostones also tell the story of encounters between traders and robbers.<sup>12</sup> The Varadur inscription<sup>13</sup> of 17th century and the Unniccirutevi caritam,<sup>14</sup> a Manipravala kavya of 14th century show that trade centres continued to

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10. D.D. Kosambi Introduction to the study of Indian History, p.324.

See also Motichandra Sartthavahan (Tr.). Kottayam, 1968. p. 118.

11. Elamkulam, Keralam ancum arum Nurrantukalil p.22

12. Studies in Kerala History, op. cit. pp. 16-17.

13. Raghava Varier, M.R., "Varadur Jaina inscription and a note on Jainiam in Waynad" 1975.

14. Unniyacci caritam, Trivandrum, 1970.pp.16-21.

flourish in Wynad in late periods also. The Jain temples of the later medieval period show such early centres as Tālakkāvu multiplied due to the patronage of successive waves of Jain immigrants who settled down there.

There is a reference to Nagaram or trade centre, besides the reference to Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar. This would indicate that the Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar were associated with a trade centre as in other parts of South India.<sup>15</sup>

As far as Wynad is concerned, external trade has always remained important. It was famous throughout history for commodities such as Pepper, Cardomom and for woods like Teak and Sandalwood. The transportation of these materials is facilitated through the river Kabani. The development of Wynad as a commercial centre in this period continued through centuries and the Jain immigrants played an important role there.

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15. See Epigraphica Carnatica. Vol. II. P. 327.



## KOZHIKODE DISTRICT

The inscriptions discovered from Kīṇālūr near Balussery and Tiruvaṇṇūr near the city of Kozhikode, show the existence of Jain settlements and temples in kozhikode district. Moreover, the names of compounds, in and around Kozhikode reveal the presence of jains<sup>16</sup>.

## KĪṆĀLŪR

Kīṇālūr is 29 kilometers north east of Calicut near Balussery. No Jain temple exists there today. But it can be seen that a Jain temple once existed at Kīṇālūr. In 1897, Logan, the author of Malabar Manual had found a ruined Jain temple there<sup>17</sup>. Now the exact location of the temple is not clear. Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan made a detailed search to find out the location. But it

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16. N. M. Namboodiri gives a number of compound names in Kozhikode such as Camanattikunnu, Pattini, Cammanarkurri, Cinaparampu, Jinariparampu, Jinantotica. etc. A study of place names in Calicut district, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1988. p. 316.

17. Logan, Malabar 11. APP. XXI P. CCCXXXIII.

could not be traced. He saw a foundation and a few old stones in a compound called Ampalaparampu and guessed that, it belonged to the Jain temple.

. A Vatteluttu inscription discovered from Kīṇālūr throws light upon the Jain centre there. This inscription was first published in 1901<sup>18</sup>. Without any comment. M.G.S. Narayanan made a fresh decipherment of the text and made some corrections<sup>19</sup>. Analysing the contents of the inscripts he made it clear that this belongs to a Jain temple.

It does not begin with praises of Tirthankaras, which is the common feature of Jain inscriptions in many parts of the country. It does not say anything about Trikkunavāy Jain temple, nor does it state the authority of Trikkunavāy temple over the temple there.

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18. S.I.I. Vol. VII; P. 74.

19. Cultural Symbiosis op. cit. P. 76-77.

Kiṇālūr is the shortened form of Kuṇavāynallūr which is mentioned as the name of the temple three times in the text of the inscription. Moreover, the shrine is called a 'paḷḷi' a term used for non vedic centres of worship like Jain or Buddhist or Christian or Muslim shrines in Kerala. The place name Kiṇālūr itself therefore indicates its relation to Tirukkuṇavāy Jain temple. The donor of the inscription was Ārpankuñci alias Kurumporai. The name of the temple was Vijayarāgēśvarattu paḷḷi. Vijayarāgēśvara was a Cera king who is referred to in the Tarisāppaḷḷi copper plates<sup>20</sup> of Sthanu Ravi. There is epigraphic evidence to show that "The Cera king Vijayaragesvara is the son-in-law of Sthanu Ravi."<sup>21</sup> Vijayaraga who appears as prince in Tarisāppaḷḷi inscription which recorded a grant to the syrian Christian church of Tarsa in

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20. T.A.S. op.cit. Vol II.P. 80.

see also Cultural Symbiosis P. 88.

21. M.G.S. Narayanan, Political and Social conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara empire; op.cit. p.(83)

Kollam, was famous for religious tolerance. It is significant that the present temple was one built under the supervision of Vijayarāga.<sup>22</sup> The term palli which indicates a non-vedic temple also shows its Jaina connection. The tenancy rights of the properties donated to Vijayarāgēśvarattupalli were entrusted to a woman called Cāttanārukkaṭi of Tiruvañcikkulam. This relation of the temple to Tiruvañcikkulam also points towards its prominence through the association with the royal family through the connection with Vijayaraga.

. The date of the inscription is given as the 189th year of coronation of tirukkāliyaṭāṭār. It was issued on a wednesday, Makaravyāzha in the month of Mēḍa and the star in Aviṭṭom. Sthanu Ravi came to the throne in 844 A.D. Therefore Vijayaraga, who is mentioned as koyil Adhikārikal

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22. A temple called Jayaratesvara was referred to in Sukasandesam see sloka 70; It is situated south of the famous Trikkaṇāmatilakam. The same Vijayaraga might have constructed this temple.

in the Tarisāppalli plates of Stanu Ravi, must have lived the second half of the 9th century. The inscription was written 189 years after the construction of the temple ie. sometime in the second half of the 11th century. On the basis of the astrological indications in the text. Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan calculated the year of the inscription as 1083. A.D.<sup>23</sup> From this we may infer that the temple was built in the year 894. A.D., during the life time of Vijayaraga. .

In the 11th century A.D. the temple was patronised by the ruling family of Kurumporainād, a member of which, named Ārappan kuñci was the donor of the inscription. Properties were donated to the temple for daily pujas and festivals. It had thus become the nucleus of social life in the locality. The expenditure of the temple was met from the income obtained from landed property used

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23. Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit. p. 20.

for cultivation. Jains who were traders by profession seem to have gradually taken to agriculture in this region. Though the farmers were mainly men, the women were also involved in it. The karapmai granted to Kunṛan Cirunangai reveals this aspect of the social structure.

Punishments were awarded to the Karālar of tenants who defaulted in the payment of temple dues. Defaulters have to pay a penalty of three times the amount. If one fails to pay the dues for one year, he was to lose the right over the property.

The inscription refers to certain groups like Ezhunūrruvar and Mūvāyiravar. They were made responsible for the maintenance and supervision of the temples and temple properties. Ezhunūrruvar obviously refers to the security force of Kuṛumporaināḍu and the Mūvāyiravar must be a group of devotees or traders associated with the temple.

There is a reference to the performance of Kūttu in the temple.<sup>24</sup> It is for the entertainment of the people. Besides there were rituals such as Tirubali, Cāntu, Kuṭa, Candanam and Pallittāma associated with temple worship. In brief, it may be said that Kiṇālūr was a Jain centre right from the beginning of the 9th century A.D. and had become prosperous by 11th century A.D.

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24. Ibid. p. 76.

## TIRUVANNŪR

From the early times, Kozhikodu had become a Jain centre. The names of a number of places in and around the city are sufficient enough to establish its connections with Jainism<sup>25</sup>. This is proved conclusively by an inscription in Vatteluttu from the vicinity of the ancient Siva temple at Tiruvaṇṇūr<sup>26</sup>.

The Jains were attracted to this area by virtue of its commercial importance. The notes of travellers reveal the fact that it was the main centre of pepper trade in later times.. Pepper was brought to Kozhikodu from Wynad where it was produced in plenty. The Jains were one among the traders of this commodity. The Jain centres at Tālakkāvu in Wynad and Kīṇālūr near Balussery were commercial centres. While Tālakkāvu is situated on the bank of a tributary of river Kabani which links Wynad with Mysore, Kīṇālūr is on the bank of river Korappuzha. Such a location facilitated

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25. Madhavan Namboothiri. N., A study of place names in the Calicut district, op. cit. p. 316.

26. See Appendix I- C



the movement of commodities. The Kozhikodu rejoins was easily accessible to all trade centres of production in Wynad. It was convenient to reach Beypur through the river Chaliyarpuzha. One could reach Elathur through the bank of the river Korappuzha. There were two relatively ancient routes through the banks of the river Korapuzha and the river Kallāipuzha<sup>27</sup>. Two localities in Kozhikodu which are known by the name Kinachery<sup>28</sup> are present in the above trade routes. The name of these places indicate the route followed by the Jains.

Tiruvannūr was a centre of Jains in Kozhikodu area. It is situated 4 kilometers south east of modern Kozhikodu city, the medieval headquarters of the Zamorins.

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27. see for details: N.M. Namboothiri, Samuthiri Caritrathile Kanapurangal, Sukapuram. 1987.P.52.

28. Kinachery is the shortened form of Kupavāyčēry. Kupavā is the famous Jain centre in Kerala.

The ancient Siva temple with a Srikoil of Gajaprista type, was close to the Zamorins palace but it is missing from the list of temples where the Zamorins used to worship<sup>29</sup>. The Vaṭṭeluttu inscription discovered at this place proves the existence of a Jain temple around the 11th century A.D.<sup>30</sup> and this was probably converted into a Siva temple in the same way as the temple at Trikkaṇāmatilakam was changed into a Siva temple<sup>31</sup>

This inscription is of an unusual and important type. Pāliyathu Kaṇṇan Kaṇḍan, the governor of Irāmaṇaṇād and his officials including the Arunnūṛruvar alias Nilālōr decide to reject the claim of Kaṇaiyapaḷḷi Yakkan Cellan that he is entitled to receive a payment of gold from the temple because there is no precedent for such action. There is no mention of the participation of Ūrāḷar and Paraṭai in charge of the temple in the decision as in the case of other Brahmanical

29. See N.M. Namboothiri, Samuthire Charitrattile kanappurangal, op.cit. PP. 46-49.

30. M.G.S, Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit.p. 70.

31. Kokasandesam.sloka no.47.Though it was a Siva temple, this work of the 14th century mentions that Brahmins did not offer worship in front of the the shrine.

temples of the age. The occurrence of the term 'Pallī' in the family name and 'Yakkan' in the personal name of the claimant to the gold of the temple are significant as 'Pallī' usually denoted a non-Brahmanical shrine and 'yakkan' (yaksha) was a part of a Jain cult in South India. This would suggest that the temple was being taken over by the governor from the claimant who was a Jain and his claim for the gold of the temple was not admitted. The landed properties of the temple are now placed under the protection of Arunnūrruvar alias Nilālōr and they are specifically authorised to receive a protection fee from the Ūrālar and asked to maintain a perpetual lamp (Nandāvilakku) and to preserve the properties according to the rules obtaining in Tirukkūṇavāy. As in the case of Tālakkāvu and Kiṇālūr earlier, this reveals the affiliation of the temple to the great Jain temple of Tirukkūṇavāy near the capital in Kerala. The contents of the record used therefore go to show that this is a document related to the take over of a Jain temple and as such is of unique importance.

The inscription does not contain any clear indication about its date. It does not base itself upon any event such as the establishment of a particular temple in order to determine its date as we find in the cases of Tālakkāvu and Kiñālūr inscriptions. It does not contain astronomical hints pertaining to its date. The period is given as the fourth year against the fourth year of Rajarajan's reign, M.G.S. Narayanan suggested that this Rajarajan is the Cera king Rajarajan<sup>32</sup>. He was the successor to the Cera king Rajasimhan. The reign of Rajasimhan was between 1028 to 1043. A.D<sup>33</sup>. Thus the period of Rajarajan can be calculated as 11th century A.D<sup>34</sup>. The characteristic features of the Vattēluttu

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32. M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. p.72.

33. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Studies in Kerala History, 1970. p.243.

34. M.G.S. Narayanan has found that the period of the inscription is also during the middle of the 11th century . op.cit. p. 18.

script, and the linguistic peculiarities are also in agreement with the above date<sup>35</sup>.

William Logan, published this inscription on the basis of the text prepared by Dr. Gundert<sup>36</sup>. This was followed by its publication in South Indian Inscriptions<sup>37</sup>. For a long time there was no information regarding the stone on which the inscription was engraved. M.G.S. Narayanan re - discovered it in 1960 from the vicinity of the collector's bungalow at Kozhikodu. Then he published the text with a study. At present the inscription is preserved in the archaeological museum at Trissur.

The supreme authority on the matters relating to the temple was now vested with the council

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35. Ibid, P. 18.

36. No 220 of 1895. See Malabar. vol. II. 1987. Appendix XII PP. CX XII. No.4.

37. South Indian Inscriptions, vol.V. 1926, No 784. P 338.

called Arunūrruvar<sup>38</sup>. They were to take care of the properties of the temple and maintain the daily worship from the revenues of the temple. They had the power to punish the ūrālan<sup>39</sup>, for their offences in temple affairs and for stealing the property of the temple. It also states that those who violated the property should be considered to be those who destroyed the property of Trikkunavāy. Thus the council enjoys full freedom with regard to all matters concerning the temple.

38. According to M.G.S. Narayanan "The bodies of Nurruvar of the districts, corresponded to the Ayiram at the centre and varied in strength from district to district." M.G.S. Political and Social conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Kerala University, 1972. P. 124. The sixhundred of Eralanadu, Ramavalanadu, Valluvanadu, Kilmalainadu and Venadu are known to Kerala history. "Their duty is to protect the endowments and properties of the institutions with in the territory as and when they were called up on to do so." P. 126

T.A. Gopinatha Rao says that " in all probablity arunurruvar refers to a community of sixhundred persons whowere holding control over the affairs of a particular nadu or division of a country.

See the expressions found in Tharesāpalli inscriptions"(arunūrruvarum aiñcuvannavum mañikkirāmavum irakṣikkakkaṭavar)T.A.S.vol.II.p.81 and in Thiruvalla copper plates, "arunūrruvarunkūṭi aṭṭikkuṭuttān",T.A.S.vol.II.P.192.

39. Here it is with a fine of 25 kalanchu gold. See,Appendix I/ C, Line.14

## PALAKKAD DISTRICT

Palakkad had a cultural history that is quite different from the other parts of Kerala. It is singularly diversified and interesting in its physical aspect. The most striking feature is the extensive gap, known as 'Palakkad gap'. This peculiarity is described as: "This remarkable opening with the lofty Nilgiri hills and the Anamalas on either side, overtopping the ranges by several thousand feet, the numerous projecting off-shoots of the main chain separating the taluk from the neighbouring Coimbatore district with this heavy forests, extensive ravines and jungles. Stretching westward the forest-clad up lands and the gradually succeeding flat rice fields fringed with high palmyra groves and the numerous mountain torrents and small rivers all combined give an enchantment to the scenery"<sup>40</sup>. These enabled people to travel across the border between Tamilnadu and Kerala.

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40. Malabar, II. App.XXi, 1951, p.cccixxxix.

Jainism had spread in the Konga area of Tamilnadu in an early period. On the basis of a reference found in the tenth chapter of Mahavamsa, the Ceylonese chronicle, Dr. Desai comes to the conclusion that "It also points to the possibility that the Tamil land might have come into contact with the creed of lord Jina by the period of the 4th century B.C. or even earlier"<sup>41</sup>.

Palakkad is very close to Kongunad. Jainism was prevalent in Kongunad from the very beginning of Christian era. According to Arokiyaswamy, "There can be no doubt that the Kongu region was the real centre of Jainism at the commencement of the Christian era; and kept this distinction with her for a long time, even to the close of the VIIth century, when Mushkara, one of her kings, is mentioned in inscriptions as the great protector of the Jains and the builders of the Mekkara vasti at Lakshmisvar"<sup>42</sup>. The spread of Jainism in Kongunad enabled its expansion to Palakkad.

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41. Desai P.B., Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 26

42. Arokiya swamy. M., The Kongu Country, University of Madras. 1956-P.158.



Today there is only one Jain family and one Jain temple in Palakkad town. The temple situated at Jaina medu in Vaḍakkēthara village on the bank of the river Kalpāthy is comparatively new. Innes describes the Jain temple and the two Jain settlements which existed there as follows: "The few remaining Jains say that their temple is about 200 years old.... two large settlements of Jains one at Muthupattanam, which dealt in pearls and one at Machalapattanam (in which the present temple stands.) which dealt in jewels.<sup>43</sup>"

A lot of forest products of the Western ghat are also available there. Transportation to interior areas is made easy through rivers, Kalpāthy, Kannāḍipuzha and Kollamkode which are the tributaries of Bharatapuzha. These factors make Palakkad a commercial centre.

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43. Innes. C.A., Madras District Gazetteers Malabar and Anjengo, Madras, 1908, P. 446.

## ISVARANKŌḌU

On the bank of the Kollamkōḍu puzha, there is a place called Velikkad, 18 kilometres away from Palakkad in the Palakkad Mannarghat route. Isvarankōḍu compound is on the western side of Velikkād junction. Now it is owned by Shri. Muṇḍakkal Achutan. On the north - western corner of the compound, there is a small building of the size of 6 ft x 4 ft. In this house which has tiled wooden roof, the idols of two Tirthankaras are kept. The inmates of the house regularly offer pujas to these idols.

One of the idols found here is quite different from all other idols seen in Kerala. It is in Padmasana in Vitaraga posture and on either side, Sasanadevatas are carved. It has the mukkuda, the common symbol of Tirthankaras. The figure of a tree has been carved above the umbrella. There is no lanchana whereby the Tirthankara could be identified<sup>44</sup>. Half of the

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44. See plate no. 5.

pedestal is placed below the level of the ground under concrete covering. So it is not possible to examine whether there is any mark or symbol on it. It has a height to 2 1/2 feet inclusive of the pedestal. The facial expression is graceful and the body is well proportionate. According to Dr. M.R. Raghava Varier, the idol does not mean to represent a particular Tirthankara, but only the ideas of Tirthankaras in general<sup>45</sup> and hence it is Pindikkadavul. The tree shown above the umbrella

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45. Raghava Varier Keraleeyata Caritramanangal, Sukapuram, 1990.p.76

P.B. Desai reports that in Cholanandipuram in Tirukkuvil taluk of the South Arcot Dt. there is an epigraph of 10th century, dated 2nd year of the Chola prince, Ganderaditya MummudiChola and registers the grant of village Panappadi for the worship of the Jain deity Pindikkadavul consecrated on the hill and for the maintenance of the ascetics engaged in austerities. "Pindikkadavul means 'the god of the Asoka tree and this may be identified with the Jina in general with out specific reference to any Tirthankara in particular. P.B.Desai. op. cit. pp.49-50.

This view need not necessarily be true. It is possible that this kind of half relief might be portrayed on walls or pillars of Jain temples, but when Tirthankara images are for worship, they must be properly identified. Eventhough Pindi means Asoka, Pindiyan denotes Jain and Pindikkadavul is Arhat.

Tamil Lexicon, vol. V ,p.2657.

seems to point out that it is the idol of Aranatha or Mallinatha<sup>45 A</sup>.

The other idol is more attractive<sup>46</sup>. The face is round and shows deep meditation. There is no lanchana to identify the Tirthankara represented. The mukkuda is quite clear. Prabha has been carved around the image. On either side of the idol above its shoulders, the figures of Chauri bear are carved. Pieces of stones have begun to fall. Parts of the legs are also damaged. The total height of the idol including pedestel is 2 1/2 feet. On either side of it there are lions shown as standing on their rear legs. But merely on this basis we cannot claim it to be of Mahavira, for these lion figures are not found in the place where lanchana is to be found. Though half of the

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45 A. For details see , Jaina Iconography, op. cit.pp.53-55

46. See plate no. 6.

pedestal is above the ground, no symbols are found there. It is likely that the lanchna carved there have been worn out. We may consider it to be the image of Mahavira from its general features, but nothing can be said with certainty.

At present there are no followers of Jainism here. Isvarankōdu compound once belonged to Kongad Swarupam. The Jains have a settlement at Punathilakkulathu 3 kilometres away from this place.

It is not possible to assign the age on the basis of the idols of Tirthankaras. The art of sculpturing Tirthankara figures had a religious mission to serve. Their figures are exactly same in all times. But there are no such rigid rules for the figures of Sasanadevatas. They are to be noticed in the lowest corner of the image. It is possible to determine the age on the basis of the sculptural features of Sasanadevatas<sup>47</sup>.

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47. For details see, Bhattacharya, B.C., Jaina Iconography, op. cit. P. 67.

There is a significant resemblance between the sasanadevatas sculptured on the idols found at Alattur and Paruvassery on the one hand and the Sasanadevatas of Isvarankodu. They very much agree with one another in respect of the prominence allotted to the Sasanadevatas, their position above the shoulders of the Tirthankara figures, their appearance above the knees, the pointed crown and the ornamentation. These idols are also similar in respect of the lion figures which are engraved on both the sides. The idols of Alattur are assigned to 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>48</sup> Hence the age of the idols of Īsvarankōḍu also can be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D. These idols indicate the fact that Isvarankodu was a centre of the Jains in the 9th-10th century A.D.

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48. See, N.G. Unnithan, "Relics of Jainism Alathur" op. cit. P.540

See also, Cultural Symbiosis, op. cit. P.18.

## ĀLATTŪR

Ālattūr is 22 Kilometers away from Palakkad on Palakkad - Trissur route. There is a compound called Pallikkulam at Kotapuram, in the village of Kavaṣṣery. Till recently, the ruins of a Jain temple including the idols were scattered in the compound. Even today it remains a jungle with granite beams, pillars and slabs. Its Jain connection is attested both by epigraphical and sculptural evidences. In 1908 The Government of India Epigraphist had noticed a Vatteluttu inscription there. Now it is placed in the Archaeological Museum at Trissur. In 1960 the Department of Archaeology had collected two sculptures of Jain Tirthankaras from there. They were of Mahavira and of Parsvanatha. The idol of Parsvanatha is now in the Archaeology Museum at Trissur, and of Mahavira in the Archaeology Museum, Kozhikodu.

The idol of Parsvanatha is shown below a five headed serpent<sup>49</sup>. It is shown in standing posture and has a height of 3 1/2 feet. Meditating in Kayotsarga position, the image looks very handsome. The body appears to be tall and thin. The face is round and the shoulders are straight. The hands which reach the knees and the well proportioned body, clearly show the nudity and the youthfulness of the Tirthankara image. The hands and legs are damaged, and patched up with pieces of iron and cement. The nose and the lips have disappeared.

The second image is that of Mahavira, seated in a graceful Bhadrasana posture. It is very well proportioned. The Tripple umbrella is clear. Sasanadevatas figure on both the sides. The Lanchana is absent. Stella Kramrisch gives details

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49. See plate no, 7, N.G.Unnithan reports that "Instead of a seven hooded or five hooded cobra above Parsvanatha, a three hooded cobra alone is seen "Relics of Jainism Alatur". Journal of Indian History, vol, 44 ,p. 540. The image kept in Trissur Musuem clearly shows that the serpent is a five hooded one. Though this cannot be understood from the plate same here.



of this image.<sup>50</sup> An idol of a Yaksi, most probably of Padmavati, should have been present in Alattūr. N.G. Unnithan reports: "At Alatur, broken parts of female figures have been noticed, which suggest another instance of the availability of the Yaksini figures in centres of Jainism in Kerala.<sup>51</sup>" Local tradition says that there was a 'Paraccikkal,' the stone image of a Paraya lady. The whereabouts of this idol are unknown. Even though the features of the Tirthankaras are the same every where, the sasanadevatas will help in fixing the period of the sculpture, Based on this the sculptures can be assigned to 9th or 10th century.A.D. The names of the neighbouring places are sufficient to establish that it was once a Jain settlement. The hill adjacent to Pallikkulam (the tank of palli) is called Pallikkunnu. (the hole of palli) The importance of this place is revealed

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50. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p. 71.

51. "Relics of Jainism-Alatur" Journal of Indian History, vol. 44. p. 541

by a Vatteluttu inscription discovered by the Department of Archaeology in 1908<sup>52</sup>.

It is now kept in Trissur Archaeological Museum. This was deciphered, and published by M.G.S. Narayanan in 1972.<sup>53</sup> This is fragmentary. As it is damaged at top, crucial data regarding the date and purpose are missing. This inscription seems to record an agreement by Nālpattēnnāyiravar and the athikarar of Tirukkūṇavāy Tevar. The group called Nālapettēnnāyiravar must have had great importance in the administration of Ālattūr temple.

The Alattur inscription clearly shows once again that Tirukkūṇavāy temple was of supreme importance. Any obstruction for cultivation the lands of Ālattūr temple is equivalent to the

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52. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1960. p. 70

53. Cultural symbiosis, op.cit. PP. 73,74  
The non-vedic temples, especially Jain

obstruction for cultivation or the lands of Tirukkunavāy temple.<sup>54</sup>

The non - Vedic temples, especially Jain temples, were known as Pallis<sup>55</sup>. The Inscription calls the Alattur temple as palli. The lands which belonged to the palli were called Paḷḷikalambhumi and Uḷaikkalambhumi. They were leased out to tenants for cultivation, more or less like the lands of the Brahmin temples.

The portion on which indications for date might have been inscribed is lost. Hence the date has to be determined on the basis of the nature

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54. Iva kavaravum, paṇaiyam vaikavum  
taṇḍama.....  
r koṭuppālarāyil avarkal,  
Tirukkunavāy Tēvariṭai..."

See, Appendix.I- D, Lines: 8-10.

55. Jainism in South India". op. cit. p. 79.

of the Vatteluttu character and the peculiarities of language employed. According to the epigraphist of the Government of India<sup>56</sup> it belonged to the 10th century A.D. N.G. Unnithan who made a detailed study about Ālattūr<sup>57</sup> also came to this conclusion. Stella Kramrisch who made a study on the sculpture in Kerala remarks that "from an inscription discovered in this place it is gathered that these two Jain images belong to the 10th century A.D."<sup>58</sup> Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan also agrees with this view.<sup>59</sup> All these facts clearly shows that Ālattūr was a Jain centre under the Cera kingdom of sathakatini in Kerala.

Manipravālam is a peculiar literary style which was popular in early Malayalam. A particular

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56. Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1960. No. 238

57. "Relics of Jainism Alattur", op. cit. P.541.

58. The Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. P.71.

59. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. P.18

kind of Maṇipravālam is referred to as Ālattūr Maṇipravālam<sup>60</sup>. Unnūnilisandesam, a kavya of 14th century A.D. also states that Alattur is famous for Ayurvedic treatment.<sup>61</sup> It is probable that the Jains who were interested in education and treatment, were connected with these developments.

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60. Lilatilakam (ed) Elamkulam,  
Kottayam, 1972 P. 288.

61. "Ālattūrkkum cila muṇimarunnunṭu kaippuṇyamilla."  
Unnūnilisandesam, (Ed.) Elamkulam,  
Kottayam. 1970. p. 112

## PARUVASSERI

There is a village called Kannambra, between Vadakkāñcēry and Tēnāri in the Trissur - Palakkadu route. When we proceed 2 kilometres from Kannambra junction along the paddy field towards south we reach the valley of a hill. At the top of the hill, there is a very old Devi temple known as Paruvaṣṣeri Paḷḷiyara Bhagavathi temple. Beyond the Mukhamāṇḍapa there is the Śrīkōil. It is a temple with granite foundation, white washed walls and tiled roof. The foundation seems to be very old.

The idol installed in the Garbhagriha is that of a Yakshi. The Pujari said that it has the height of about 9 inches only but nobody except the Priest is permitted inside. There is a metallic mask of 2 1/2 feet in front of the idol. A figure of Kālī who cut the head of Dārūka is figured on it. Hence the identity of the yakshi idol cannot be established. On the north - eastern corner of the

temple, there is a temple without roof of 6 feet length and 4 feet width. The image of a Tirthankara is installed there<sup>62</sup>. It is seated in Vitaraga Mudra and in a meditating posture. The tripple umbrella is clearly seen over the image. It is flanked with Sasanadevatas. There is the lanchana of Tirthankara on the pedestal. Since the Balipitha (altar) is just in front of the pedestal, the lanchana is seldom visible. I was given permission to examine the lanchana on the pedestal. A figure of lion is carved as lanchana. and it becomes clear that, the image is of Mahavira. When it was discovered by the Cochin Archaeologist, in 1936, he considered it to be a figure of Buddha<sup>63</sup> He states: "Paruvaṣṣēri is a

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62. See plate No. 8.

63. See also "Buddha image at Paruvassery" R.V.R.I. Bulletin, vol. IV, part II. P. 118.

hill tract about 21 miles to the east of Trichur. .... Within the compound of the Paḷḷiyarakkāvu temple is a small shrine, wherein is a seated image of Sasta, in the form of Dhyani Buddha".<sup>64</sup> This was clearly a mistake. On the basis of the features of the sasanadevatas, the Jain sculpture can be assigned to the 9-10th century. A.D. M.G.S. Narayanan has rightly included in the list of Jain centres. "It is from the sculptures left behind in Ālattūr, Kallil, Paruvaṣṣēri, and Citarāl that we get a clear picture of the Jain forms of, worship which prevailed in the Cera period in Kerala."<sup>65</sup> In view of the Mahavira image it may be inferred that the Yakshi figure also was part of the Jain temple. It must have been converted into a Hindu temple at some later stage.

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64. Anujan achan, Annual report of the Archaeological department Cochin state, for the year 1112 M.E., 1936-37. Ernakulam. 1938. P 12.

65. Political and Social conditions of Kerala under Kulasekhara Empire, op.cit. P.



## ERNAKULAM DISTRICT

Very few remains of Jainism have been discovered in the Ernakulam District. Kōtamaṅgalam and Mūnnār regions of Ernakulam are connected with the districts of Madurai, through Bodinaikannur pass. This enabled the traders of Madurai to come in to contact with Kerala. This was one of the main trade routes in Kerala, and was also the shortest route from Tamilnadu to Mahōdayapuram, the Cera capital. It can be reasonably believed that Jains who were traders, might have arrived and settled here from the Jain centres of Tamilnadu such as Anamalai, Pukalur and Tirupparankunram.

## KALLIL TEMPLE

T.K.Velu Pillai took the Kallil temple to be a Buddha temple.<sup>66</sup> K.P.Padmanabha Menon also mentions the Kallil temple as a Buddhist or Jain temple.<sup>67</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao was the first scholar who made a detailed study about this temple<sup>68</sup>.

Mētala is a town situated 13 kms south-east of Perumbavur. There are two small hills to the east of this junction. Kallil temple is situated on the top of the second hill. It is one of the most important cave temples of Kerala. It was fully renovated about a hundred years ago. The temple

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66. T. K. Velupillai writes "There is a boulder at this place which seems to rest on a rock without proper support. Buddhist pilgrims frequent the place to see the rock cut temple. Travancore State Manual Vol.IV, 1940. P.765.

67. "The Rock cut temple at Kallil about 8 miles to the east of Alwaye in Travancore state shows distinct traces of Buddhistic may be of Jain origin". History of Kerala, op.cit; p.106.

68. Gopinatha Rao. T A S. Vol.2,op.cit. p. 130

and its properties belong to the Pisarotis of Metala. It is unknown how the Pisarotis got the right over the temple. One end of a big rock remains on another rock in a slanting position, and the other end almost touches the ground. Thus a cave was formed. It has an area of 60 sq.ft. Its one end has a height of 10 feet. The idols were installed conveniently and during renovation that portion has been separated by stone slabs to construct a garbhagriha. The portrait of Kāliyamardana is engraved on the outer side of the southern wall. The balipīṭha in front of the garbhagriha is very old. The mukhamāṇḍapam is a new addition. Buildings have been built on both sides of the mukhamāṇḍapa for convenience<sup>69</sup>.

There are three idols in the garbhagriha. Two are those of Tirthankaras made of stone and one is that of a Goddess made of Pancaloha. The Goddess, the idol of which has a height of 2 1/2

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69. see plate no.9

feet, is the main deity now. Behind this idol, there is an idol of Jaina Yakshi. According to the Pujari it has a height of 6 inches. No one is permitted to see that idol, except the pujari of the temple. So it is not possible to identify the Yakshi. Gopinatha Rao stated that it is of Padmavati<sup>70</sup>. Stella Kramrisch is also of the same opinion<sup>71</sup>. According to Dr.M.R.Raghava Varier, it is the idol of Siddhayika<sup>72</sup>. These statements have only guess value, since no one has seen it. Nothing can be said with certainty except that it is the idol of a Jaina Yakshi.

Just behind the idol of the goddess, there is an idol of a Tirthankara. Part of it is hidden by the idol of the Goddess. It has a height of about 2 1/2 feet inclusive of the pedestal. The stone on which the idol is carved has now become part of the

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70. T.A.S. Vol. 2, op. cit. p.130

71. Arts & Crafts of Kerala, op.cit.p.70

72. Keraliyatha Charithramanagal., .op.cit . p. 74.

rear wall. The idol is portrayed as sitting straight in a yogasana posture with vitaragamudra. It reveals deep meditation. Shoulders are straight. The mukkuḍa is clearly seen on the top. A lion, the totem peculiar of Mahavira is figured on the pedestal. Worship is now performed to this god in the belief that it is the idol of Siva. Both the idols of Goddess and Mahavira are installed as facing towards the east. The third idol in the garbhagriha is facing towards north. It is being worshipped as Vishnu, Only a side view is possible. It is hidden from day light. Gopinatha Rao took it to be of Parsvanatha but after a detailed examination he commented that it was of Mahavira.<sup>73</sup> But again he reiterated that it is of

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73. "I believe, however that it is perhaps not Parsvanatha, but only a replica of Mahavira; for, it has over its head the tripple umbrella and not a hood of the cobra, which distinguishes Parsvanatha from the other Tirthankaras." T.A.S. vol. 2, op. cit . p.130

Parsvanatha., for reasons unknown to us. Stella Kramrisch<sup>74</sup>, and Dr.M.R.Raghava Varier<sup>75</sup> also believed it to be of Parsvanatha. However their conclusions are based upon circumstantial evidence only.

The idol is not that of Parsvanatha. The mukkuda on the top of the figure of Tirthankara may appear to be the head of a serpent in dim light. It is this misunderstanding which led the above scholars to conclude that it was of Parsvanatha. With the help of Sri.Venu Namboodiri, the pujari of the temple, I had the opportunity to examine the idol thoroughly. The idol is 2 1/2 feet high inclusive of the pedestal, and it is artistically perfect. The stone used for this idol is darker than the one used for the idol of Mahavira. It is on Padmasana with vitaragamudra and on both sides the sasana devatas are carved. Lions

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74. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op.cit.p. 70.

75. Keraliyatha Charithramanangal, .op.cit . p74.

standing on its rear legs are carved on both the sides. The mukkuda above the idol projects towards the front. After repeated examination it was found that the lanchana on the pedestal is that of an animal. It has close resemblance to the figure of a bull. The pujari also admitted that it is so. Thus the idol misunderstood to be that of Parsvanatha is of Adinatha.

There is another half-relief carving of a Tirthankara figure on the over-hanging rock which forms the roof of the temple.<sup>76</sup> The figure is incomplete. The main characteristics of Jina images, the tripple umbrella, the lanchana, the sasana devatas, or any other symbols such as Asoka tree, svastika etc. are absent. Facial expression is not contemplative. The belly is bulging, a trait, which is not found in any other Tirthankara figure. The hands are not straight but they are thick and proportionately short. Even then

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76 . See plate No. 10.

Gopinatha Rao, considered it to be the figure of Mahavira.<sup>77</sup> Stella Kramrisch also believes that the figure is of Mahavira.<sup>78</sup> But there are no evidences in support of this view. In the present form, this does not look like a Tirthankara figure. This is believed to be that of Brahma today.

The gulika stone usually found in the southern side of the temple is kept in the eastern side. Now it is worshipped as Naga Yakshi.

There is an attempt to carve the figure of a Tirthankara on an isolated rock found two meters north-east of the cave temple.<sup>79</sup> This has not been reported earlier. Only the outline has been made with the help of chisel. The Padmasana posture is also incomplete. It may be inferred that the builders had a master plan beyond the present structure.

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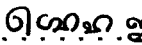

77. "On the facade of the cave and on the front of the over hanging rock is also a figure of Mahavira carved but not completed."

T.A.S. vol. II op. cit. P. 130

78. Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p. 70

79. See Plate No. 11.



Fifty meters north of the main cave temple, there is another cave. It was formed by one rock resting over three stones. On the eastern side of this cave, there is sufficient space for a man to stand erect. The figure of a Yaksha is carved on the northern side of the rock at the right side of the cave<sup>80</sup>. It can be assumed to be of Kubera Yaksha. He is the protector of the northern regions. He bears gems, decorated hair, and pot-belly. The local people worship it believing it to be of Siva. There are a few letters engraved on a rock which is lying in the cave, Part of the rock is peeled away three lines above the letters. Just above the broken part, we can see some indications of the carving of letters. It appears that it was an inscription of at least three lines. Surviving part read as......... There is a mark  to indicate that it is concluded. On the northern part of the small cave, a yantra has been portrayed on

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80. See plate No. 12.

a rock. On the whole, it appears that, there was a huge plan behind the construction of Kallil temple.

No evidence is available to determine the age in which this temple was constructed. No room has been built in the rocks, and there is any pillar to support the roof. The idols are consecrated within the natural cave. This makes it impossible to determine its age on the basis of cave architecture. This temple is not very large. It implies limited resources. These peculiarities help us to think that this temple belongs to the 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>81</sup> Stella Kramrisch who made a study of the sculpture in stone found in Kerala is of the opinion that it belongs to the 8th century A.D.<sup>82</sup>

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81. "The roundish face, the straight shoulders, the limbs in proportion to the trunk all indicate the characteristics of 9th century sculpture."

Rock-cut temples of Kerala, Dept of Public Relations, Trivandrum.

82. The Arts and Crafts of Kerala, op. cit. p.70.

See also The Administrative report for the year 1965-66, Ernakulam. 1967.p.4.

## TRIKKANĀMATILAKAM

Trikkanāmatilakam was one of the most ancient Jain temples in Kerala. This temple got its name from the place name Kunava<sup>83</sup>. Matilakam means the temple<sup>84</sup>. Hence Trikkanāmatilakam means the "holy temple of Kuṇavā. The temple was situated on the southern side of the Kuṇavāy town. The term Gunaka is the Sanskritised form of Kuṇaka or Kuṇavāy<sup>85</sup>. Early Maipravāla works refer to a place

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83. Some scholars tried to segment Kunava as Kuna and Vay. Kuna means the east and Vay means the bank. See V.T.Induchudan, The Golden Tower, Trichur, 1973, p.6.

But Kokasandesam clearly states that Kunava is the name of the place.

" Celvañcērnakkunakayilakam pukku nī tekkunōkki ccellunnēram tiraviya perunkōyil kānām purārēh".

Sloka 47. p. 57.

84. H. Gundert, A Malayalam and English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1872, p. 781.

85. This place is referred to as Gunaka and Gunapura in Sukasandesam.

"gunapurasattim" sloka no. 71 and

"gunakamuhasali visalam" sloka no, 74

called 'Gupaka' or 'Kuṇavāy', which was a big trade centre<sup>86</sup>. The prosperity of Kupaka has been described in Śukasandesā of Lekshmidasa and in Kokasandesam of an anonymous author. From all these it may be inferred that Kupaka was a very important centre of trade during 12th and 13th centuries.

There are references about Triṅkaṇāmātilam<sup>ka</sup> in medieval literature. Sukasandesā a Sanskrit work compiled around the beginning of 14th century<sup>87</sup>, refers to the temple at Kuṇaka as a Siva temple. Kokasandesam, a Maṇipravāla work compiled around the beginning of 15th century<sup>88</sup> also considers it

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86. This has been described in Unniyaccicaritam a campu kavya of the 2nd half of the 13th century as .

"Kollavibhūtim Kollum vibhavā  
nūru maṭaṇṇu koṭuṇṇallūrilu  
mēre viḷaṇṇina paṇṇupayātā,  
Kuṇavāy kuṇamapi kuṇapam dadhati  
Vaḷḷuvanagarappalli jayanti  
Putavīṭin pukaḷ viḷttina sōbha  
mandikṛta maṅgalapura mahima"

Unniyacci caritam (Ed). Narayana Pillai. P.K. Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1970. pp. 17-19.

87. KunjunniRaja. K., Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, University of Madras, 1980. P.227.

88. Kokasandesam, op. cit.P.17.

to be a Siva temple. From these it can be seen that Trikkapāmatilakam had been treated and worshipped as a Siva temple at least from 14th century A.D.<sup>89</sup> That it was a Jain temple before 14th century is proved by the inscriptions discovered from several parts of Kerala such as those found near Tālakkāvu temple at Pūtādi in Wynad, Kinālūr near Balussery, Tiruvannūr Siva temple near Kozhikode and Kāvaśśēry in Ālattūr. All these Vatteluttu inscriptions clearly suggest that Trikkānāmatilakam was a Jain temple and that it served as model for other Jain temples in Kerala.

The most important epigraphic evidence for the date of Trikkānāmatilakam is found in the Tālakkāvu inscription. This inscription provides us with valuable evidence about the construction of the Trikkunavāy temple. Till this discovery the only information was that Trikkapāmatilakam was an

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89. K.G.Krishnan has identified this place with ruins of Gopapuram near Alattur in Palakkadu district. see. "Tirukkunavay and the Inscription from Alathur" Journal of Kerala Studies, vol.I. 1973, pp. 27-32.

early Jain temple. The date of the foundation of the temple and the period during which Jainism had flourished remained unknown. The Tālakkāvu inscription refers to the era of Tirukkunavāy temple in giving its own date: "Tirukkunavāy tēvarkku cellāninrayāntu Nūrrimuppattēlu"<sup>90</sup>. This means that the construction of the temple took place 137 years before the date of the inscription. "This record which may approximately be assigned to the close of the 9th century on the basis of the early characteristics of Vaṭṭeluttu script and old Malayalam language employed is more important than the other two....."<sup>91</sup> It may be inferred from this that the foundation of Trikkunavāy temple took place during the middle of the 8th century A.D. The use of local eras based on the foundation of a Nagaram or a temple was common in Kerala<sup>92</sup>.

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90. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit., p. 75.

91. Ibid. pp. 19-20

92. P.S.C.K. op. cit. p.

Those who obstruct the rituals at Tālakkavu were to be regarded as transgressors against Tirukkunāvāy.<sup>93</sup> Ālattūr inscription of 9th 10th centuries also explains the authenticity and supremacy of Trikkaṇāmatilakam over other Jain temples in Kerala.

As Jainism declined, the Jain temples were converted into Siva temples and Devi temples. While the temples at Citaral, Kallil and Paruvassery became Devi temples, those at Trikkaṇāmatilakam and Tiruvaṇṇūr became Siva temples. The period in which Trikkaṇāmatilakam became a Siva temple is not known definitely.

In any case it had become a Siva temple before the beginning of 14th century A.D. However, the memory of this conversion was alive even during the beginning of 15th century, since Kokasandesam says that Brahmins are forbidden to worship or look at Trikkunāvāy Tevar from inside the shrine.<sup>94</sup> This

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93. Ibid - P.75.

94. "Cemmē kāṇmānarutu Kuṇakattampurāṇe dvijanmār, kkenṇāl,niyum toḷuka puṇame ninru tōḷa teliṇṇu".

sloka.48, P.58

indicates that it was different from the usual type of Brahmanical temples. Most probably the memory of the Jain association must have caused this problem for the Brahmins. It had certain non-Vedic elements and that the conversion took place not long before the 15th century A.D.

Sukasandesa and Kokasandesam help us to locate Triikkanamatilakam. The theme of Sukasandesa consists of a dream experienced by the hero, that he was suffering from separation at Ramesvaram after being separated from his wife, and that he sent a message through a parrot, which came near him. Starting from Rāmēśvaram, the parrot flies northwards in Kerala. On the way to its destination, the bird saw Cūrṇi river (sloka, 66) then the palace of Cēramān (68), and Jayarātēśwaram temple (70), the Kālī temple (71), and Nadakkāvu (72) and then it enters Gunaka<sup>95</sup>.

Kokasandesam contains a detailed account of the places from Triprañnotu of Malabar in the North

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95. Appendix no. II- A ,



upto the city of Kollam in the South. The poet narrates the journey of Koka from Kollam to Trikkanaṁmatilakam and from there to Tiruvaṅcikkulam. It describes Kākkatturutti (45), and Maccāḍiyāṇḍankulam (45) as places north of Guṇaka and Vāṇiyarteruvu, (48) Camp of Ēranāḍu prince (49) Kōtaparampa (53), Kurumbakkavu (55), Cīṅgapuram temple (58) , Mahōdayapuram and Tiruvaṅcikkulam (58 & 75), Palace of Cēraman (76), and Cūrṇṇi river (79) after Guṇaka<sup>96</sup>. It is also mentioned that Matilakam would be visible from quite a distant place as one enters Guṇaka. It indicates the exact location of Gunaka near the city of Mahōdayapuram<sup>97</sup>.

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96. Appendix no. II- B

97. Kokilasandesā of Uddanda, a Sanskrit kavya of 15th century refers to Mahōdayapuram, the destination of the messenger in Jayantamangalam on the banks of the Cūrṇṇi river.

"sā ca prēkṣya saridanupadam yatra kalmaṣitāyam  
majjan mähōdayapuravadhū kandhakastūrikābhiḥ  
raktaḥ padmaḥ kuvalayavani śāmyamāpadyamāna  
vijñāyantē sphuṭamahima dhāmōdaye jṛmbhamāṇe".

Kokilasandesā, (ed.) N.P.Unni, Trivandrum, 1972,  
(sloka 89) p.79.

<u>Sukasandesa</u>	N	<u>Kokasandesam</u>
(South to North)		(North to South)
<hr/>		<hr/>
Sloka No.		Sloka No
	Kākkatturutti	45
	Maccāḍiyāṇṭankuḷam	45
74	Guṇaka and Matilakam	47
72	Natakkāvu / Vāṇiyar Teruvu	48
	Camp of the Ēranāḍu prince	49
	Kāmapuḷa and Kōtaparaṃba	53
71	Kurumbakkāvu	55
	Ciṅgapuram temple	58
	Mahōdayapuram / Tiruvaṅcikkūḷam	58-75
70	Jayarātēśvaram temple	
68	Palace of Cēramān	76
66	Periyār / Cūrṇi river	79

## S

There has not been any serious attempt to conduct excavations in order to discover the relics

of this famous temple. An archaeological investigation conducted in 1970 discovered certain foundations which can be regarded as the relics of this temple. M. G. S. Narayanan says: "Recent archaeological investigation in this region conducted by the Archaeological survey of India, in which the present writer also participated<sup>P</sup>, brought out portions of a medieval citadel wall and the foundations of an early medieval temple of about the 8th or 9th century. Two Rajaraja coins of the 10th century were also recovered from this place."<sup>98</sup> Kokasandesam contains an account of the vāṇiyar teruvu on the Southern side of the temple. It was characterised by the shouting of people who were experts in cheating others. This teruvu was the centre of traders called Vāṇiyar in Kuṇavāy. Most probably the Vāṇiyar centre was the relic of the Jain settlement of the place.

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98. Cultural Symbiosis, op.cit. pp. 21-22

## SOUTH TRAVANCORE

## CITARAL

Citaral is a village in the Vilavancode taluk of the erstwhile princely state of Travancore. Vilavancode stretches across the country from the sea-coast to the foot of the hills. It is bounded on the north by Neyyāṛṛinkara, on the east by the mountain ranges, on the south by sea, and on the west partly by sea and partly by Neyyāṛṛinkara taluk. Āruvāmoli pass is the best entrance to Travancore. The trunk road from Tinnavelly to Trivandrum passes through it. This pass has played a great part in the history of Travancore.

Kulittura is the headquarters of

Vilavancode. Tāmrāparṇi river or Kuḷittura river flows through this place. This river is formed by the union of Kōthayar and Paraliyār. Paraliyār takes its source from Mahendragiri. It flows a south-western direction, and reaches the sea at Tēṅgāpaṭṭanam. The places like Tiruvaṭṭār, Munchira and Vilavancode lies on its bank. Kōthayar rises on the southern entity of the Muthukuḷivayal and it joins with Puraḷiyār above the town of Kuḷittura. In the plain, the streams are favourable for transport. Thus Kuḷittura became a stratagic place in Travancore.

The alluvial soil brought by this water current made this place fertile. The people are mainly agriculturalists. The chief crops are coconut, paddy tapioca and other food grains. The people had to depend on other places for clothes and other necessities. This attracted traders to this place. The facility for transportation of commodities made this an important centre of trade.

The Jains who came to Travancore from Tamilnadu through Aruvāmolī established their centre at Nagarkovil. The Nagaraja temple of that place belonged to the jains. They set out from there both by land and river and reached Kulittura, and established their centre at Citaral. The river Anantanar which flows from there joins in Kōthayār at Tiruvattār. This facilitated easy transportation of commodities between Nagarkovil and Kulittura. Kulittura was prosperous by virtue of its nearness to Nānjinādu which was known as the storehouse of rice in Kerala. With the additional facility for transportation the place soon emerged as one of the main centres of trade in South India. No Jains are found here today. The temples at Tiruchāraṇam and Nagarkovil were converted into Hindu temples. The Jains who were here might either have left the place or accepted

Hinduism,<sup>99</sup> Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts of Tamilnadu which are on the boundary of Kerala were jain centres from very ancient times. A large number of inscriptions are preserved in the jain centres of these places, such as Vellimala, Kalukumala, Ānamala Alvarmala, Azhakarmala, Karungalakkudi and Uttampālayam. on the basis of antiquity of language and paleographical evidences, it may be assumed that these places had

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99. Gopinatha Rao reports, "There were two jaina houses situated to the south of the (Nagarkoil) temple, belonging to the sthanikas mentioned above; They might have perhaps be the remnants of a large colony of Jains which might have once existed in Nagarkoyil." T.A.S. Vol II. (reprint) p. 128. It shows that there were Jains in Travancors even in 1908. Travancore State Manual reports that, there were Jains in Travancore in 20th century. It says the population of the state is composed mainly of Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans. "Besides these, there are a few minor sections which follow Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Animism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Judaism." (p.369) It adds, of the population of the state Jains are 41 and Buddhists are 64 in number. It says "Buddhism has had a few converts from the Ilava caste during the last sixteen years. The Jains and Zoroastrians, though the total number of the two classes put together is only 54, have also shown a small increase". Veluppillai. A., Travancore state Manual, p. 391.

become Jain centres around the 3rd century B.C.<sup>100</sup>. Tiruccāṇattumala in Travancore had become famous as a Jain centre along with the above places. There are two references to a lady teacher called Tiruccāṇathu Kurattikal in the South Indian Inscriptions.<sup>101</sup> It shows that the teachers of this centre were so famous that they were referred to in the records of the centres at far away places.

Tiruccāṇattu mala was relatively closer to the Jain centre at Kalukumala, situated in Kōyilpetṭi taluk of the district of Tirunelveli. The Jain temple is located in a natural cave of a steep rock. There are several beds with inscriptions in the old Brahmi alphabet. Depending

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100. P.B. Desai, op.cit. p. 64.

101. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V  
Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, 1986  
A.R. No. 35 of 1894 No 324 and 326 p. 123.

See Appendix. I. F.



on the alphabets of inscriptions, and the features of language, it has been assigned to the 3rd century B.C.<sup>102</sup>

The sculpture of Tiruccāṇattumala shows the close resemblance with the rock cut sculptures at Kalukumala. The figures of Kalukumala are carved on the over hanging rock. Small and large figures are mixed up together. Neither lanchana nor Sasanadevatas are carved on the small figures. The figures of Tirthankaras are beautiful and lively. However, the figures of Yakshis are given special prominence. The crowns over their head, ear-rings and other decorations are similar to those in the figure of Yakshi found at Tiruccāṇattumala. Thirthankaras are in kayotsarga posture while Yakshis are given a lasya mood. Even the lion facing front are similar in both places.

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102. P.B. Desai, op.cit. p.64.

The name Tiruccāṇattu mala indicates the Jain connection of the place. A section of Jains are called Cāraṇas. They were Jains who attained miraculous power through rigorous practices<sup>103</sup> Desai points out this peculiarity, "Cāraṇas were a class of sages who had attained mastery over nature." He also states that "according to another sense of the word Cāraṇas which connotes a Jaina ascetic, this hill might have been selected as a suitable place for the performance of austerities by a large number of Jaina monks."<sup>104</sup>

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103. None of the renowned Sanskrit dictionaries give the meaning of the word 'Cāraṇa' as a group among the Jains. Monier Williams (393), Apte and such scholars take it to mean wandering actor, or singer etc., depending on a vedic school. The term appear in some of the medieval literature. "Cāraṇa- rāyitu Cāttirarellām" UnnicciruteviCaritam, p. 34.

"Cāraṇasiddhasura strīnāmapi cārutayum" unniyacci Cariyam , p.33.

104. Ibid, p.64

On the north western side of the hill, there is a natural cave. This has been subsequently transformed into a temple by suitable constructions<sup>105</sup>. It draws our attention by the artistic excellence of its carvings and the abundance of idols. The figures of Tirthankaras and Yakhsis are portrayed on the polished surface of the northern part of the rock which contains the temple. The sculptures in the wall are arranged in two rows. on the top, there are small figures of ten Tirthankaras. The tripple umbrellas over the head of these small images are disproportionately big. The figures in the second row are more prominent: On the extreme right, there is the beautiful figure of the image of Ambika Yakshi of Digambara sect. There are two children on her right side. The right hand is in the pose of Varada Mudra. The left hand is hanging freely. There is the crown on her head and big kundalas on her earlobes. On the right, there is a large figure of a lion facing in front. The figure is

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105. See plate No. 13.

standing on a lotus seat and it is life-like.<sup>106</sup>

The next figure is that of Mahavira<sup>107</sup> seated beneath the triple umbrella. The Sasanadevatas and lanchana are clear. After this there are seven small figures of Tirthankaras. The small figures do not have lanchana or

106. Gopinatha Rao considers it to be Padmavati. He writes: "The figure of Padmavati devi on the left of this is standing upon a padmasana. Like the Hindu Sakti, Durga, she has also a lion, her vehicle, on her right, at the top corner. On the right stands a female dwarfish figure, an attendant carrying something in a bowl, which she keeps in her left hand. On the left of the devi stands two short male figures in reverent attitude, it is not easy to guess whom these figures represent."

TAS. vol. II, op.cit. P. 127.

P.B. Desai rightly identifies it as Ambika. He writes "she has two hands, the right in varada pose, and the left is hanging free. A lion with massive head facing the front is seen on her right. Below the hand of the lion is a female attendant standing. Two children smaller size are standing her side on the left. I am inclined to think that this deity must be Ambika, the yaksi of Neminatha. Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs.

op. cit. p 69.

According to the rules of Jaina iconography, the Digambara image of Ambika is described as riding up on lion, but bearing to hands with a bunch of mangoes and a child. The Jaina Iconography, op. cit. pp. 103-104.

107. Desai identifies it as Neminatha and writes "The seated image on the proper right may be Neminatha." Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 69.

Sasanadevatas. Then there are the standing figures of Parsvanatha and Padmavati. The figure of Parsvanatha is tall and graceful and is in Kayotsarga pose. It is well-proportioned and exhibits the beauty of the human figure. A serpent with three hoods has been carved above the image of Parsvanatha. The image of Padmavati is also beautiful. It also wears a crown and ear ornaments. She is depicted as wearing loin cloth. Her right hand is lifted and left one rests on her lip. The next image is that of one meditating in vitaraga mudra posture. Though the Sasanadevatas are clear, the lanchana is missing. Then there are four more small figures of Tirthankaras. Regardless of the fact, whether they are small or big, there are 24 Tirthankara figures on that rock, and probably each one represents a Tirthankara. Some of these figures were probably carved according the interests of differnt devotees. Five among them have short inscriptions in Vatteluttu character, below their seat, giving the name of the persons

who got them carved there. The temple consists of garbhagriha, Maṇḍapa, Varanda, balipīṭha and kitchen. The garbhagriha is divided into three cells.

The central cell contains the idol of Mahavira<sup>108</sup>. It is in padmasana with Vitaragamudra. It holds the cropped hair, long earlobes and is naked. The eyes are closed and in deep meditation. Sasanadevatas figure on both sides. It is seated on a simhasana under the triple umbrella.

Below the Sasanadevatas two lions standing on rear legs are depicted on both sides. In the cell on the left side, there is the idol of Parsvanatha, standing in Kayotsarga posture and this is also being worshipped<sup>109</sup>. On the right side is the idol

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108. see, plate no. 17.

109. See plate no. 18.

of Devi<sup>110</sup>, the main deity of the temple. Another Jaina idol is kept on the varanda of the temple<sup>111</sup>. It is in Yogic posture under the triple umbrella. It has been damaged to such an extent that now it is impossible to identify the figure. On the top of the rock, just above the central shrine, there is a brick structure which was built over the rock. Owing to the impact of oceanic winds it has been destroyed. T.A. Gopinatha Rao reports that Jina idols were plastered on it<sup>112</sup>, but no indication of a figure remains today.

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110. Gopinatha Rao reports that the original one was a plaster figure. He says "The temple was recently broken in to by thieves and the plaster images were all destroyed." Fortunately the pretty stone images of Mahavira and Parsvanatha have been spared and are at chambers of the central shrine. T.A.S. vol. I. op.cit. P. 284.

111. See plate No. 19.

112."On the top of the over hanging rock, immediately above the central shrine is built a brick gopura with here and there a Jaina figure." Ibid, p. 284.

See plate no. 14.

Today it is regarded as a Devi temple. Pooja is offered daily to Mahavira, Parsvanatha and the Devi. Since it is a cave temple, and the figures are carved on stone, its Jain character has not changed.

There are fourteen inscriptions in Citaral temple in which seven are in Vaṭṭeluttu character, one in Grantha, and one in Tamil. Three of them are completely damaged and the remaining two have only some syllables.

The most important inscription which provides us with information regarding the temple and the age of its construction is the Vaṭṭeluttu inscription carved on a rock at the southern side of the Bhagavati temple.<sup>113</sup> This inscription tells us about the age of the reign of Ay King, Vikramaditya Varaguna<sup>114</sup>. There are three

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113. See. Appendix I- E.1  
See also T A S. Vol. IV. p. 147.

114. Svasti Śrī. Kōvikkiramātitta varakuṇarkku yāṇ(ṭup)  
patinēlu etir (nālu).  
Appendix. I- E 1.



inscriptions which shows the connection with Varaguna.<sup>115</sup> Thus it reveals the close intimacy of Varaguna with the temple which was a part of the Āy kingdom. This inscription states that the Srikoil of Tiruccāranattumala was constructed during 17+4th year of the reign of Varaguna. The one who constructed it was Kuratti Mūttavāla Nārāṇa Kuttīyār. Besides, the metallic lamp and gold flower have also been offered by her to the Goddess. It can be inferred that the temple at Tiruccāranattumala was constructed during the reign of Varaguna. The period of Varaguna's was 883

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115. The king Vikramaditya Varaguna referred to in the inscription of Citaral, and the Varaguna mentioned in Paliyam copper plates are one and the same. But Desai misunderstood this Āy king as the Vikramaditya Varaguna of the Pāṇḍya line. He writes."One inscription of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Vikramaditya Varaguna records a gift of golder ornaments to the Bhatariyar of Tiruccaranattu malai". Desai, op.cit. p. 69.

A.D.<sup>116</sup> Since the inscription states that "In the month of Phalguni of this year ie. the fourth opposite the seventeenth of (the reign of ) king Vikramaditya Varaguna". It is clear that the Citaral temple was built in the 9th Century A.D.

The main deity of the temple at Tiruccāṇattumala, from the very beginning is the Devi. Hence inscriptions speak of it as Tiruccanattu Paṭāriār.<sup>117</sup> Paṭāria is the feminine gender of Paṭārar. There is also another

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116. The Paliyam inscription, which was made in the 15th year of Varaguna's reign, is the basis for determining the age. On the basis of the astrological indications and other evidences M G S has established that the age of the inscription is 898 A.D. See Cultural Symbiosis op. cit. p. 13 Gopinatha Rao who published the copper plates estimated its age as 868 A.D. with the help of Swamikkannu Pillai. T A S. Vol. I. op. cit. p. 187 Prof, Elamkulam. estimated it as 925 A.D. However historical evidences make it clear that the age of the inscription was 898 A.D.

117. Appendix I-E 2.

See also. T A S. Vol. I. op, cit. p. 287 and Vol. II. op.cit, F.N.,P. 125.

inscription which shows that it was a Devi temple.<sup>118</sup> This is engraved on a stone, now forming one of the steps leading to the pond in front of the Bhagavathi temple. It is in Sanskrit verse and in Grantha alphabet. It records that one Vijayabhadra Vipāścīt set up the stone entrance to the shrine of the excellent deity. " May this excellent door-post of stone caused to be made in the shrine of the Goddess Varasundari." It follows that the deity of the temple was known as Varasundari. among the people of the place.

Another Vaṭṭeluttu inscription recorded as belonging to the 28th year of Varaguṇa, mentions an offering made by a devotee called Guṇantāṅgi Kurattikal. She was the disciple of Arattanēmi Paṭārār of Pērāyakkūṭi. From this it appears that there was one more centre of learning within the region which was under the domination of Āy kings.

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118. Appendix I- E2.

See also. T A S. Vol. IV. Trivandrum, 1923. P.148.

The four of the remaining Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions, refer to the names of devotees who got the idols engraved on the rock. They are Vikramaditya Varaguṇa, Achaṇandi, Uttanandi and Vīranandi. The Āy king Varaguṇa is famous as the author of Paliyam copper plates. Since he was successor to Karunandadakkan, who built the Parthivasekharapuram temple, it can be inferred that he was a follower of Hindu religion. His contribution to the Jain temple reveals the cultural climate in the country which favoured an eclectic attitude in which dogmatic sectarian approach gave way to a policy of tolerance.

The most important Jain Āchāraya of South India was Ajjanandi. The inscription simply mentions "Achaṇanti Caivitta Tirumēni."<sup>119</sup> It is interesting to note that he was not confined to any of the centres. He was the Āchārya in the monastery of Kurandi Tirukkattām Palli, a huge monastic establishment of the Jains in the Tamil

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119. Appendix. No. I-E.

country.<sup>120</sup> Inscriptions referring to this monastery are available from Śramaṇamalai, a long range of hills, about 8 kilometers west of Madurai, Paḷḷinandam, a hamlet to Tiruchchuli in the Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk of Rāmanāthapuram and Kalukumalai in the Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk of Tirunelveli district. Kattampally monastery of Jains which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya monarch Mārancatayan (768-815. A.D.) may be said to have had its centre at Kuṛaṇḍi in Vēmbunād. The most important teacher of the Jains was Ajjanandi. This image is carved on the Śramaṇamalai below which is a label inscription "Sri Accaṇandi". Ajjanandis mother Guṇamatiyār is also mentioned in one of the Śramaṇamalai inscriptions.

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120. "The famous Jain teachers were "mostly natives of Tiruccāraṇam and Kuṛaṇḍi. Both of which are villages in South Travancore. The former is identical with Citaral and belongs to the reign of the early Pandya monarch 768-815.A.D.while the later is situated in the Agastyesvaram taluk and continues to bear the same name. Some of the Jaina monks who made settlements in the mountain fastness of the Madurai district came from Kurandi. T A S. Vol. IV. P. 146.

There is no clear evidence to determine the period of Ajjanandi. On the basis of the paleographical features it is assumed that he lived around 8th to 9th century A.D.<sup>121</sup> Kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi<sup>122</sup> Uttananti Adikal of Tirunetum purai was the one who got another image engraved. There was also Vīranandi Adikal, the Āchārya of Tirunarumkondaḷ monastery, who set up an idol. Narumkonda is in the taluk of Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district. It was a Jain centre from very ancient times. A number of inscriptions have

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121. P. B. Desai says "But on consideration of the palaeography of the epigraphs related to him, he might be assigned approximately to the age of the 8th and 9th century A.D." Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, op. cit. p. 63. See also "Kurandi Tirukkattampally An ancient Jaina monastery of Tamilnadu." Campaka Lakshmi.R., Journal of the Epigraphical society of India, Vol. II. p. 84.

122. Kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi does not appears to be the name of a place. While Ajjananti was the Āchārya of Kurandi kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi, Uttananti Adikal was the āhārya of Nēdūmpūrai Kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi. The terminology may indicate the Jaina temples situated on hills. The term, kāṭṭāmpaḷḷi gives such an impression.

been discovered from this place. Desai describes the place in the following words: " From the inscriptions engraved on the rocks by the side of this cavern, it is gathered that there flourished in the period of the 9th century A.D. on these hills are two pallis of Jaina monastic institutions and a shrine dedicated to the god Caturmukha. The latter appears to have been attached to the monastery called Kīlaippalli.<sup>123</sup> Vīranandi Adikal had relations with Mēleppalli monastery. One of the monasteries indicated by Desai may be Mēleppalli. Here, one thing deserves our special attention. The inscriptions tell about the Āchāryas and nuns who built temples, got images engraved and made offerings including gold to temples. But how could they manage to get the required money when they are freed from all worldly attachments and have devoted their lives to institutions of learning ? Quite understandably,

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123. P.B. Desai, op. cit. p. 92.

the only source for them was the income from the properties of temple and donations from devotees. Such income could have been used freely by the chief priest or acharya. They must have collected such donations to be used for other temples. Nārāyaṇa Kuṟatti who managed to construct the śrikōvil of Tiruccāraṇattu temple had enough resources to spend a large amount. From this, it becomes clear that there existed a system in which the temples were made prosperous, and it was common for them to render help to other temples.

Another Vaṭṭeluttu inscription is on the four faces of a pillar built into the steps leading to the kitchen<sup>124</sup>. Its date is M.E. 540 Medom (1365 A.D.) This record made certain lands available for enjoyment to the female members of the family of Danmaṣeṭṭi Nārāyaṇa Kāli of Tirukkudakkarai for rendering the services of cleanig and other temple services. It clearly

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124. See Citaral Inscription of M.E. 540 Lines 12-14



states the name of the temple as Tiruccāraṇattu Bhagavati Kovil<sup>125</sup> .

On the boulders of the South West of the Bhagavati temple there is a Tamil inscription. This is comparatively new. The period of this inscription is given as M.E 425 mesha (1250 A.D) and M.E. 440.(1265 A.D.) The content of this record is the provision for the requirments of the temple of Bhagavati. This inscription shows that Tiruccāraṇattu temple had already been converted into a Hindu shrine. During the period of these inscriptions, worship was conducted according to the practice of Hindu religion. From all these facts it becomes clear that Tiruccāraṇattu mala was famous as a jain centre during the period from 9th to 13th centuries A.D. Certain peculiarities common to South Indian Jain temples are revealed in Tiruccaranattu temple also. Tirthankaras are the

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125. Before the conversion, the goddess is termed as Tiruccāraṇattu Bhaṭārār

venerable deities of Jainism. They do not worship other deities, But in South India where the mother goddess cult prevailed, Jainism underwent certain changes. There began to develop an interest in worshipping Goddesses. Thus they tended to exalt the Yakshis, who were regarded purely as Sasanadevatas to the Tirthankara. The figures of Yakshi at Tiruccāranattumala and Kalukumalai have been given extreme importance. Even in the Varasundari temple of Tiruccaranam Yakshi was consecrated and worshipped. Paṭāriyar became the venerable deity of South Indian āchāryas. Lady teachers were found paying more attention to the affairs of the temple. Thus Mūttavāla Nārāyaṇa Kuṭṭiyār builds the Śrikōvil. Gunanṭhaṅgi Kurattikal offers lamp-stand and golden flower. These facts reveal the recognition accorded to ladies in matters of rituals and worship.

The above survey of the Jain centers would enable us to draw some conclusions about the nature of the Jain community in Kerala even though many

details are not available. This religion appears to have reached the country from the great centres in Karnataka and Tamilnadu with traders who established temples at several points along the trade routes. By the time of their advent Brahmanism was firmly established as the dominant creed patronised by the Cera kings. Therefore Jainism could not penetrate easily into the rural agricultural countryside. The distribution of the few Jain temples illustrates their dependence on merchants in these pockets. Therefore they could flourish only as long as the flow of Jain merchants continued. This would explain their decline and gradual conversion into Siva or Devi temples. When the travelling traders did not come in large numbers the Jain temples must have lost their clientele and got impoverished. In their decadent condition it would have been possible for the local inhabitants to transform them into Hindu shrines, either by purchasing or confiscating the properties and making slight alterations to the

idols and structures. Occasionally the Jain images were replaced or covered, but sometimes they were removed to give place to Hindu images. As there was no Jain laity in the pockets, the transition must have been rather smooth and quiet. The drying up of land trade invariably led to the disappearance of Jain centres of worship, leaving only a few inscriptions and idols to remind post-entry about the existence of Jain temples. The absorption of Jainism into the Hindu fold was made almost inevitable when the visit of Jain worshippers from other lands terminated.

## APPENDIX I- A

Quoted from M. G. S. Narayanan Cultural Symbiosis  
in Kerala, (Kerala Historical Society, 1972)  
 p. 75.

## TĀLAKKĀVU JAIN INSCRIPTION

Script: Vaṭṭeluttu                      Language: Old Malayalam

English Transliteration

1. Svasti Śri Tirukku
2. ṇavat
3. tēvarku ccellāniṇṇa yāṇṭu
4. nūrru muppattēlu Avvāṇṭu
5. nakaram cetu nārpateṇṇāyi
6. ravaru .....
7. vecca viḷaki nukum
8. Kuṭampāṭi irupatu
9. nālu Poti Nakaraporai pa
10. nniranṭu poti . cen
11. ṇatu vilakil Tiruku
12. ṇava pilaiccōrāvitu i
13. -----matu.

English Translation :-

Hail prosperity ! In the year one hundred and thirty seven of 'Tirukkunāvāy Tevar', The Forty eight Thousand who founded a 'nagaram' (set apart) twenty four poti from 'Kuṭampāti' and twelve poti from 'Nakeraporai' for the lamp (they) instituted for Yaksha, those who obstruct shall be (deemed as) offermders against 'Tirukkunāvāy.'

#### APPENDIX I-B

#### KINĀLŪR JAIN INSCRIPTION OF ĀRPPAN KUŌCI ALIAS KURUMPORAI

Quoted from M.G.S.Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis  
pp. 76-78.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu

Language. Old Malayalam.

1. Svasti Śri Tirukkāliyappaṭārark
2. ku tiruva (bhiseka) ṇceytu cellāninra yāntu
3. nūrrenpattonpatāmāntu Makarattuḷ
4. Viyāla nnirka Mēṭa ṇāyirruḷ

5. Pputanāṇṭaviṭṭattu nāl Kku
6. ṇavāy nallur Vicaiyarākīccu
7. varattu paḷḷikku niccanaṭai k
8. ku nānāḷiyariyu nnantāvilā
9. kk iraṇṭinukkuṇ kūṭi yirunāḷi
10. piṭikkuntūṇiyāl nāḷpatu po
11. tiyāka tiruppalikkuṇ cāntikku
12. ṇ kūṭaikkun kūttinukkuṇ cantanṭ
13. tinukkum paḷḷittāmattinukkum
14. Ārappan kuṇciyāyina Kuru
15. mpuṇai arttamkoṇṭu Tiruva
16. ṇcakkalattu Cāttanārukkaṭi
17. kku kārāṇmai kuṭuttāl tan
18. kūru Kāntāpuramum Muṭakka
19. raiyūrum Painkaṇṭattūruṇ
20. Kuṇṭṭiyum Paralāṭu mivai kārā
21. nmai vāḷntu celavu celuttak
22. kaṭaval Celuttavallātākkil
23. irunāḷittūṇiyāl nūṇṇirupa
24. tu poti nel mukkāḷvaṭṭa ttaḷavu
25. kuṭukkakkaṭaval. Orāṇṭu muṭṭuki
26. l kkārāṇmai viṭakkaṭaval tē

27. varkku Cāttanārukkaṭi Mutṭāyīn
28. nāyirū kōyirkunṟuṇ kuḷavañcēri
29. kkalīyūñ kārañmai vāḷntu tirup
30. palikk aihkala nnel kuṭukkaka
31. ṭavaḷ Kunṟan Ciṟunañkai. Mūvāṇṭu
32. kaḷiññāṭṭāṇṭaiññāḷi ttūṇi
33. yāl mukkala nnel ku
34. ṭukka kaṭavaḷ Kunṟan Ciruna
35. ñkai. Kuṇavāy nallūrttēvark
36. ku Kuṟaṭṭiyāloru nantāvilak
37. ku celuttakkaṭavaḷ Cattanārukka
38. ṭi. Tēvakinaṭai purayitañkā
39. rāñmai vāḷntu Vicaiyarākīccu
40. varattu viriccikaviḷakku ce
41. lutta kkaṭavan Cāttan Cirikaṇ
42. ṭan. Manukulai Cēkaranallūr vaṭak
43. kin karai Yārappañkuñciyāyi
44. na Kuṟumpurai tan kūru Kuṇavāy
45. nallūr tēvarkku niccanaṭai yi
46. ruñāḷiyu makkiramonṟum pōcanami
47. raṇṭinukkuñ kūttinuñ celutti k
48. kārañmai ceyyakkaṭavan Cāttan Ci



49. rikaṇṭan. Orāṇṭu muṭṭi paṇivi  
 50. ṭakkaṭavan. Palikaḷava koṭuka kaṭave  
 51. lunūrruvarum Kārālanum Mūvāyi  
 52. ravaruntiruttu celuttikkoḷ  
 53. lakkaṭavar Aram pātu kākka.

English Translation:

Hail prosperity ! In the one hundred and eighty ninth year after the sacred bath of Tirukkāliya Patarar, when Jupiter stood in Makara, on Wednesday, Avittam nakshatra, in the month of Mēsha, Ārappan Kuñci alias Kurumpurai received payment and conferred on Cāttanārukkati of Tiruvancakkalam the tenancy of her share in Kāntapuram, Mutakkaraiyur, Painkāntattur, Kuṇṭṭi, and Paralāṭu for the conduct of the expenses of daily worship with forty poti measured by the tūni holding two nāli, and Śrībali, Śanti, Kuṭai kkūttu, Cantanam and Paḷittamam in the paḷli of Vijayarāgiśvaram at Kuṇavāynallur. If she finds it difficult to conduct the expenses she is allowed

to pay in terms of paddy a total of one hundred and twenty poti measured with the tūṇi holding two nāli. If Cāttanarukkati defaults in the payment to the deity for one year she shall forgo the tenancy. If no default Kunran Cirunaṅkai shall take up the tenancy of Nnāyiru — Koyirkkunru and Kulavancerikkali, and pay five kalam of paddy for Sribali. After three years Kunran Cirunaṅkai shall pay every year three kalam of paddy measured by the tūni holding five nāli. Cāttanārukkati shall institute a permanent lamp for Kuṇavāynallūr tēvar with the revenue from Kuṇaṭṭi. Cāttan Cirikaṇṭan shall institute a Vriśchika Vilakku at Vijayarāgiśwaram with the proceeds from the tenancy of the house-site named Tēvakiṇaṭai. Cattan Cirikantan shall take up the tenancy of the share of Ārappan Kuṇci alias Kuṇumpurai in Manukulaicekaranallur north bank for instituting daily worship with two nāli of rice, one Brahmin feeding, two meals and Kūttu for Kuṇavāynallūr Tēvar. If he defaults for one year he shall leave the service. The Seven Hundred, the Ūrālan, and the Three Thousand shall supervise the measurement and rectify mistakes. May this be protected.

## APPENDIX I-C

## TIRUVANNŪR INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA

Quoted from M.G.S. Narayanan. Cultural Symbiosis  
pp. 70-71.

Script. Vattēluttu Language. Old Malayalam.

## English Transliteration

1. Svasti Śri. Ko Sri Iraiyrāyarkku ccellāninga  
yāntu nālāmāntaikkettir
2. nālu - avvāntu Irāmavalānāntu vāṇṇa Pāliyattu  
Kaṇṇaṅkṇātanum Paṇiyutai
3. yavakalum Arunūrruvaru Nnīlalōrum paṭṭār ceyta  
kāriyamāvatu Tirumānnūr pa
4. ttārar mēl Kaṇaiyappalli Yakkaṅcellan kolla  
vēṇṭumenra pon paṇṭillātatu
5. kollavēṇṭātenrolīncār i ppaṭārarmel evvakai  
ppattitūnkolla perār Nāṭuvālumava

6. num Paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷun Tirumaṇṇūr paṭṭā  
raruṭaiya tēvattuvamum pīramattuvamum Aruṇūr
7. ruvarkkum kīḷiṭu . Itinukku kīḷiṭṭu kāṇam oru  
nantāvilakkerikkakkaṭavar Ūrāḷa
8. rippaṭārarkkey. Ippaṭārarkku Aruṇūrruvarum oru  
nālai yurikoṇṭu āratinaḷ ceyvikkakka
9. ṭavar. Ippaṭāraruṭaiya iṭaiyīṭu  
Tirukkunaṭavāyotokka yilakkikkakkaṭavar  
Aruṇūrruvaru
10. Itinukku nallituntīyituṅkaṇṭu celuttakkaṭavan  
Uḷpāṭu ceyyumavan-Ippaṭā
11. rarkaṭutta tēvakāriyavun tariccirukkil Potuvāḷ  
ceṅṅu conṛatu vīṭṭikkoṭukkakkaṭavar. A
12. ruṇūrruvarum . Vīṭṭikkoṭāṭavan Tirukkunaṭavāy  
ccelluṅcelnaṭai mutṭiccōrāvōr
13. Aruṅkāṭan tōṭṭam Aruṇūrruvarkkum  
Pālaiyūrōṭokkum . Akanāliyai ccelavinuḷpuk
14. ku vilakkuvitu poruḷ kavaruvitituṅ ceyyumūrāḷan  
irupattaiṅkaḷaṅcu pontāṇṭa Aruṇūrruvarkku.

English Translation:-

Hail Prosperity ! The fourth year opposite the fourth year of the reign of King Sri Rajaraja. This is the agreement made in that year by Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan, Governor of Rāmavaḷanādu, the officers, and The Six hundred of the shadowforce. We hereby reject the claim for gold from this deity of Tirumaṇṇūr advanced by Kaṇayapallī Yakkan Cellan since it is not sanctioned by precedent. The governor and his officers are not entitled to receive any payment from this deity. The temple property and the Brahmin property of Tirumaṇṇūr shall be under the protection of The Six Hundred. The proprietors shall burn a permanent lamp before this deity by way of protection fee. The Six Hundred shall see that every day worship of this deity is performed with five naḷi of rice. The Six Hundred shall protect the property of this deity treating it as equal to Tirukkuṇavāy. The person in charge of the shrine shall carry on the administration and

decide what is good or bad for this institution. The Six Hundred shall take remedial action regarding the affairs of this deity on the basis of the report from the secretary of the shrine. If he fails he shall be deemed as equal to a person who obstructs the property of Tirukkunāvāy. The garden of Arungadan shall go The Six Hundred on the same conditions as Palaiyur. The proprietor who obstructs cultivation or commits theft in the property set apart for expenses in the temple shall pay twenty five Kalāncu of gold to The Six Hundred as fine.

## APPENDIX I-D

Quoted from M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala, pp. 73-75.

## ĀLATTŪR JAIN INSCRIPTION

Script: Vaṭṭeluttu

Language: Old Malayalam

## Transliteration

1. Svasti! Nārpattēṇṇāyi
2. ravarum paṭṭa (kaḷ) iruvarun Tirukkunavā (yil)
3. Tēvar Atikārarum  
pati.....
4. nāl amaitta.....
- 5.....
6. laṅciyar palli.....pallikal teyum.....
7. ppaṭi evvakaip paṭṭataiyum ulaikkalam  
evvakaippaṭṭataiyu
8. mp.....ppaṭṭār iva kavavarum paṇaiya

9. m vaikkavu ntaṇṭama
- 10.r koṭupṭālarāyil avarkaḷ  
Tirukkunavāy ttēvaritai.....
- 11.....yum pāṭṭār. Avar anu(pantam ceyyuma)  
vanum a ppāpa
12. ceyyakalār Nāṭṭār ...  
tavarum avar Iravi.....
- 13.....yum pala .....pacukkalaiyum konṇa paṇca
14. pātakarumāvar Avarkalumavarkaḷ cantatium i  
ppallikal
15. kkiṇaiyarumāvar I ppallikalin  
pūmikal Ulaikkalam pū
16. miyum paḷḷiyutai kkārāṇmaiyum pukkuvilakkil  
Tiru
17. Kkūnavāy ttēvaraiyum.....
18. Kkolḷitu avark.....kkappaṭṭavan  
Tirukkunavāy ttē
19. varkaḷ .....ravakkaṭavar.....Ippa
- 20.....ippallikal.....pūmi.....mēl.....
21. vāsarētu vasundharā.....Sahasra.....paḷḷi



## English Translation:

Hail Prosperity! (This is the agreement) made on the day .....by the Forty eight Thousand, the two servants, and the officers of 'Tirukkunāvāy.' The organisation of 'Valānciyar' (accepted the tenancy of ?) everything including the whole of 'Ulaikkalam' belonging to the 'Palli'. Those who steal, mortgage, or extract.....Those who give (this property away?) shall be (deemed as those who commit offences against?) the deity of 'Tirukkunāvāy'. Those who support them also shall be committing the same offence.....They shall also be deemed as having committed one of the five sins by killing cows..... They and their descendants shall be outcastes for these 'pallikkal'. If anyone obstructs the lands of these 'pallikkal' or the lands for 'Ulaikkalam' or the tenants of the 'pallikkal', he (shall be deemed as offender against?) 'Tirukkunāvāy Tēvar'.....

## APPENDIX I-E

## CITARAL INSCRIPTION

E-1

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From T.A.S. Vol. IV. 1923. pages. 147,148.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu. Language: Old Malayalam

1. Svasti Sri. Ko vi [kkiramātitta Varakuṇarkku]  
yāṇ [ṭu pa]
2. tinēlu etir [nālu] ivvāṇṭu painkuṇi-
3. ttiṇkal .....Nārānatta
4. ...yāṭṭi kuṇatti Mūtta [vvāla]
5. Nārāṇa kuṭṭiyār Tiruccāraṇat [tetu] ppi-
6. tta Sri kōyi [lukku] nantāvilakkon
7. r mūṭṭamai.....ttu....
8. .... patteppaṭin ka-
9. laṇca [lum niṇai] yuṭaiyatu nilai-
10. vilakkonṇum paṇṭārakkallāley i
11. rukalaiṇcu niṇai uṭaiya po [r pū]
12. vonṇu Bhaṭāriyārkkku.

## English Translation

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Panguni of this year, i.e. the fourth opposite to the seventeenth of (the reign of) king Vikramāditya Varaguna,.....to the shrine of the goddess (Srikōyil) which the venerable lady Muttavala Naranakuttiyar had built at Tiruccāraṇam,... for burning one perpetual lamp without default.... one lamp-stand having a weight of..... kaḷaṇju and one gold flower weighing two kaḷaṇju by the stone called pandarakkal.....to the goddess Bhatarīyar.

E - 2  
-----

From T. A. S. Vol. II p. 126.

Script. Vaṭṭeluttu. Language. Old Malayalam

"Srī Accaṇanti ceyvitta tirumēni"

(this is) the figure got sculptured by  
Achchanandi.

E - 3

-----

"Sri mēni ceyvittā [r]

Tirunetum purai k-

kāṭṭāmpalli [U]

ttaṇandi Aṭikal"

Uttananti Adigal of the Kattampalli (temple) at  
Tirunedumburai got sculptured (this) image.

E - 4

-----

"Sri Tiruccāraṇattu ppatti-

ni paṭārar ca [t] tan Vara [ku]

[na] n ceyvitta srimeni"

Prosperity ! (this is) the image got  
sculptured by Varaguṇa, the disciple of  
Pattinibhatārar of Tiruccāraṇam.

E - 5

-----

"Sri meni Tirunagunko-

ṇṭai Melaippalli

[Vi] rananti Aṭikal

ceyvitta va [vai"]

(These are) The images got sculptured by Vīranāndi-  
Adigal of the Mēlaippaḷḷi (temple) at  
Tirunarungondai.

E - 6  
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Quoted From Travancore Inscription A  
Topographical List, p. 39.

"Sri ma.....larcca

..... /

n ceyvitta tirumēni.

E - 7  
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From T.A.S. Vol. IV. pp. 149-150

On four faces of a Pillar built in to the  
steps leading to the kitchen of the temple.

Script: Vattēluttu. Language: Old Malayalam.

First face  
-----

1. Kollam. 540 [mā]

2. ntu Mēta māsam

3. 17. elutiya.
4. Kanakku. Tiru
5. nakaram Tiruk
6. kkūtakarai t
7. tanma cetṭi nāya
8. nār Narāyana
9. n. Kālī tanre
10. peṇ valikkā

Second face

11. nīyā yolla
12. karanma Tiruc
13. cāraṇattu Bhagavati
14. kōvilil aṭiccu
15. taḷi mutalāyo
16. lla piruvutti
17. er pērppaṭṭa
18. tum mer paṭi āṇtu
19. mutal mer paṭi ko

## Third face

- 
20. vilil ppātamūla  
 21. ttavare kkaimāri  
 22. ccu. avarkku.  
 23. cāvu pila oṇṭā  
 24. yāl 16 nāl ā  
 25. nru mūttaṇāya  
 26. nār pila kū  
 27. ri unnumāru  
 28. m itinnu mu  
 29. takkam varuki

## Fourth face

- 
30. l anru mūtta  
 31. rājavinnu 5  
 32. ṅkala ṅcu pon utta  
 33. ramum colli paḷa  
 34. ya paṭi Tanma ceṭ  
 35. ṭi nāyanar nārāya  
 36. nan kāli tan pen  
 37. valikkārānma

38. merpaṭi kōvilil māma

39. ṇṭapamum tirumaṭa

40. ppalliyum a.

Below the first face

41. ticcu taliyum

42. tiruvārāttinnu

43. mañṇal itika

#### Translation

This is the account of the writing made on the 17th (Solar day) of the month of the Kollam year 540. The karanmai (i.e., the right of cultivation) of the lands belonging to the female line of Danmasetti-Nayanar narayanan-Kali of the sacred city of Tirukkudakkarai for the service of sweeping and sprinkling with water the premises of the temple of Bhagavati at Tiruchcharanam, was transferred from the above said year to the Padamulam (i.e., the servants of the god) of the temple. If any pollution or death occurred to them, the Mūtta Nāyanār shall, for 16 days, mention



the fact of pollution and obtain the (customary) food. If any default arose, a fine of 5 kalahju of gold shall be accounted for (i.e., paid to) the ruling king and the duty of cleaning the mahamandapa and the sacred kitchen of the temple and of supplying turmeric for the āratu festival shall be left, as of old, with the female of Danmasetti-Nayanar Narayanan Kali.

#### APPENDIX I. F

Two inscriptions having reference to Tiruccāranattu Kurattikal.

S. I. I. Vol. V. p. 123.

F-I.

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On a stone lying near the Ayyanār Temple in the Sub-Registrars office compound at kalugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, <sup>i</sup>nnelveilly District.

A. R. M. 35 of. 1894.

1. Srī Kōttūr nāttu
2. ciru l tali
3. cātaiyan Korriyai
4. cārtti Tiruccāraṇa
5. ttu Kkurattikal ce [y]
6. vitta paṭimam

F. II. No. 326. in the same place  
-----

1. Srī Kōttūr nāttu pe
2. rumparrūr ku
3. ttakamanai cāt
4. ti Tiruccāraṇat
5. tu Kkurattikal cey -
6. ta paṭimam.

## APPENDIX I-G

## PĀLIYAM COPPERPLATES OF VARAGUNA

Quoted from T.A.S. vol. I. pp. 277-282

## PLATE 1

1. Ilaiñattukku mēlellai mel kāṇiyārkuḷattukkum  
piṭṭārikōyilukkuṇ kilakku vaṭavellai vaṇṭālāṇkōṭṭukku  
terru paṇṇi kuṭittirukku
2. karaittēvar paḷāṇcikkutterk maṇṇarai iraṇṭuṇ  
kīḷkuḷattu paṭuvana orrikkāṇāṇkōvāka ilai  
(ṇa)ttōṭē cenru varuvana ciṇṇiṭaiḷce tenvā
3. (lu) pōy ilaiṇattu nīrccāyvu ilaiñattu  
vaṭapuravaliye pōy ilaiñattukkoṇṇi  
kōṭṭamakappaṭakkōvankuḷattōṭu kala anerikkulattōṭu  
kālanerikkulattiniṭai varam

4. pē pōy kālānerikkulā milaiñattukku puravāka  
teritiñti vayalukkunteñkaraikku naṭuvāka

5. ppōyina iṭai kaliyākappōyina kīliṭu vaikku  
mēkku muticci palañciyoṭu netumaṇ

6. ṭaiyār palañci naṭuvu pōyina iṭaikalikku  
miṭattir palañcikku purukē pōyina iṭuvai

7. kkuñ kōr pulippalañcikku mēkku kiṭanta iṭavaikku  
terku iṭaikkāṭtu nallilāiyānaiyyan kōyilukku terkku  
karu

8. nantaruman kuti īrunta valarvakappaṭa  
kaṭalañkulattukku terkku paraikku terkku  
valipalāvirku iruvirtella terku kuruntukku

9. terkku kilēllai orraippanaikku mēkku  
naṭukallukku mēkku tennellai nāṭum pumulliyum  
paṭunila nikki itanakam tolikko

10. ṭṭoṭu kūṭa puñcey kūṭṭuntariṭkuraiyūlukōṭu  
cellum pu(lai)yarum maṇṇuñ kōyir kuriyatellā  
makappaṭa tirumūlavātattu patārarkkaṭṭikkutut

## FIRST PLATE SECOND SIDE

11. ōm śvasti.

yah kalyāṇamaya svayam vitanute  
 yah kalpakasya sthitim  
 yasmadabhyudita stamāmsi haratē  
 saddharma gharṃmadyutiḥ  
 yat pādāśrayīṇō

12. bhavanti sukkhina ssarvve gaṇāḥ praṇinān  
 dheyaṇ

mēsurivāpara strijagatim sarvvaṃ sa  
 sauddhodaniḥ.

Atmākāra grahaṇa vimukhā

13. vāhratāpāṅgalīlau

prāptau nityam śrutimati tṛi sānēkarūpā  
 vabōdhau  
 devyā bhūmēr nnikhila kumati dhvānta  
 rōdhānvitā

14. yāḥ nētrayētām jitakuvalayau ddharṃmasaṅghau  
 cirāya.

Niṣyādamāna karuṇāmṛtavāri pūrah nirddauta

15. nirmmala tarēva virājamānā  
lakṣmīṇ cirāya bhajatām alavalōkitasya  
diśyāttu naḥ śisira dīdhiti tulyakāntiḥ.
16. jyōtsnā pūra ivāmalaśśāsādhara  
dāhlādayan mēdinīm  
yaḥ prāvarttata yadbhavēna śāsina  
mmuktvā kalāṅkaḥ kvacit.

## SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE.

17. yasyāstōdaya Himyāsaila Malayāḥ  
sainyēbha dantāvalī  
taṅka kṣuṇṇatata bhavanti vijaya
18. stambhā jagannirjjayē.  
Āsīdyasya vilōla vīcikalikā  
bāhāgra phēnāvalī preṅghaccā
19. mara cāru cāra caturā dāsi catussāgarī  
yajjātasya karōti mūrddhni mukutibandhaika  
bandhau ramā  
līlāmbhō

20. ruhamāṇḍalēna lalitām ratnātapatra śriyam.  
 Yajjāteṣvanubandhaḥyajisu gatēṣvadyāpi  
 tārapathē  
 lakṣyantē
21. hayaṁēdha dhūma nikarā lagnā ivāmbhodharāḥ  
 Yatratyāniva cānukarttum atha te gatvā  
 catuṣṣāgarīm  
 varṣantyāhṛtamāhṛta
22. m vasumatī bhutyai svasārōccayam.  
 Sthēyāt kṣitibhṛtāmmūrdhni  
 sphuranmuktāphalōdayaḥ  
 vamaḥ vāṣṇēyabhūpānām sōyamā...

## SECOND PLATE , SECOND SIDE

23. ...vibhūṣanēna  
 bhaktyānātēna balaraji parāgadhūma  
 vyārōditāri vanitēna vilīṇja bhartrā.  
 Makarajusi dīnēṣē māsi Pausē dīnē vā  
 mṛgāsi

24. rasi Gurau sa prāpta pañcatrikāyuh  
 avanimadisādasyāḥ dikṣu sīmādi sarvvaṃ  
 dramīdavaṇa evālokyatāmatra patrē.  
 Rakṣarttha
25. masyāḥ svayamēva rājñā  
 susthāpito rājati Vīrakōtaḥ  
 bāhupadhānā muraṣi prasuptām  
 lakṣmīndadhāno vijayānuraktām.
26. yācñā karṃmanyabhavadanīsam  
 prītayē karṃma bhāvō  
 na svapnēpi prāṇayisuhṛdaḥ  
 kartṛtā yasya cāsīt  
 śoyandēvō Varaguna ।
27. ti prārthayatyātma vamsyān  
 puṇyātmasau na khalu bhavatā  
 manvāyō nāsāniyaḥ.  
 Bhūyōpyeṣa kṣitibha vṛṣabhō bhāvinō na
28. mra mauliḥ  
 sarvvanēva prāṇayisuhṛdo yācatē yādavēndrah  
 Bhūmiḥ śeyam hṛdayanihitā rakṣāniya bhavadbhiḥ  
 kāle kā



29. lē svayamiva vadhūranyabhōgapramādat.

Puṇyārambhē tvarayata mano mānavā vaḥ kṛtāntaḥ  
kālākāṅkṣī nikatamatati vyāvṛtāsyā pra

30. caṇḍaḥ.

Tasyaivāsau priyamiva pitā kartumāṣu prayāṇai  
rahnāmīso nayati bhavata mayusaśśēsa masu.  
Svasti Śrī na gōddvādasī.

English Translation:-

This land, with the boundaries mentioned above, with the Pulayas attached to it, and with all that belongs to the Koyil (king) has been transferred to the Bhaṭāra (deity) of Tirumūlavātam.

Om. Swasti. He who is full of bliss; he who manifests himself as the tree granting all wishes; he from whom the sun of righteousness has risen to put an end to darkness; he whose service makes all living beings happy may he, the son of Sudhōdana, support all three worlds like another Meru mountain.

Casting sportive glances at those who are yet without the realisation of the self; reflecting continuously the multifarious forms of life caused by desire; counter-acting the darkness of the minds of all wicked men; may Dharma and Sangha flourish for ever as the two lily-like eyes of the goddess of Earth.

Let us adore the moon-like radiance of Avalōkita from whom the nectar of grace flows down profusely and purifies everything, producing prosperity every where.

That which came from the moon-like white rays to gladden the world that the rise of which removed the stain from the moon; that which converted the mountains of sunrise and sunset-the Himalaya and the Malaya-into pillars of victory beautifully engraved by the tusks of war elephants in the course of world conquest; that for which the four oceans have become servant-maids gently moving the flywhisk of their foam-crested waves;

that the offsprings of which get the goddess of Lakshmi to place a delicate umbrella above their head with her sportive lotus circle; that the members of which performed so many horse-sacrifices as to cause the clouds of smoke linger in the sky even today like rain-clouds; that the members of which the clouds are imitating by drawing the wealth of the four oceans and distributing it for the good of the universe; in that family of Vrishni kings forming a jewel on the head of ruling dynasties, was born (this king Varaguna).

(This deed was executed) by the devoted king who is the lord of Vilinjam and who caused the womenfolk of his enemies weep at the sight of the dust raised by his forces.

When the Sun was in Makara, in the month of Pausha, on a Thursday with Mrgasīrsha nakshatra, when he was in his fifteenth year, he gave away this land the boundaries etc. of which are to be found in the Tamil portion of the copper-plates.

The king himself has appointed Vira Kota, on whose breast Laksmi, enamoured of victory, sleeps with his arm for pillow, to protect this institution.

Lord Varaguna, to whom it was always a pleasure to be the object of begging, and who has never, even in dreams, begged of others, entreats his descendants not to allow this meritorious dynasty to be ruined.

The lord of Yadavas, the best of kings, once again entreats all frineds and well-wishers as follows: "This land is to be cherished in your heart and protected for ever from the sin of enjoyment by others as if it is your bride."

Let all men hasten to turn their minds towards meritorious deeds. The god of death, terrible with wide open mouth, follows you waiting for his opportunity. His father, the lord of day, runs fast to favour him by finishing the rest of your lives. Be it well ! Bright Dvadasī.

## APPENDIX II- A

## SUKASANDESAM

Extracts from Sukasandesa (ed) Kunhikuttan  
Thampuran. Trivandrum. 1958.

Sloka.  
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65. "tacca kṣētram pathi pasupatēryyatra ca dvādasa dvā  
vaṣṭāvēkādaśa ca nivasantyaṣṭa kampa nilimpah  
sā ca dūrēpravahati sarilsōdari tāmraparṇyā  
ścūrṇṇī māhodaya pura vadhūrōjacūrṇṇīkṛtōrmṇih".
66. "Kambūnambūdarakuharataḥ karṣitān vāgurābhiḥ  
kṣiptvākṣiptvā pulinatalimē kṣipramasyāstaṭīnyāḥ  
dāśairāśākālitamatibhiḥdrakṣyasi prēryyamāṇa  
naikā naukā navajaladhara vyūhakṣṇai nadīṣṇaiḥ"
68. "uttīrṇṇastāmudadhi dayitāmuttarēṇa kramēdhā  
rājatpatti dvipahayarathānikānīm rājadhānīm,  
rājñāmajña niyamita nṛṇāmananaīr bhūridhāmnām  
rāja rajētyavani valayē giyate yanniketaḥ"

70. "acchāmarṇṇa cchadanibhiditāmartthamādhvyā mahatyā  
 gurvīm padyasrajamabhinavairgumphitām vākyapuṣpaiḥ  
 īsānāya pradīpa jayarātesvaram mandiram prā  
 pyamōdi syānnīyatamanayā sarvvathaivaīśa dēvaḥ
71. "maddhyēraṇyam mamadr̥śi bhavēstvalkarāgrē yugāntē  
 prācya prāṇāhutirapi nā yal pūryyatējāṇḍakhaṇḍaiḥ  
 mātarmātum prabhavati katham madṛaśatādr̥sim tva  
 mittham dvandvamprāṇāma caraṇāmbhōjayōścandikāyāḥ"
72. "pārsvē pārsvē madabhara paṭudhvanalōlambalōlaiḥ  
 patracchāyātimira malinābhyantarairvvallīgēhaiḥ  
 mārggārāmāstavagunapurāṣatti māśutrayiṣya  
 ntyantargandhāntara parigatasmēravaktrā dhvanīnāḥ"
74. "ayātyastam virahiṣu ni jam tapamāśajyā bhana-  
 vudhōllāsam praviṣā gunakamūhasali viśālām  
 agramyālankaraṇa hasitālāpa līla viṣeṣai  
 rmanōdrēkam manasi guṇitam kurvatīmangayōnēḥ."

## APPENDIX II- B

Extracts from Koka Sandesam (ed.) Elamkulam Kunjan  
Pillai (Reprint, Kottayam, 1965)

Slokas

45. "Kāṭum kāṭti cila mirikavum mikka Kakkattirutti  
ttōṭum pinnittitaviya tiruppōrkkalam kaṇṭu kaṇṭu  
vāmāksinām kuḷikumaṇḍaccāṭiyāṇṭan kuḷattin  
vāmēl kūṭattadaṁ Guṇakābhyāśabhūmumim bhṛ̣ethāḥ"
46. "Appāl ninre tava Matilakamkāṇalām kāṇṭilakṣhmi  
Darppōdaṇca ttaruṇa taruṇi saṅkulōttuṅga saudham  
Ippārēlum purikalatamēl vaccu tuḷḷikka vallum  
Polpūvāṇan tiruvaṭi puram kāval kāṭṭiṭumēṭam."
47. "Celvañcērnna Kkuṇakayilakam pukku nī tekku nōkki  
Cellunnēram tiraviya perumkōyil kāṇām Purārēḥ  
Allittarman kuḷalikal kurālKkaṇṇare ttallimārṇum  
Mallakkannin munayil malarvillāḷiyettōṛṇumēṭam."

49. "Cemmē kāmānarutu Kunakattampurāne dviJanmār  
kkenṛāl nīyum toḷuka puramē ninṛṭu tōlā telīṇṇu  
Pinnēkkāṇām catiyil mutirum Vāṇiyakkārar tammil  
Tinṇām pēci tteruvilutane Vāṇiyam ceyyumāru."
49. "Appōlkkēlkkāmaviṭēyoritattantarā māṇṛolikko  
ṇṭabhradhvānodbhaṭaveti niṣāṇāravābhōgabhimam  
Ērāṇātarnnitamēlu milamkūrutan nāḷiyakko  
tṭera trāsāvahamasuhrdāmēmmlarkkarttihari."
53. "Konṛattenṇilkkilikal kalikōlum Kitāṇṇūṛeciṇeykkal  
cenṛa Kkāmappuḷayumuṭanē kōtapūrvam paṛampu  
munneccenṛa ccerumikal kaḷattilkaṭakkinṛatākil  
pinneppinnē valī kaḷivaḷam kēlkkalām bhāṣaṇan tē".
58. "Ittham bhaktyā bhuvanaJananim vāḷtti niṣṣēsaṣampal  
karttāram cinṇapuramamarum dēvadēvam vaṇaṇṇi  
gatvā mulpāṭarayaḷamām tāmarappoykayilcē  
rnnastam bhānauviṣatiTiruvaṇcakkalampūkanīyum"
75. "mārārātē mahita tiruvaṇcakkalām mēvumappā,  
pārātē ni tuyilelu telīṇṇenṛivaṇṇam pukaṇṇu,  
paṭum vaitālika pariṣadām paṭṭukēṭṭāṣu gatvā  
balakriḍēṣvaramaviṭe nī kāṇka balam gaṇēṣam".



76. "bhūyassambhāvaya viyanelum cēramannātu cilli  
 ttūyattākkum nṛpakulapurim nirjjitasvarggaśōbhām  
 tārārmātin capalacarita ppōkkotuññallūreurum  
 pērāṇṭirelulakilu mulāvinṇa nānābhirāmam."
79. "āṭikkālattutaṇaṭa malakkāru kaṇṭulḷkkanam kē  
 ttatikkūṭi prakatitarasam tannilēṇṇam kalarṇṇu,  
 kūṭakūṭappariya,kaṭalumCūrṇṇiyārum,kalikki  
 nṛeṭamkāṇam priyasakhaṇinakkatra mulpāṭubhūyah."

## APPENDIX II- C

Extracts from Muṣṭāka Vamsam Kavya

ed. Dr.K.Raghavan Pillai, Trivandrum. 1983.

Sarga XII, Slokas

95. "vrajatigatimamartyamiśvarēsmiṇ jagatyah  
sapadi tadanu janma janmabhājām purogaḥ  
abhavadavani cakrē vikramōd ghātanāmā  
kṛtamatiratharāmāḥ sōmavamśa pradīpaḥ."
96. "Prathitamiha jinasya śrīnikētam kadācit  
muṣita jaṭṭa vipattērālayam Mūlavāsam  
Prthu caṭula turāṅgaḥsubdha vēlātātāntaḥ  
Kabalayitumudanvānūddhatam vyājajṣmbhē."
97. "Sapadi ca tamudantam sanniśamyāttakōpaḥ  
paribhavamiva sātrōratmanō /nantarasya  
pratijaladhi sa dūrādudyatāsīḥ pratasthē  
na khalu jagati dhīrāḥ svasya paśyanta bhūmim"
98. "Pralaya iva gabhīra dhvānamullaṅghya vēlām  
viṣṭa caṭula vīcēruddhitasyārṇavasya  
tulita jaladaśalkaistūrṇamābaddhya sētum  
balavadupalabhaṅgaiḥ stambhayāmāsa vēgam."

Musakavamāsam kavya sarga XIV, Sloka.

7. "atha kēraḷam prati sa cōḷa  
 nṛpatimabhiyātu mutthitam  
 sāhyakṛta matiramum valabham  
 prajighāya rāmaghaṭa mūṣikēśvaraḥ".
14. "Samatītya mārgamatidīrgham  
 anatibahubhiḥ prayānakaiḥ  
 kvāpi nṛpatitanayaḥ sahasā  
 vihitōpakāryamatha sadma aikṣata".
15. "Niḥja maṇḍala.....va  
 vēṣa nigadita vipattimāgatam  
 kṛtanṛpati tanayāya laghu  
 pratihārik ( ātha puruṣam nyavedayat".
16. "vihita praviṣya galitāśru  
 lulita nayanāḥ pranamya saḥ  
 svargamupagata mamuṣya gurum  
 nijagāda rāmaghaṭa mūṣikāvaram".

18. "Atha vikramōpahitarāma,  
pada viracitāhvayam ripum  
prāptamala padapi vasyavarah  
padamāsu rāmaghaṭa mūṣikāśrayam".
25. "Upasṛtya nitya susamṛddha  
vibhava gurudharmavittam  
tatra Sugatam atikāruṇikam  
Śucimūlavāsajuṣa mahyavandata."
26. "Pratigrhya ca pravara Jaina  
kr̥ta<sup>mat</sup> mahā jayāśiṣaḥ  
kōpabharita hrdayaḥ sahasā  
prayayau parairapahrtaṁ svamandiram."

Following are some place names in Kerala which begin or end with 'palli'.

Kasarakodu District

Name -----	Village -----	Taluk -----
Pallikkara		Hosdurge

Kannur District

Kilppalli		Tellicherry
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Wynad District

Pulpalli		Sulthanbathery
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Malappuram District

Pūttur Pallikkal	Pallikkal	Tirur
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Palakkad District

---

Periyamuppallī	Mannarkkadu
Kōrampallī	" "
Pallippuram	Ottappalam
Nallēppallī	Chittur

Trichur District

---

Talappallī	Talappalli
Cirrilappallī	Trissur
Varantarappallī	Mukundapuram
Atirappallī	" "
Vādānappallī	Chavakkadu

Ernakulam District

---

Valappallī	Eramanallur	Muvattupuzha
Pōlakkappallī	Eramanallur	Muvattupuzha
Mottippallī	Ilakkalu	Muvattupuzha
Morānkāttupallī	Ilakkalu	Muvattupuzha

Kūlippallī	Inanallur	Muvattupuzha
Kūlippallī	Kuttallukulam	Muvattupuzha
Pāṇṭappallī	Muvattupuzha	Muvattupuzha
Paḷippuram	Palukkulam	Muvattupuzha
Puthuppallippuram	Cirnallur	Kunnattunadu
Ēlamvakapallī	Ciranallur	Kunnattunadu
Paḷippuram	Ciranallur	Kunnattunadu
Kōṭṭamcattappallī	Aykkaranadu	Kunnattunadu
Mōṇappallī	Aykkaaranadu	Kunnattunadu
Idappallī	Idappallī	Kunnattunadu
Pūyappallī	Vadakkekara	Parur
Paḷippuram	Vadakkekara	Parur
Tattappallī	Kottupallī	Parur
Paḷiyākkal	Elikkara	Parur
Mūlampallī	Varappuzha	Parur
Paḷippuram	Trikkakkara	Parur
Kunnappallīśṣeri	Parakkadavu	Parur

# Kottayam District

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Valappalli	Mancadikkara	Changanassery
Madappalli	Changanassery	Changanassery
Valappalli	--	Changanassery
Cāttappilāppalli	Kongur	Minachal
Pilāppalli	Kongur	Minachal
Mundappalli	Kongur	Minachal
Vellilappalli	Ramapuram	Minachal
Valiyappalli	Minachal	Minachal
Pulāppalli	Kidangur	Minachal
Pallippurattuṣṣeri	Vaikkam	Vaikkam
Pallippuram	Pallipram	Vaikkam
Kunnupalli	Mulakkulam	Vaikkam
Kunnappalli	Nattakam	Kottayam
Ilampalli	Akalakkunnam	Kottayam
Putuppalli	Putuppalli	Kottayam



### Idukki District

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Perumpallicciṛa	Kumaramangalam	Todupuzha
Cankarappaḷḷi	Karikkodu	Todupuzha
Paḷḷikkal	Karimannur	Todupuzha
Paḷḷivāsal	Pallivasal	Udumpancola

### Alappuzha District

---

Vāḷappaḷḷi	Tamarakkulam	Mavelikkara
Paḷḷikkal	Paḷḷikkal	Mavelikkara
Mēnōmpaḷḷi	Tekkekkara	Mavelikkara
Paḷḷikkal	Nuranadu	Mavelikkara
Putuppallikunnam	Nuranadu	Mavelikkara
Tōṭṭappaḷḷi	Purakkadu	Ampalappula
Kaḍakkarappaḷḷi	Vayalar	Cherthalai

### Pathanamtitta District

---

Malappaḷḷi	Kalluppara	Tiruvalla
Mallappaḷḷi	Mallappaḷḷi	Mallappaḷḷi

Chandanappalli

Adoor

Adoor

Kollam District

Marutaman palli

Veliyam

Kottarakara

Pūyapalli

Veliyam

Kottarakara

Pallikkal

Mailam

Pattanapuram

Cādanappally

Pattanapuram

Tevalli

Tevalli

Kollam

Pallittōṭṭam

Tevalli

Kollam

Kurippalli

Kannanallor

Kollam

Mampalliśēri

Perinad

Kollam

Pallimunśēri

Adiccanallur

Kollam

Pārippalli

Parippalli

Kollam

Pallikkal

Mulavna

Kollam

Palliyara

Mulavna

Kollam

Śīnkārappalli

Kallada

Kollam

Palliyil

Poruvali

Kunnattur

Palliśērikkal

Poruvali

Kunnattur

Kaippalli

Suranadu

Kunnattur

Ilampalli

Pallil

Kunnattur

Pallikkal

Pallil

Kunnattur

Cakkuvaḷḷi	Sasthancotta	Kunnattur
Kīccappaḷḷi	Ivarkala	Kunnattur
Pallikkanakku	Krishnapuram	Karunagapalli
Kōṭṭampaḷḷi	Krishanapuram	Karunagapalli
Puthuppaḷḷi	Putupalla	Karunagapalli
Maḍappaḷḷimuri	Cavara	Karunagapalli
Manappaḷḷi	Tazhava	Karunagapalli
Perumpaḷḷittara	Mutukulam	Karunagapalli
Pallippāḍu	Pallippadu	Karunagapalli
Kunnappaḷḷi	Kirikkadu	Karunagapalli
Pallippāḍu	Trikkunnappuzha	Karunagapalli

#### Trivandrum District

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Pallivilākam	Manampur	Cirayinkil
Ōṇappaḷḷi	Manampur	Cirayinkil
Pallikkal	Madavur	Cirayinkil
Pallippuram	Pallippuram	Kazhakkuttom

# **CHAPTER V**

# **CONCLUSION**

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Jainism, the ‘Noble Faith of Lord Jina’ occupies a prominent position in the traditional Indian religious systems due to its rich contributions to the socio-economic, cultural and political life of India right from its origin in 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE in the Gangetic valley.

The Early inroad of Jainism into the south was another epoch-making event in its history. The missionary activities of Visakhacharya and his disciples in the Pandya, Chola, Chera and Punnada countries helped the spread of Jainism even into the Sinhala country. Most of the available Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions dated between 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE, in the caves of Madurai region clearly speak about the prominent presence of Jain monks and followers in the Tamil country. Out of the 89 inscriptions (from 30 sites) 84 (from 28 sites) have Jaina affiliation which establishes that Jainism was the first organized religion of the masses that flourished in the Tamil land<sup>1</sup>. The Jains preached their doctrines in the vernacular language which endeared them to the common people. It can be called as ‘Dravidian Jainism’ as it enshrined the age-old Dravidian beliefs, rituals, cults, customs and traditions, strikingly different from its counterpart in other parts of the country.

It was Jainism which heralded the literary productions in Tamil and Kannada languages. Most of the Jain saints were versatile writers and they produced a large number of scholarly works. Perhaps the most crucial contribution of Jains to the Tamil literature was in the field of grammar, lexicography, and prosody. *Tholkappiyam* is the first grammatical work in entire Dravidian languages. The influence of this work even on the modern Malayalam language can be identified. Besides, the contribution Jains in the fields of philosophy, logic, and other disciplines is also noticeable. The impressive authorship of the most of the literary creations like *Thirukkural*, *Naladiyar*, *Padinenkilk-kankku*, *Eladi*, *Palamoli*, *Aranerisaram*, *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Neelakesi*, *Jivaka Chintamani*, *Valayapathi*, *Perunkathai*, *Chulamani*, *Yasodhara Kavyam*, *Merumandarapuram*, *Kalingattupparani*, *Sripuranam*, *Yapparungalakkarigai*, *Yapparungalam*, *Neminatham*, *Venbapattiyai*, *Vajjanandimalai*, *Nannul*, *Divakara Nigandu*, *Pingala Nigandu*, *Chudamani Nigandu*, *Tirunurrandadi*, *Tirukkalambagam*, *Enchuvadi*, and *Jinendramala* belongs to the Jains. These remarkable creations elevated Tamil literary tradition to the highest pinnacles. It was these literary contributions that

paved the way for the popularization of the Jain philosophical tenets in the Dravidian country and also triggered cultural transmissions from north into the interior south India. Certain Tamil Jain works or their themes are the replications of the basic Jain scriptures in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Kannada and other languages. The propagation of Jain philosophical tenets and doctrines in native language educated the people to abhor and abstain from animal sacrifices and other such bloody rituals.

On the social front, the egalitarian Dravidian societal setup was further enriched by the doctrines of the Noble Faith. Commoners were attracted to the *Pallis* and *basties* maintained and operated by the monks and nuns, which gave great impetus to the spread of education among the masses. These institutions become the epicentres for their literary creations. These voluminous literary works of the Jains are very useful for reconstructing the Jain past of the Tamil and Kerala regions.

The trading communities were the real patrons and carriers of this Faith and its associated institutions, largely established on the hilly tracts and on the trade routes. They carved out and donated rock beds and *atitanam* (caverns) for their spiritual teachers. Sometimes, the traders accompanied by Jain monks established new settlements in different parts of the region. These accompanying missionary monks, at times settled even in the midst of dense forests for their penance. Such highway monasteries in the midst of the forest called *Kattamballies* also became temporary resting places for the caravan traders. From there, the missionaries following the caravans propagated and transmitted Jaina doctrines to other new settlements in the remote regions of the country. It can be stated that that the early Jain missionary activities were significantly encouraged by the trading communities, which in turn gave the ritual sanction and sanctity to their economic and professional activities.

From the cultural perspective, the importance given by the Jains to language, literature and education broadly helped the development of the Dravidian society. Even though, this Noble Faith has lost its glory in the south Indian society by 15<sup>th</sup> Century CE, the folk groups of the region still knowingly or unknowingly follow its inheritance in their everyday life which can be identified as legacy of the 'Northern-Tamil-Dravidian' Jainism.

## Royal patronage to Jainism

The Chandragupta-Bhadrabahu tradition describes the arrival of the Jains to Shravanabelagola region of Karnataka from the Magadha *Janapada* and from there into Tamil and Kerala regions. All the ancient ruling dynasties of the Tamil country such as the Cheras, Cholas, Pandyas and Pallavas, extended their support and patronization to Jainism. The medieval Deccan dynasties such as the Western Gangas, Kadambas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Hoysalas also extended their benevolent patronage to the Jains.

Some of the Early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions provide information about the royal patronage of the ancient *Muvendar* (three kings) family, specifically of the Pandyas and the Cheras. The Mangulam inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of Pandya king Nedunchezhiyan (Nedunjadaiyan) and the Kongar Puliyanikulam record<sup>3</sup> of the Chera king *Chera Athan* (c.2nd Century BCE) tells us about his donation of a *palli* and a natural cavern respectively to the Jain monks. Another record<sup>4</sup> (c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE) speaks of the donation of a cave at Muttupatti near Madurai to a monk by the junior Chera prince from Muziri (*Ko Athan*, the *Elamakan* of *Muziri*). A Tirupparankunram record<sup>5</sup> (c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE) speaks of a gift made to the Jains of that place by one Anthuvan, who could be the same Anthuvan Cheral, the father of the Chera king glorified in the *Sangam* classic *Pathitruppathu*<sup>6</sup>. The Jambai record<sup>7</sup> (c.1 Century CE) unveils the *Sramana* affiliation of the *Satiyaputtas* alias Adigaman rulers of Tagadur. The Edakkal cave record<sup>8</sup> (c.3<sup>rd</sup> Century CE) of the Chera king *Katumiputta* also shed light into the *Sramana* association of the rulers from the ancient Chera dynasty.

## The Pallavas

The Pallavas (Kaduvettis) of Kanchi was another ancient dynasty of south India which extended patronage to Jainism. On the basis of the inscriptional study corroborated with literary evidence, it seems reasonable to say that all the rulers of this dynasty from Simhavarman III, his wife, his son Simhavishnu, his grandson Mahendravarman I were staunch followers of Jina and his doctrines<sup>9</sup>. His adoption of Saivism under the influence of saint Appar led to significant changes in the history of Jainism in the Pallava country, which has many similarities with what happened to the medieval Hoysala Jainism after the conversion of Vishnuvardhana into Vaishnavism under the

influence of Saint Ramanuja. The absence of inscriptional evidences compel us to infer that except<sup>10</sup> Paramesvaravarman I, Nandivarman II, Dantivarman, Nandivarman III, and Kampavarman, most of the later Pallava rulers were not much concerned about Jains and its followers of their empire. The philosophical and spiritual currents of the Hindu Bhakti movement of the age gave the first serious blow to the development of Jainism in the Tamil and Kerala country.

### **The Kadambas**

The Kadambas of Banavasi (c.3<sup>rd</sup> -6<sup>th</sup> Century CE) who were the subordinate contemporaries and successors of the Pallavas are known for their support to Jainism. Despite professing Hinduism, they also encouraged the *Sramana* faiths, especially Jainism. Inscriptional evidences of the main branch of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavasi (Vaijayanti) from its early ruler Kakusthavarman up to Harivarman (one of the last prominent rulers) clearly show that Jainism enjoyed their patronization. The same can be said about the rule of the collateral branch of the Kadambas established by Krishnavarman I ruling from Tripavarta in southern Karnataka. His Halsi plates, Marigesvaravarman's Banavasi, Devagiri and Halsi Plates are the strong evidences to prove the Jain patronization of this branch of the Kadambas. Ravivarman is the most prominent ruler of this dynasty. Though, we have many inscriptions testifying to his patronization of Brahmins and Buddhists, the bulk of them have clear-cut Jaina affiliation mentioning land grants to either the Jain *basties*/temples or the monks/priests. His Gudnapura pillar inscription<sup>11</sup> provides some new insights into the unique features, acquired through acculturation, of the early medieval south Indian Jainism. Harivarman was the last important ruler of this dynasty and his two sets of copper plate grants<sup>12</sup> also speak about his Jaina association. In the case of the Tripavarta branch of the Kadambas, the Devagiri plates<sup>13</sup> of Krishnavarman I, the Mudigere plates of Vishnuvarman and Simhavarman are examples for the Kadamba patronage to the faith of Lord Jina<sup>14</sup>.

Under Kadambas of Banavasi, the Halsi (Palasika) region was one of the main Jain hubs of Deccan, which received munificent donations from all the rulers. All Kadamba rulers as also their subordinate kings and chiefs, erected temples at Palasika for their spiritual satisfaction as well as political benefits. The Kirti family of their subordinates, such as Srutakirti, Dharmakirti, Srikirti, and Jayakirti were also devout Jain priestly



class. The inscriptional evidence proved the presence and activities of the various Jain sects and sub-sects like *Aharishties*, *Nirgranthas*, *Svetapatas*, *Kurchakas* and *Varishena Acharya Sangha* at Halsi. During the reign of Harivarman, Halsi became his capital city which led to its development as a great spiritual center.

The popularization of the Yakshi cult, specifically the Padmavati cult was another significant development of the Kadamba Era. The worship of *Manmatha* or *Kama*, the god of love could be another interesting Jain cult occurred in the Kadamba age, possibly due to the syncretism between Hinduism and Jainism. Availability of the earliest archaeological and epigraphical evidence related to the Jaina *Kama* cult from the summer palace of King Ravivarman support the above observation. Inauguration of dance and other theatrical art forms in the Jain temples indicate the emergence of feudal oriented social order based on agricultural expansion connected to the establishment of Brahmin settlements. Different Jaina sects receiving and sharing the land and other grants from the rulers through a single order, also speak about disputes between these sects which might have led to the issue of such royal orders<sup>15</sup>. In the light of all these facts, it can be stated that Kadambas of ancient and medieval period richly patronized Jainism in Karnataka and contiguous regions of peninsular India, as their counterparts: the Western Gangas.

### **The Western Gangas**

Western Gangas of Talakad were the most important dynasty in the history of Jainism in south India. Their tenure was indeed the golden age of Jainism which can be compared with that of the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. Seven centuries of political supremacy by this ruling family made the Kannada Jainism a unique one. Under their benevolent patronization Jainism got the status of the 'state religion' and Kannada country became the focal point for south Indian Jainism.

The origin of this dynasty itself is connected with Jainism as enshrined in the legendary account of a Jain Acharya Simhanandin as the royal preceptor. Most of the early rulers of this family were staunch Jains and some of them appear fanatical in their obedience to the faith. The performance of *Sallekhana* by Marasimha II is enough to support this statement. The Ganga kings along with their subordinates and their family members, chieftains, etc., made lavish donations in both cash and kind, to Jain monks, nuns and

their establishments attached to the new *pallis* and *basties*. Shravanabelagola, with its colossal statue of *Gommatesvara* emerged as the principal hub of Jainism in south India during this period.

A galaxy of Jain scholar poets adorned the Ganga Royal court such as Akalanka, Prabhachandra, Elacharya, Ajitasena, etc. Akalanka and Prabhachandra initiated measures to thwart the Hindu revivalist movement heralded by Adi Shankaracharya and his disciple Kumarila Bhatta.

The Patronization provided by the Gangas, attested by their inscriptions<sup>16</sup> helped Jainism to survive in Karnataka and some other parts of south India for a few more centuries. With their efforts and encouragement, the Kannada version of Jainism penetrated into Tamil and Kerala countries. The reign of Sripurusha was a glorious chapter in the history of Jainism of not only in Karnataka but Tamil Nadu and Kerala as well. It is reasonable to name the Western Gangas of Talakad as the most significant Jain dynasty in the entire Indian subcontinent.

### **The Cholas**

The reign of Rajaraja and Rajendra, heralds the imperial power of the Cholas, while the Pandyas and the Cheras accepted their suzerainty. Although the Cholas were not direct patrons of Jainism, in certain corners of their empire many Jaina settlements flourished. We have quite a few inscriptions<sup>17</sup> of this period which reveal Jaina affiliation. Inscriptions belonging to the regnal periods of different Chola kings like Aditya I, Parantaka I, Gandaraditya, Parantaka II, Rajaraja, Rajendra, Rajadhiraja I, Virarajendra, Kulothunga I, Vikrama, Kulothunga II, Rajaraja II, Kulothunga III and Rajaraja III, found across Tamil Nadu, pointedly tell a fact that rather than the rulers, their subordinates and chieftains patronized the Jina's faith.

On the basis of inscriptional sources we have identified the flourishing Jain centres in the Arcot and Madras region, specifically at Tirunarungondai, Tirumalai, Vellore, Villupuram, Tindivanam, Gingee, Tirukkoyilur, Chittamur, Chengalpattu, and Vandavasi. The most important of them being the Tirunarungondai in Tirukkoyilur taluk of Villupuram district, where the celebrated *Perumballi* (big *Palli*) received benevolent donations from the Chola monarchs and their subordinates. The occurrence of the inscriptions of the period of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Kulothunga I, Vikrama Chola,

Kulothunga II, Rajaraja II, Kulothunga III, and Rajaraja III from Tirunarungondai clearly ascertain this fact. The huge mountain containing the famous *Appandainathar* temple and its sub shrines was certainly a land mark in the history of Jainism under the Imperial Cholas. It was also a great center of learning due to the presence of two great scholars namely Gunabhadra and his disciple Mandalapurusha, the latter being the author of two extraordinary works *Chudamani Nigandu* and *Sripuranam*.

The Popular Bhakti Hinduism was responsible for the decline of Jainism in the Chola country. Although the Chola emperors extended their patronage to Saivism, the trading communities stood as the backbone for Jainism. The inscriptions of the merchant guilds like *Narpattennayiravar* and *Perunagarattar* show that they had independent authority in terms of their secular/private as well as religious affiliations. It is safe to say that the initiatives taken by different sections of the society like traders, chieftains, royal subordinates, saints and lay followers along with some rulers helped this faith to ‘survive’ for a couple of centuries even after the Cholas in the Tamil country.

### **The Hoysalas**

The Hoysalas were another prominent dynasty of south Indian known for its patronization to Jainism. Epigraphical evidences<sup>18</sup> analysed in the previous pages, attest to the Hoysala political supremacy in the Kannada country between the first part of 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE and continuing up to the early decades of 14<sup>th</sup> Century; and in their hay day decided the political and cultural destinies of not only the Deccan but also to a certain extent, the Tamil region of peninsular India including Kerala. A clear-cut Jaina affiliation of this ruling house is an irrefutable fact unveiled by a score of inscriptions. Early rulers of this house up to Vishnuvardhana were staunch followers of the faith of Lord Mahavira. The *Sala* legend of this dynasty itself has some Jain affiliation, as in the case of the Simhanandin tradition of the Gangas of Talakad. Almost all the Hoysala rulers had reputed Jaina monks as their preceptors. Shanti Deva was the spiritual preceptor Vinayaditya; Ereyanga’s teacher was the celebrated Gopanandi Pandita Deva of the *Kundakundavaya* of the *Mula-sangha* and *Desi-gana*. The reputed physician, Charukirti Pandita, adorned the Hoysala court and acquired the title *Ballala Jivarakshaka* for successful curing of an awful illness suffered by King Ballala I.

Vishnuvardhana in his early days established many *basties* and richly endowed them with munificent gifts. It appears that even after his conversion into Vaishnavism, the condition of Jainism in the Kannada country did not decline. He gave permission to build the *Drohagharatta Jinalaya* in the capital city in memory of his great minister cum general Ganga Raja and named the god of the temple as *Vijaya Parsva* and subsequently named his new-born son as *Vijay Narasimha* Deva to commemorate the Jain deity of the shrine. During the period of Vishnuvardhana and afterwards Jainism in Karnataka was protected and patronised by the elite strata of the Hoysala society, specifically the royal house, generals, ministers, chiefs. The role played by the royal merchant-officials, guild chiefs, and other common merchants was also very crucial for the survival of Jainism. Santala Devi, the chief queen of Vishnuvardhana patronised Jainism. The entire family of Santala Devi were Jains, which indicate the egalitarian character of the Hoysala royal house.

The minister-general of Vishnuvardhana, i.e., Ganga Raja stood as a bulwark for Jainism in the Hoysala kingdom. It was due to his initiatives that this faith was saved from immediate and definite decline subsequent to the conversion by Vishnuvardhana into another faith. Not only Ganga Raja, but his two sons Boppa and Echana, and his entire family patronised the Shravanabelagola Jain establishments. Contributions of some other Hoysala officials such as Punnisa Raja, Bittiyanna, Deva-Raja, and Mallinatha, and the merchant officials like *Hoysala Settles* (official royal merchants), and *Pattanasvamis* (Mayors) were also crucial in the glorious history of Hoysala Jainism.

The minister-commander Ganga Raja, can be compared with his counterpart Hulla of the Western Ganga ruler Narasimha I, in terms of patronisation and lavish donations to Jaina institutions. Some inscriptions rightly described Hulla as the “modern Ganga Raja”<sup>19</sup>. Inscriptions also attest the fact that Ballala II was also not against Jainism and we are aware that his teacher was one celebrated Jain Acharya Vasupujya Vratindra. Ballala’s Saivite Brahmin minister Chandramouli and his devoted Jain wife Achiyakka were the best instances for the existence of an unorthodox Hindu-Jain acculturated medieval family. Minister Chandramouli and his wife Achiyakka episode will lead us to remember the historical relation between Vishnuvardhana and his chief queen Santala Devi. Both these cases can be considered as the typical examples for the

unorthodox spiritual ways of life followed by the upper strata of the Hoysala society<sup>20</sup>. Inscriptions also inform us that the Jain Scholar saint Meghanandi was the spiritual teacher of Narasimha III, and that he went on a pilgrimage to the *Vijaya Parsva* basti at Dwarasamudra and made lavish endowments to the same. To conclude, during the Hoysala age Jainism was one of the major faiths in the Kannada country.

### **Jainism in Kerala: A Historical Perspective**

This study revealed that the present Kerala region had a glorious and magnificent Jain past comparable with the neighbouring Kannada and Tamil regions. All the previous researches have dated the spread of Jainism into the Kerala region to 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> Century CE. Traditional accounts corroborated by inscriptional evidence attest the fact that the early Jain migrants from northern India first arrived in the Shravanabelagola and immediately penetrated into the peripheral areas of the Karnataka and from there to the Tamil country. This fact naturally leads us to postulate that Jainism in the Tamil and Kannada country has synchronized by Kerala Jainism.

The previous studies failed to figure out the significance of the coastal towns and ports cities of Kerala in the ancient global trading and commercial activities and in the export of spices and other commodities of this land. It is crucial that trade is the only occupation sectioned by the doctrines of Tirthankaras, and in this context we argue that in the rich global trade, it must have been these early Jains that played a vital role. The opinion of M.G.S. Narayanan that ‘the Western Ghats and its dense forests created hindrances for any kind of systematic invasions before Tiger Tipu of Mysore’<sup>21</sup>, is completely illogical as it failed to understand the historical importance of the Palakkad gap in molding the historical events of ancient and medieval history of Kerala. Furthermore, in the southern Kerala, Western Ghats have a huge gap that provided access point to Travancore region; and in northern Kerala, another gap provided access to the Tulu country which stimulated the Socio-political, economic and cultural history of Kerala.

The Chola, Pandya, Kadamba, Pallava, Ganga, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Hoysala rulers made invasions to Kerala country and most of the time they crossed these so-called ‘natural hindrances’. The thick forests were never a barrier for them. The Pallavas, otherwise known as *Kaduvetti* (forest machete) shows that they cleared the

forests and expanded their territories. After the decline of ancient Cheras, the Kadamba, Pallava and Ganga interlude in Kerala, has been clearly proved in this study, with the help of inscriptional evidences, which were not noticed by the previous scholars.

Geographically, the political boundaries of the Kerala region changed hands between these powers. The northern part of the present Kerala state came under the dominance of Kannada-Deccan dynasties; simultaneously southern part was controlled by Tamil kingdoms. Any of the political, cultural or social vibrations in the Kannada and Tamil regions directly or indirectly affected this country as well. The ancient Chera territory was not confined to the present Kerala region alone. For sometime they governed from Vanji in the western coast and later from Karur in the present Coimbatore region. Their political realm extended to not only present Tamil Nadu but to Tulu, Coorg and southern parts of Mysore district of present Karnataka. The Pallavas, Kadambas, and the Western Gangas had their own clear-cut Political clasp on the Kerala soil. Later, the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra occupied this space. Thus there is no doubt about the penetration of Jainism into the present Tamil Nadu and Kerala regions almost simultaneously. The present study have highlighted the role of the extra-native inscriptional evidences corroborated with the native inscriptional and literary sources to prove that Jainism entered into this region during or before the early Centuries of the Common Era and it also made a mark on the ancient and medieval history of the Malayala country.

The traditional accounts preserved in certain literary works and inscriptions, tells us that a group of Jain missionaries of the *Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta-sangha*, under the leadership of one Visakhacharya have already been discussed. The Kundakunda tradition of 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE or the first Century CE also tells us about his missionary activities in the Chera, Chola and Pandya countries<sup>22</sup>. His preaching could be largely influenced the Chera subjects. The famous Punnada country and its Jain monastic organization *Punnada-sangha* had a direct connection with the *Bhadrabahu-sangha* proves the influence of Jainism in early historical Kerala. The inscriptions belonging to different dynasties and kings like the Punnada-Raja Ravidatta, Gangas, Cheras and the Kadambas of Wayanad along with the account of Ptolemy attests that ancient Punnada country comprised of a major part of the present Malabar region of Kerala including Wayanad and extended up to the borders of Palakkad. *Punnada-sangha* was the first

Jain monastic organization which greatly influenced the people of Kerala and hence it is correct to identify the ancient Kerala Jainism as the *Punnada Jainism*.

It is interesting to note that most of the available Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the caves of *Tamilakam* are related to the Jainism<sup>23</sup>. We saw that the Kongar Puliyankulam record<sup>24</sup> (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE), the earliest epigraphical evidence to divulge Jaina affiliation of the Kerala country refers to one *Chera Athan* alias Chera king from the Kerala country that caused to be carved out a cavern possibly for the Jain monks for their penance. The c. 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE Muttupatti inscription<sup>25</sup> speaking about donation of a cave to the Jains by a Chera Junior prince from Muziri ( *Ko Athan, Elamakan of Muziri*) along with a chieftain or commander from *Nakaperur* (*Nagapura* alias Pambra) in Wayanad is another record testifying the ancient Jain past of the Kerala country.

In the case of Tamil-Brahmi records from the Chera territory, out of 22 records, 18 directly or indirectly have Jaina affiliation<sup>26</sup>. These records were roughly assigned to the period between the c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE and the c.4<sup>th</sup> Century CE. From a c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE inscription<sup>27</sup>, we identified that one *Vessan* from the western coastal region of Kerala (*Panithurai*) made an *atitanam* (stone bed) for the monks at Ayyarmalai near Karur. It is noteworthy that most of the Pugalur inscriptions have Jaina affiliation and all of them refer to the endowment of either cave shelter or stone beds by the prominent personalities including the rulers, chiefs and traders of the Chera Empire. The place *Kuna* to which *Ilanko* belongs and who donated a *palli* mentioned in one of the Mannarkovil inscriptions<sup>28</sup> of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE could be the *Kunavayir Kottam* alias Mathilakam near Thrissur where *Ilanko Adigal* who led his ascetic life and authored the epic *Silappadikaram*. This record can offer exciting avenues for the study of *Kunavayir Kottam* Jain *palli* along with the *Ilanko Adigal's Silappadikaram* in the history of Kerala. The second inscription from Mannarkoyil which mentioned the Jain *katika* alias *ghatika* is comparable with the medieval Brahmin *Salais* of Kerala<sup>29</sup>. Even these scanty evidences hint at the fact that Jainism was one of the first organized religions flourished in ancient Tamizhagam that included both Kerala and Tamil Nadu together at least from c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE onwards. Our study of the above early Tamil-Brahmi records together with the Tamil classical literary sources such as *Pathitruppathu*, *Akananuru*, *Purananuru*, *Silappadikaram*, has also proved beyond any

doubt the relation between the ancient Cheras and Jainism, than the other two dynasties of the ancient *Muvendar* group, the Pandyas and the Cholas.

This inscriptional analysis corroborated with the literary evidence, proved that certain ancient Chera rulers were not just the followers of the Lord Jina but actual practitioners of his doctrines. Ilango Adigal, younger brother of king Chenguttuvan was a Jain monk who lived in the *Thrikanamathilakam* near Kodungallur, who authored the great Jain epic *Silappadikaram*. This study has also proved the Jain affiliation of the title '*Athan*' mentioned in many of the cave inscriptions<sup>30</sup> from the Tamil Nadu and Kerala, such as *Chera Athan* of Kongar Puliyankulam and the *Ko Athan* of Muttupatti inscriptions; the *Ko Athan Sel Irumpurai* in the two Pugalur inscriptions; the *Ko Athan* in the Edakkal cave inscription. At the same time, we have also hypothesized that the term *Athan* in these cave records could be denoting some common people also. *Per-Athan* in the Kongar Puliyankulam record and the *Athan Chathan* in the Kunnakkudi inscription could be a surname of an individual. The *Athans* in the three Alagarmalai Jain cave complex inscriptions were either merchants or other professionals. The *Venni Athan* of Pugalur Jain cave complex was also an oil merchant. However, all *Athans* were patrons of Jain monks and nuns, because all the records mentioning them were discovered from the Jain caves. In short, *Athan* was a Jain. In that sense, the Chera rulers who had *Athan* title or surname were the followers of Jainism. The first ruler Udayan Cheralathan, his son Neduncheralathan, his son Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko Valiyathan (*Athan Chel Irumpurai*) must be Jains. In the light of certain references in the *Akananuru*<sup>31</sup> and *Purananuru*<sup>32</sup> regarding the Jain practice of *Vadakkirikal* (facing north) by the king Udayan Cheralathan after his shameful defeat in the Battle of Venni in the hands of Chola king Karikala, further corroborate the Chera ruler's Jaina affiliation.

However, it seems reasonable to surmise that all the three mainstream ancient belief systems such as Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism were together patronized and practised by the Chera rulers. Ilango Adigal, the author of *Silappadikaram* was a Jain at the same time his brother, king Chenguttuvan, at the present state of our knowledge, was a follower of Hinduism. At the same time, the Tirumalai inscription<sup>33</sup> of Vidugadalagiya Perumal mentioned one *Elini* or *Yavanika*, identified as the Cheran Chenguttuvan who installed Jaina Yaksha and Yakshi images there. According to



*Silappadikaram*, Chenguttuvan installed Buddhist *Pattini* image for Kannaki at Vanji. Kannaki and her husband Kovalan practised the Jain ritualistic way of bathing, clothing and eating. Kannaki's entire family members were Ajivikas. Kovalan family members were the followers of Buddhism. Ilango Adigal's best friend Sithalai Sathanar (Kulavanikan Sathanar, author of *Manimekalai*) was a Buddhist. On the basis of the inscriptional study, it can be said that the early Chera kings such as Udayan Cheralathan, Neduncheralathan, Saint-prince Ilango Adigal, Adu Kottu Pattu Cheralathan, and Selvakkadunko chiefly patronized the Jains than any other sect.

The Tirumalai inscription<sup>34</sup> proves that the Later Cheras known as the Perumals of Mahodayapuram, were the continuation of the ancient Cheras. Traditionally, most of the ancient Cheras of Muziris (Vanji) and Karur were either Jain followers or patrons of this faith. During the medieval age, the Hindu revivalism and subsequent historical events naturally influenced the Later Cheras of Kerala, along with the other ruling dynasties of the Peninsular India such as the Gangas, Hoysalas, Pallavas, Pandyas, etc. Instead of 'Athan,' the use of the term 'Perumal' with the names of the later kings of this dynasty could be the best example for their change in faith under the influence of the Tamil bhakti movement. However, the rulers like Vijayaraga, Rajaraja, Rama Kulasekhara, and Vidugadalagiya Perumal were positive in their patronisation of Jainism. The *Vijayaragiswaram palli* possibly established by king Vijayaraga shed light into the Jain patronization of the earliest Perumal of Kerala<sup>35</sup>. Rajaraja's Thiruvannur record is the best instance for another lenient Perumal's tolerant attitude towards the 'Noble Faith'<sup>36</sup>.

Our study has also unveiled one more important fact that Rama Kulasekhara, the last known Chera king who ruled from the Kerala soil was also a staunch Jain. The Kollam pillar inscription<sup>37</sup> which connects Rama Kulasekhara with the famous *Trikunavay*, the ancient and medieval pivot of Kerala Jainism, is a vital evidence for this postulation. This inscription also shows the direct administrative control of the temple by the king in the collection of taxes and conduct of the rituals of *Trikunavay* temple through the organisation called *Trikunavay Ayiram* alias *Ayiram* (The Thousand) and its commander, the *Trikunavay Ayiravan* alias *Trikunavay Adhikarar*. The *Ayiram* of the *Trikunavay* temple was not only a managing organisation of *Trikunavay* temple but also a shadow force of this Jain king Rama Kulasekhara. The present *Onnu Kure Ayiram*

*Yogam* (The Thousand without One) of the Kodungallur temple is also identified as the inheritor of the *Ayiram* organisation of the last Perumal Rama Kulasekhara. The excluded one could be the king himself as mentioned by the temple tradition, and the reason could be his last journey to Mecca after the conversion from Jainism to Islam. The *Keralolpathi* tradition says a story about the chief reason behind the conversion of the last Perumal into Islam was an atonement due to the wrong punishment that given to the Nair commander-in-chief of the king's protection force (The ten thousand or *Pathinayiram*)<sup>38</sup>. This commander namely *Padamel Nair* could be the *Trikunavayiran* alias *Ayiravan* in the Kollam pillar inscription<sup>39</sup>, and he also could be the *Trikunavay Adhikarar* find mentioned in the Alathur record<sup>40</sup>.

In short, the ultimate collapse of the Chera kingdom of Makothai could be on account of the religious shift to Jainism, then Islam by King Rama Kulasekhara and his subsequent journey to Mecca. The *Keralolpathi* tradition corroborated with the *Onnu Kure Ayiram* tradition related to the Kodungallur temple are supportive for the historical fact told by the Kollam pillar inscription.

This study also identified one more Later Chera ruler next to Rama Kulasekhara, the Vidugadalagiya Perumal, son of Rajaraja Chera, who ruled from Tagadur instead of their traditional capital Mahodayapuram. His Tirumalai inscription<sup>41</sup> speaks of the renovation of the shrine dedicated to Yakshi and Yaksha which was established by the ancient forefather of this dynasty *Elini (Yavanika)* alias Cheran Chenguttuvan. Unfortunately, we did not have any piece of evidence regarding a patron role played by the king Vidugadalagiya Perumal in the Kerala country to save this faith. Future studies and findings will definitely unveil the hidden fact regarding Vidugadalagiya Perumal's contributions to the medieval history of Kerala in general and Jainism in Kerala particular.

This study on the basis of the records from Kinalur, Thiruvannur, Thazhekavu, Alathur, and Kollam inscriptions<sup>42</sup> clearly proved that during the Perumal age (9<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE) Jainism existed side by side in the Kerala country, and some of the Chera Perumals benevolently encouraged this faith. During this period Jainism came to be amalgamated into Hinduism. The Jain-Nair warriors in the *Trikunavay Ayiram* and the *Kodungallur Ayiram*; the *Muvayiravar* and *Ezhunnuruvavar* of the Kunavaynallur and the *Arunurruvar*

of Trikkakara and Thiruvannur also disclose the same fact. These facts made us to postulate about the large scale assimilation of the Jains into the Hindu Nair fold in the Kerala soil.

Regarding the Ay dynasty of Travancore (c. 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE to 10<sup>th</sup> Century CE), we did not have any evidence to prove their Jaina affiliation except Vikramaditya Varaguna, the most well-known *Sramana* patron of this dynasty. On the basis of the Paliyam copper plate grant<sup>43</sup>, certain scholars observed that Vikramaditya Varaguna was a follower of Buddhism. But the three Tamil-Malayalam vatteluttu epigraphs<sup>44</sup> of the Chitharal temple testified his Jain affiliation and one of them clearly says that Varaguna was the disciple of *Tirucharanathu Pattini Bhattarar*, (Jain monk of *Tirucharanam* alias Chitharal). In the case of the last mentioned record, M.G.S. Narayanan observation that “*it is not clear whether Varaguna of this record is the same as the Ay king Vikramaditya Varaguna,*”<sup>45</sup> can be disputed on account of the other two inscriptions of the same ruler from the same site will force us to ascribe the third one also to Varaguna. On paleographical grounds also these three inscriptions can roughly be assigned to the same period. It should be remembered that the Paliyam copper plates has nowhere mentioned Varaguna was a Buddhist. On the basis of a mere land grant to a Buddhist Vihara or the invocations to *Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha* in the inscription, it must not be rational to infer that the ruler mentioned in the record was a follower of Buddhism. On the contrary, the fact that Varaguna in the Chitharal inscription was a disciple of a Jain Saint *Pattini Bhattara*<sup>46</sup>, logically lead us to conclude that he was a benevolent Jain king who had a benevolent attitude towards other faiths of his empire. On account of that, the title ‘*Kerala Chandragupta*’ is more apt for Varaguna than the already attributed one ‘*Kerala Asoka*’ due to his endowment to the Buddhist *Srimoolavasam Vihara* of the Paliyam copper plate grant.

### **The Supra-Regional Powers and Kerala Jainism**

This study clearly established the role played by the Supra-Regional powers, especially of the Kannada-Deccan region in the political, economic, cultural and religious domains of Kerala country. The Western Ganga presence in the Kerala soil during the ancient and the medieval period was established as a genuine historical fact. The inscriptional evidences of this dynasty clearly attest that Western Ganga rulers made certain

contributions to the Kerala Jainism as well. The Alathur Jain establishment in the district of Palakkad becomes prominent during the reign of Durvinita and Avinitha. Avinitha's endowment to the Adigal saint of the Perur alias *Tiru Siva Perur* (Thrissur) is noteworthy. Contributions made by Sripurusha to Kerala Jainism were also remarkable. Identification of Sripura Jain settlement in the Malabar region of Kerala is an interesting stepping stone related to the study of Jainism in Kerala. Political sway over the Wayanad region during major part of the Ganga rule certainly contributed much to the 'Wayanadan Jainism'. After the Gangas, under the Hoysala dominance helped much to survive this noble faith in that region; though it completely faded away from rest of the Kerala country. During the Ganga age, the religious activities of the *Punnad-sangha* or *Kittur-sangha*, became widespread in the entire Peninsular India and must have played a key role in the propagation of Jainism in the Kerala country.

The Kadambas of Banavasi also had their political control on the soil of Kerala. The Talagunda inscription<sup>47</sup> of Santhivarman says that Mayurasarman, the founder of the *Kadamba Kula* acquired a country extended up to the Western Ocean from the Pallavas, which must have included some parts of Kerala as well. The *Keralolpathi* tradition also refers to the Kadamba administration in the Kerala country under Mayuravarman<sup>48</sup>. On the basis of the Nilambur plates<sup>49</sup> and the Gudnapura pillar inscription<sup>50</sup> of Ravivarman, Edakkal cave short inscription of Vishnuvarman<sup>51</sup>, along with the early Pallava records<sup>52</sup> like the Palakkad and Dasanapura plates and some Ganga records, the political presence of the Kadamba ruling family over the Kerala country has been established<sup>53</sup>.

The epigraphical evidences further attest that the Kadambas were good patrons of Jainism not only in the Kannada country but Kerala as well. The *Palli* named *Multagi* ('...*multagi-namadheya-palli*...') mentioned in the Nilambur copper plates<sup>54</sup> of Ravivarman record has been identified as a *Palli* at Muthanga in Wayanad. The Nilambur plates of Ravivarman Kadamba is not only the earliest native copper plate record that spoke about Brahmin presence in Kerala, but Jainism as well. The mention of the Kerala's unique Tribal-Dravidian worshipping centres called *Kavus* (sacred groves) in this inscription is also remarkable in the history of Kerala.

The Gudnapura pillar inscription<sup>55</sup> of the Kadamba Ravivarman is another important record mentioning endowments to the temple of *Padmavati* at *Kallili*. This is identified

as the present *Padmavati* of Kallil near Perumbavoor in Ernakulam district. The Dravidian-Malayalam term *Kallil* means ‘in Rock’. The *Silagrama* Jain temple mentioned by a Rashtrakuta grant<sup>56</sup> further support the identification of Kallili in the Gudnapura record as the present Kallil temple in Kerala because the Dravidian term *Kallil* is the Sanskrit rendition of *Silagrama*. The Rashtrakuta grant also mention that the *Silagrama* was under the administration of the Chief of *Kunangil*. Kunangil has been identified as the *Kunavaynallur* alias Kinalur near Kozhikode on the basis of the references in a Hoysala record<sup>57</sup> that mentioned the Kunangil along with some other Jain centres of Kerala like *Korati* (Kurandi), *Tamarecharu* (Thamarassery) and *Kantapura* (Kanthapuram).

We also found that the numerical groups such as the *Annuttuvar* (The Five Hundred) and the *Ezhunnuttuvar* (The Seven Hundred) were closely related Kunangil alias Kunavaynallur alias Kinalur of Kerala. Likewise, the general belief among the scholars that the Kallil shrine belonged to the period of 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Century CE should be corrected in the light of the Gudnapura record and it is logical to push back the history of the Padmavati of Kallil to at least 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

At the present state of our knowledge, the earliest known native ‘little hint’ regarding the presence of Jains in Kerala goes back to 2<sup>th</sup> Century CE. This is a potsherd inscription discovered from Pattanam, the ancient port city of western coast find engraved some Tamil-Brahmi writings were deciphered as *ammna* alias *Sramana*, that exclusively used to denote Jain monks in Tamil and Kerala country. The previous studies regarding Jainism in Kerala started only with the Thazhekavu vatteluttu record<sup>58</sup>, discovered from Poothadi near Pulpalli in Wayanad district, which could be the oldest full-fledged Jain inscription discovered from the geographical territory of Kerala, but it has been assigned to the later part of the 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE. We have some more Jain vatteluttu inscriptions discovered from Kinalur<sup>59</sup>, Alathur<sup>60</sup>, and Thiruvannur<sup>61</sup> in Kerala dated to 10<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE. On the basis of these medieval inscriptions there was a general consciousness among the historians that the Jains came to Kerala very late compared to Tamil and Kannada countries, and Jainism was not a conspicuous one in this region. On the basis of the non-native Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions dated (c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE to c.4<sup>th</sup> Century CE) to the period of ancient Cheras we already saw that the Jain presence in the Kerala country synchronized with that of the Tamil and the Kannada regions. Besides, it is also proved that most of the native

Chera rulers were followers of Lord Jina's Noble Faith. Further, the study of the Kadamba records has established their strong political presence over Kerala country and their patronization of both Jains along with Brahmins of this region. On the basis of all these early records, it seems reasonable to say that Jainism was a prominent religion in Kerala country probably during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE - 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE, almost seven Centuries earlier to what commonly believed.

The reference to *Pugal Aruvaani* of *Chovareyyoor* (The famous dancing girl of Chovarayyoor) in the fragmentary Mathilakam unpublished record and the mention of *Kama Jinalaya* of *Kama* or *Manmatha* in the Gudnapura record<sup>62</sup> brings out the interesting facet of the presence of dancing girls in the Jain temples. This study has shown that besides the Hindu temples, even the Jain temples were maintaining temple dancers or *Devadasis* and that like Hindu shrines, the Jain temples also patronized the dance and other kinds of artistic expressions. The Jain temples were also attached with dancing halls, female residences, along with theatres. On account of that, it is logical to infer that a large number of temple oriented theatre arts has their early genesis in the Jain temples. In the case of Kerala, the traditional dance forms like *Koothu*, *Chakyar Koothu*, *Yaksha Gana*, *Koodiyattam*, etc., might have originated from the theatres attached to the Jain establishments. We have descriptions about *Koothu* in epic *Silappadikaram*<sup>63</sup>. The Kollam Rameswaram Koyil pillar inscription<sup>64</sup> belongs to the last Perumal Rama Kulasekhara refers to some endowments to the *Trikunavay* temple for conducting *Thirukkoothu*. The Kinalur Jain inscription<sup>65</sup> also speaks about the concert of *Koothu* at the *Vijayaragiswaram palli* at *Kunavaynallur*. The last mentioned two findings undoubtedly tell us that both the *Thrikanamathilakam* (*Trikunavay*) and the Kinalur Jain temples had *Koothambalam* (temple theatre). The emergence of the various kinds of performing arts and rituals in the Jain temples could be the products of the acculturation ensued between Hindu and Jain ways of life. Through this study, we have established the relationship between the famous dancing girl (*Pugal Aruvaani*) with the *Thirukkoothu* festival of *Trikunavay* Jain temple and also with the performance of *Koothu* at the *Kunavaynallur Palli*. The transformation of these dancing girls as the Nair dancing girls or courtesans is portrayed by the Medieval *Manipravalam* literature, was a very remarkable development in the social history of Medieval Kerala.

Regarding the medieval Cholas and the Kerala Jainism, we found that very few inscriptions are helpful for the study. The lack of corroborative native evidences made

the task of historical narration difficult. However, the identification of the Chola commander *Narasingan Sri Yamkan Irama Devan* mentioned in an inscription<sup>66</sup> from the Appandainathar temple at Tirunarungondai (Tirukkoyilur Taluk, Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu), who made certain donation to the *Periyapalli* and *Melaippalli* at there, as a Jain or Jain-Nair *Senapati* from the *Keralantaka Chaturvedimangalam* in Venadu (Travancore) in the Chera country, is a significant finding, which add strength to the postulation of Jain-Nair assimilation in Kerala during the medieval period.

We further found that during the Chola era the merchant cum skilled labour guild called *Narpattennayiravar* was an influential organization flourished in the entire peninsular India including Kerala. The existence of this organization can be traced from very earlier days of Chola imperialism. It was not just a trade or skilled professional's organization, but maintained their own militia and probably had the parallel authority over the law and order and other administrative matters in their area of jurisdiction. They provided military support to the rulers during the war time. They opulently made gifts to religious establishments and constructed public utilities.

*Narpattennayiravar* was not an exclusive organization of any particular religious community. The membership included traders and skilled labours from all the communities. However, we have to remember a fact that Jains were the most prominent trading community of south India and on account of that, we cannot neglect the crucial role played by Jains in this organization. There is a good probability to trace the Jain origin of the *Narpattennayiravar* organization during in its early stage. The large scale conversion of Jain traders into Hinduism ensued during the era of Bhakti movement in south India probably acculturated this popular guild as well. The Thazhekavu<sup>67</sup> and Alathur<sup>68</sup> inscriptions are sufficient to understand the importance of *Narpattennayiravar* in the Jain temples of Kerala.

The *Nagaram* established and attached with the Jain temple at Poothadi could be an important trading centre of that region. Thazhekavu (Poothadi) was situated on the prominent trade route connecting Kerala and Karnataka regions. It is no wonder that one of the members of the *Narpattennayiravar* at *Tirukkunavay* made some endowments to the Siva temple at Karnataka. Kerala coast and coastal trade were more valuable for all the traders and their organization of south India. The Alathur<sup>69</sup> record attests the relation of the *Tirukkunavay* temple with the *Narpattennayiravar* body. The

*Narpattennayira Pillai*, a Siva devotee find mentioned in a Pandya record<sup>70</sup> belonging to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan reveals the prominent role played by the Nair community in the *Narpattennayiravar* organization. The *Pillai* is a sub caste of the Vellala community in the Tamil country. At the same time in the Kerala country, *Pillai* occupied the Nair sub-caste folder. Tamil Vellalar and Kerala Nairs enjoyed equal caste status in the society similar with the Karnataka Shetty; this fact also further support the hypothesis regarding Jain-Nair assimilation in the Kerala country.

The records of the Hoysalas play a crucial role in the political, social-economic, and cultural spheres of Kerala<sup>71</sup>. They are also helpful in assessing the status of Jainism not only in the Kannada country but in Kerala as well. Their inscriptions from the time of Vinayaditya (c.1047-1098 CE) up to Ballala III (c.1292-1343 CE) attest to their control over Kerala. The brisk trade and commercial activities with western and far eastern countries through the ports of Kerala were the chief concern of the Hoysala rulers. That consciousness most of the time made them keep at least the Malabar region of Kerala as the part of their kingdom.

It has been established that most of the early Hoysala rulers up to Vishnuvardhana were staunch Jains. Unfortunately, at the present state of our knowledge, we did not have any native evidence regarding their direct patronization to the Jains of Kerala. At the same time, the non-native records belonging to that ruling family clearly attest that Vishnuvardhana's Imperial establishment over the peninsular India made rich vibrations over the Kerala country as well. The conversion of Vishnuvardhana from Jainism to Vaishnavism created two sects among the Jains of Kannada and Kerala country. In the case of Kerala, it is apparent from the acculturated life of the Wayanadan Gavunda community. The architectural and sculptural features of the temples in the Wayanad district further attests this fact. The infiltration of the Hoysalas under the command of Vishnuvardhana into the Chera country could be a reality. The role played by the Vaishnava evangelical commandants of Vishnuvardhana like Sankara could be a fact. These invasions perhaps further given a hard blow to the already declining Chera Empire under the Jain king Rama Kulasekhara.

Consequent to Vishnuvardhana's rule and the simultaneous decline of the Chera Empire, inscriptional evidence show that the cultural transmissions between these two regions through the traders and warriors continued without any interruption. These



transmissions naturally created significant vibrations on the social sphere. Kerala's unique customs and traditions crossed the boundaries and reached the Kannada soil. The social and cultural differences between northern and southern part of Kerala should be read in the light of Hoysala sovereignty in Kerala. The large scale Kannada influence in the cultural and social spheres is particularly evident from the districts of Kasaragod, Kannur, Kozhikode and Wayanad are the crucial example for this inference. This influence is also to be noticed in the fields of language, place names, festivals, rituals, cults, etc. During the period between 11<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE, we can see the emergence and consolidation of the present social and cultural formations of caste structure, religious ambience, language, etc., in Kerala. It is not surprising to find the glorious descriptions of Hoysala towns and cities like Dwarasamudra, Mangalapuram, Tirumarudur, etc., in the medieval Malayalam Manipravalam works like *Unniyachi Charitham*<sup>72</sup>.

These supra-regional relations gave further impetus to the already continuing process of the evolution in the sphere of the Hindu religious formations in the region. The final structuring of the two caste groups such as Nairs and Chetties among the Hindu sections of Kerala ensued during the Hoysala period. Their large scale absorption can be traced from the Jain inland trading community and they began to be known as Jain-setties. The transformation and absorption of the Jains as caravan merchants; as troopers; as diplomats; as administrators created a new socio-religious ambience in all spheres of medieval Kerala.

One of the principal postulations we put forward in the present research is about the assimilation on a large scale Jain followers in the Nair sub-caste of the Hindu fold in Kerala. M.G.S. Narayanan was the first one to propose this hypothesis<sup>73</sup>, but unfortunately, he failed to substantiate it with sufficient evidence. M. R. Raghava Varier also made a sweeping statement about the Jaina affiliation of the *Vaniya* sub-caste among the Nairs<sup>74</sup>. In the present research, we found that there are a number of factors that lead us to reach the final conclusion in this regard.

Firstly, we understood the metamorphosis of the feminine personal name *Neeli* from Jainism into the Nair society. The term *Neeli* is mentioned in the Jain canonical works of *Ratnakarandak Shravakachar* (c.1<sup>st</sup> -2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE), and a Jain literary composition *Neelakesi* (c.1<sup>st</sup> -5<sup>th</sup> century CE) and *Samaya Divakara Vritti* (a medieval commentary

on Neelakesi). In the medieval period, we witnessed the various forms of Neeli as Jain or Hindu deity; as Jain or Hindu house wife; Jain and Hindu Neeli in the vampire traditions; Neeli Yakshi in the Yakshi cult; Nair dancing girls like *Unnuneeli* illustrated by the medieval *Manipravalam* literatures; Neeli named Nair queens; Neeli named Nair princesses; Neeli named Nair courtesans of the Chera kings mentioned in the inscriptions; Neeli named Nair daughter of a military commander of the Hoysala army mentioned in the inscriptions; Neelies among the Nair servants (*Pendiyammar*) in the court of Zamorins evidenced by *Granthavaries* (Manuscript records of the Zamorins of Calicut). Evolution of the Jain masculine name *Yakkan* alias *Yakshan* that later absorbed by the Nairs during the medieval age is another dimension of this process of absorption between Jainism and Hinduism.

Secondly, prominence of the dancing girls in the Jain temples indicated by the references of *Kama Jinalaya* and its attached dancing halls in the Gudnapura inscription<sup>75</sup>; the Mathilakam record of the *Trikunavay* Jain temple speaking about presence of the famous dancing girl (*Pugal Aruvaani*) of Chovarayyoor; other architectural evidences and sculptural representations of erotic element in the Jain temples of different regions including Wayanad; their emergence as the Nair dancing girls like *Unnuneeli*, *Unniyachi*, *Unni Chiruthevi*, *Unniyadi*, etc., illustrated by the medieval Sanskrit Manipravala and Malayalam literature are understood in their sequential development as a part of the Jaina-Hindu assimilation. The importance of *Koothu* (dance) and the presence of *Koothambalams* (dancing halls) in the Jain temples explained by literature like *Silappadikaram* and the inscriptions of Kinalur and Rameswaram Koyil further corroborate their later metamorphosis as Nair dancing girls.

Thirdly, we understood that the importance of *Naga*, *Yakshi*, *Yaksha* and *Nagayakshi* worship among the Nairs could be to continuation of the Jain ancestry in the form of the hooded snake adorning the sculptures of Parsvanatha along with various Yakshis of twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras. The *Naga* cult art forms like *Pampu Thullal* and *Noorum-paalum* becoming prominent in the *Kavus* of Nair community is significant in this regard.

Lastly, we found that most of the Jain monuments and places including the converted temples got connected to the Nairs afterwards. The historical antiquity of the conflict between the *Vadakkedathu Nair* and *Thekkedathu Nair* groups for the control over

*Thrikanamathilakam*, the chief Jain centre of medieval Kerala is a significant one. Another historical fact brought out in this study is the identification of the place *Poothadi* near Pulpalli in Wayanad famous for its remnants of a Jain temple together with an inscription. This place later became the main center of *Poothapadi Padainayars* (Nair commanders from Poothapadi), the regally appointed protectors of the Hindu temples of Wayanad like Thirunelli and Sulthan Bathery. We brought to light the remnants of Jain images inside the rubber estate of a Nair family at Velikkad near Mundur in Palakkad. The Paruvasseri Palliyara Jain (now converted as a Hindu shrine) also had the same feature of Nair affiliation and it could be associated with the Kannambra Nair *Tharavadu* (Kannambra Nair family compound). The Tirthankara images there are still being worshipped as a Hindu deity by Nairs of the locality.

Another important finding of this study is the identification of Ravari (*Ratna Vyapari*=diamond traders abbreviated as *Ravari*) Nairs of Kudukundi (Koyilandi in Kozhikode district) and their association with the famous *Pisharikavu* temple and together with Jainism. The analysis of certain Hoysala inscriptions proved beyond doubt the Jain association of the Ravari Nairs. A suspected Jain idol still resting submerged inside the temple tank which was once owned by a Nair family at Kondampalli near Koyilandy is also significant. The Jain, but converted Hindu temples like Kallil and Chitharal are mostly frequented by Nairs. The hereditary proprietors of the Kallil temple is also a Samantha Nair sub caste called *Pisharody*. *Pisharody* could be derived from two words such as Dravidian *Pichai* (Sanskrit/Malayalam *Bhiksha*) and *Adigal*. *Pichai* means food and other basic needs obtained by asking for alms largely practised by Jain and Buddhist monks. In that sense, *Adigal* who obtain *Bhiksha* became *Pisharody*. The funerary practice of the Pisharody community in burying the dead in sitting posture (*Padmasana*) can be linked to the Jainism. We clearly understood from the analysis of the inscriptions that the term *Adigal* had its Jain origin right from ancient period as a suffix to the Jain monks and nuns. In the present Kerala society, *Adikal* is one of the sub-castes of the Nair community. The priests of the Kodungallur Bhagavathi temple are also called as *Adikal*. It is believed that the installation of the *Kannaki* stone image in the Chera capital adulated by *Silappadikaram* ensued in the same Kodungallur Bhagavati temple and the same *Kannaki* is now worshipping as *Bhagavati*. The Nair organization called *Onnu Kure Ayiram* (The Thousand without One) of present Kodungallur temple had its historical significance

related to the last Jain Perumal Rama Kulasekhara and his shadow force called the *Ayiram* alias *Trikunavay Ayiram* ( The *Trikunavay* Thousand). Similarly the members of other numerical bodies like *Annurruvar* (The Five Hundred), *Arunurruvar* (The Six Hundred), *Ezhunnuruvar* (The Seven Hundred) and *Muvayiravar* (The Three Thousand) were the traditional protectors of the properties of the Kinalur and the Thiruvannur Jain temples were Jain-Nairs. All the aforesaid points definitely support our hypothesis of the Jain-Nair assimilation in the Kerala country.

### **Wayanad and Her Jain Past**

The exclusive geographical features of the Wayanad region greatly influenced her history from ancient period onwards. This territory's easy accessibility from Kannada territories most of the time kept her as an integral part of the political realm which gave her a separate cultural and social identity from the rest of the Kerala. Furthermore, we also found that Wayanad is the only region of Kerala that still have a sizeable population of traditional Jains and their inheritance is clearly traceable from the Kannada-Deccan elements. Besides, we also explored and identified extensive evidences of Jain vestiges in the form of temple remains, sculptures, inscriptions etc., clearly show its distinctiveness from other parts of the Kerala state. The clear-cut Kannada-Malayala acculturated features of the region can be gleaned from her name that evolved from the Kannada *Bayalu-nadu* and Malayalam *Vayal-nadu* as the present 'Wayanad'. On account of that, the present research made a focused study of the ancient and medieval history of Wayanad.

The ancient and the medieval political history of Wayanad has not been properly studied by the previous researches as they depended on the scanty native source material available within the territory of Kerala in general and Wayanad in particular. Here, we shall briefly discuss the broad outlines of the ancient and medieval Political history of Wayanad for a better appreciation of the development of Jainism in this region. On the basis of the two Tamil-Malayalam Vatteluttu inscriptions discovered from Thirunelli temple (Wayanad District), which mentioned the name of Chera-Perumal Bhaskara Varman, historians formed the hypothesis that during the entire medieval period Wayanad region was under the political authority of the Cheras. This study in total contrast clearly unveiled a fact that from ancient period onwards Wayanad region was under the political hegemony of the Deccan-Kannada dynasties like the

Kadambas of Banavasi, Western Gangas, Hoysalas, etc. Our study also unveiled the medieval history of a new ruling family called the Kadambas of Wayanad which exclusively administrated the present Wayanad and contiguous regions of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, which is the major contribution of this research endeavor.

We have inscriptional evidences belonging to the Kadambas of Banavasi to prove the unambiguous Kannada-Deccan dynastic influence over the Wayanad province. Identification of *Multagi* mentioned in the Nilambur plates of Ravivarma Kadamba as the present 'Muthanga' near Sulthan Bathery, along with the reference to Vishnuvarman in the Edakkal cave record, corroborate the records related to the Pallava-Kadamba conflict for the supremacy over the south of Mysore including Wayanad and other parts of Malabar region want to tell the fact, nothing but the Kadamba's political supremacy over the Wayanad region.

The Kadamba presence in the Wayanad region is attested by the epigraphical evidences even during the latter part of the medieval period as well, and this local offshoot known as the Kadambas of Bayal-nad (Wayanad) from the main branch of *Kadamba-Kula* of Banavasi mainly concentrated in the Heggadadevankote (HD Kote) taluk of Mysore and the present northern border regions of Kerala including Wayanad and the Gudalur taluk of Nilagiri district in Tamil Nadu. The Wayanadan Kadamba regime extended during 11<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE and their capital was Kittur near HD Kote which had its ancient name as *Kirttipura*<sup>76</sup>.

The Western Ganga prominence in the Kannada country simultaneously extended over Wayanad region also. During the regnal period of Avinitha and Durvinita, the alliances established through marital relations and military campaigns helped them to keep the well-known *Punnada* country permanently as part of their territory, which comprised of Wayanad region also. Sripurusha's land endowment<sup>77</sup> at Varadur to a Brahmin from Badami and his establishment of a Jain settlement<sup>78</sup> after his name as Sripura in Wayanad or its peripheral areas again confirms the Ganga's prominence in the Wayanad region. The inscriptional<sup>79</sup> evidence further attests the importance of the Ganga feudatories in the Wayanad areas like Koombadi (Kariyambadi). During Ereganga Neetimarga's reign, Bayal-nadu<sup>80</sup> was carved out as a separate administrative division. Making Wayanad as his base camp, Ereganga recaptured the territories lost

by his predecessors like Nadugani and Ooty regions<sup>81</sup>. Subsequently, Wayanad became a bone of contention between his successors, Rachamalla III and Butuga II<sup>82</sup>. It can be stated that the Western Gangas of Talakad, one of the prominent Jain dynasties of Deccan had an unambiguous political supremacy over their Bayal-nadu (Wayanad) territory, which led to the emergence of this region as the hub of Jainism in Kerala.

Our study further proved that the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra also maintained a clear-cut political authority over the present Wayanad district which formed part of the Bayal-nadu province. A large number of Hoysala Inscriptions clearly refer to this region as separate administrative division called *Bayal-nadu vishaya*<sup>83</sup>. Inscriptional sources indicate that their hegemony started from Vinayaditya onwards<sup>84</sup>. The Chola imperialism created some perils to the early Hoysala kings. But the imperialistic strength of Vishnuvardhana sounded the death knell for the Chola supremacy in Karnataka and made Wayanad a permanent outpost of the Hoysalas.

The passes connecting Karnataka and Wayanad definitely nurtured the Hoysala economy by trade with the coastal towns of Kerala. The Hoysala religious affiliation considerably influenced the Wayanadan society. The inheritance of the Wayanadan Jainism must be traced not only from the Jain missionaries of the Kannada country but the traders who largely crossed the traditional trade routes which connected the ancient Kerala and Deccan region. In the case of Hoysala Jainism in Wayanad; up to Vishnuvardhana, it was in a flourishing state. Vishnu's new faith, viz., Vaishnavism absorbed and amalgamated the Jain pantheon thus creating a new and syncretic religious framework in the region.

In the case of Jainism in Wayanad under the Kadambas of Banavasi, the little clue that the identification of the *Multagi* Jain *palli* mentioned in the Nilambur plates<sup>85</sup> of Ravivarma as the present 'Muthanga' near Sulthan Bathery and the identification of the *Kallili* Jain temple of the Gudnapura inscription<sup>86</sup> as the present 'Kallil Palli' near Perumbavoor proves the munificent Jain patronization of the Kadambas in the Kerala country. The presence of traditional Jains with Kannada affiliation in Wayanad, along with the presence of extensive monumental vestiges dating back to the early historic period onwards in Wayanad, Gudalur, Gundlupet, Heggadadevankote, Nanjangud, and other southern regions of Mysore confirm the hypothesis that right from the reign of Kadamba Ravivarman, Wayanad became the main Jain center possessing many Jain

establishments such as *pallis* and temples and other such structural edifices. Furthermore, the synchronization of Jainism of the Ganga phase (named as the Punnada-Jainism) with that of the Kadamba age led to the emergence of 'Wayanadan Jainism' during the period under discussion.

The spread of Punnada Jainism to the North and North-Western India during the supremacy of the Western Gangas and their masters (Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas) or their successors (Hoysalas) further enriched Jainism in the Punnada country and in western India also. The frequent contacts between the Jain monks and traders of both regions created a fertile ground for new acculturation process. The Pambra inscription<sup>87</sup> refers to the names of two prominent Jain monks of the Malwa region, viz., Ratnaprabha-suri and his teacher Chandrasen-suri and their spiritual activities such as the construction of the *panchayatana* style of Jain temple complex in the Wayanad region is one example of such cultural exchange. The presence of the Pragvata community of Jains in the Wayanad region is also identified as the consequence of the cultural interaction between western India and Wayanad regions. The graphic description of the city of 'Vijayapuri' in the literary works of Uddyotana-suri and Ratnaprabha-suri through their *Kuvalayamala* and *Kuvalayamalakatha* indicate the close cultural contacts between the Malwa region and Kerala particularly on account of Punnada country and Wayanadan Jainism.

During the Hoysala age, Ramanuja's Vaishnava philosophy tremendously influenced the cultural and religious history Wayanad. After it, Jain communities of Kannada region including Wayanad must have divided into two groups each professing either Jainism or Vaishnavism. But the ultimate result was the religious assimilation of these two groups. It is clearly evident from the Gowda communities of Wayanad region who still they have two groups such as Vaishnava Gowdas and Jain Gowdas. They worship Jain and Vaishnava deities such as Tirthankaras, Bahubali, Yakshis, Vishnu and Durga under the same roof. Moreover, the architectural and sculptural features of their temples and basties in Wayanad clearly indicate this phenomenon. The Jain and Vaishnava Gowdas are maintaining close family connections including marriage alliances. Sometimes, if the wife is a worshipper of Vishnu, husband professes the Jaina faith, and their children worship both Vaishnava and Jaina deities. This phenomenon happened in the Royal court of Vishnuvardhana also after his conversion from Jainism into Vaishnavism.

The role of the Deccan kingdoms in the historical changes of the Wayanad was not properly understood by the earlier researchers. Most of the Kannada ruling families were good patrons of Jainism naturally nurtured the followers of this faith in their kingdom which included Bayal-nadu. The extra-Kerala inscriptions of the ancient and medieval period as discussed in this thesis proves beyond doubt the key role played by the Kannada dynasties in the spread of Jainism especially in Wayanad and other parts of northern Kerala.

To be concluded, Jainism possibly appears to have entered Kerala before the Common Era. A *Chera Athan* (Chera King) in the Kongar Puliyanakulam Tamil-Brahmi record of c.2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, who endowed a cave to the Jain monks in the territory owned by the Pandya king, is the earliest evidence to support this hypothesis. The Muttupatti inscription of c.1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE refer to *Ko Athan of Muziri* could be another earliest non-native inscriptional evidence in this regard. The potsherd label inscription of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE from Pattanam near Kodungallur is the earliest native evidence in this regard. The literary sources are supportive for the presence of *Punnada-sangha*-the earliest Jain missionary organization in the region. The extensive trading activities between the Western world and the Malabar Coast mentioned by the classical literary works, should be taken as another indication for the spread of Jainism in to the Kerala region because the traders are the natural patrons of Jainism, who might have had established permanent settlements in this region. The trading networks of the ancient world concentrated on the spice trade of Malabar Coast which seems to have attracted large scale migration of the trading populations from various parts of the subcontinent into Kerala.

The fragmentary and meagre evidence of the Jaina vestiges of northern and central Kerala belonging to the early historical and medieval periods should be understood in terms of the large scale urbanization and expansion of human settlements into the remote regions thus obliterating the evidence of the Jaina vestiges. Intensive and problem oriented explorations and excavations will certainly help in unravelling the glorious and splendid history of the noble faith of Lord Mahavira in the Kerala country.



The major findings of this research work can be outlined as follows:

- \* For the first time a comprehensive study of Jainism in Kerala was made by incorporating all the native and non-local inscriptional, other archaeological and literary sources. The inclusion of three unpublished inscriptions is the major contribution of this work. The highlight of the present study is the extensive use of inscriptional evidences in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada.
- \* The present study explored and verified more than seventy historical sites in different parts of Kerala. Of them, more than thirty can be identified as ancient/medieval Jaina vestiges/ temples. This study for the first time and in unequivocal terms established the glorious chapter of Jaina prominence in Kerala.
- \* The antiquity of Jainism in Kerala which hitherto was dated to 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> Century CE, is now pushed back to the Pre Common Era, and it spread in to this region simultaneous to its spread in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka regions.
- \* The role of migrant traders in the spread of Jainism in Kerala is discussed and analysed. The role of trade centres and coastal towns in the emergence of Jain settlements and spiritual establishments such as the *Pallies and Kattamballies* is also clearly established.
- \* The Jaina affiliation of the most of the 'Athan' line of ancient Chera rulers has been identified. The *Elini* or *Yavanika* in the Tirumalai inscription has been identified as the ancient Chera ruler Chenguttuvan. On the basis of the Tirumalai inscription, it is understood that the ancient Cheras were the ancestors of the Perumals of Mahodayapuram.
- \* After the last known Chera Perumal Rama Kulasekhara, we identified one more ruler namely Vidugadalagiya Perumal belongs to the same line of Chera family. The Jaina connection of Rama Kulasekhara could be one of the reasons for the decline of the second Chera Empire. The invasion of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana hastened the process of decline of Perumal kingdom of makkothai.

- \* On the basis of two unpublished Malayalam vatteluttu records along with a Tamil-brahmi inscription, the present Mathilakam near Trissur has been identified as *Thrikanamathilakam* alias *Trikunavay* from where Ilango Adigal authored his epic *Silappadikaram*.
- \* The Jaina affiliated *Trikunavay Ayiram* in the Kollam pillar inscription has been identified as the *Ayiram* shadow force of the Chera king Rama Kulasekhara. The *Ayiram* organization of Rama Kulasekhara was identified as the forerunner of the *Onnu Kure Ayiram Yogam* of Kodungallur temple.
- \* The trade organisations like *Nalpattennayiravar* were associated with the Jain temples in Kerala and paved the way for the emergence of local militias of the Nair warriors in this region such as *Annuttuvar*, *Arunuttuvar*, *Ezhunuttuvar*, *Ayiravar*, etc.
- \* The Jaina association of the terms like ‘Adigal’, ‘Bhattara’, ‘Yakkan’, ‘Neeli’, etc., is established in this study.
- \* One of the principal postulations put forward in the present research is about the assimilation on a large scale Jain followers in the Nair sub-caste of the Hindu fold in Kerala is established.
- \* In contrast to the previous observation about the Buddhist affiliation of Vikramaditya Varaguna by some scholars, this study on the basis of three Chitharal records, has established his Jain affiliation.
- \* This study has clearly established the intimate connections between Kerala and the Kannada-Deccan regions and Tamil Nadu. Right from the *Sangam* Age Cheras, the epigraphical evidences were analysed to establish this historical fact.
- \* The effects of supra-regional powers in the growth of Jainism in Kerala is one of the focal points of this research, which paved the way for the emergence of syncretic Jainism as the amalgamation of both Hindu and Jain pantheons. The historicity of the

peculiar form of Vaishnava-Jainism in the Wayanad region has been comprehended through this research and it could be the most peculiar feature of ‘Wayanadan Jainism’.

- \* The Kadamba of Banavasi relation with the Jains of Kerala has been established on the basis of the identification of Kallili Jain temple in the Gudnapura inscription as the Kalli cave palli near Perumbavoor (Ernakulam) and *Multagi palli* in the Nilambur plates as the Muthanga in Wayanad.
- \* The place name Kunangil in the medieval Kannada records is identified as the Kunavaynallur in the Malayalam vatteluttu inscription from Kinalur in Kozhikode district. *Silagrama* in the Rashtrakuta grant has been identified as the Kallil palli near Perumbavoor in Kerala. Korati in the medieval Malayalam and Kannada records, and Kurandi in the Tamil records have been identified as the famous Jain establishment of Southern Travancore, now existing with the same name Kurandi.
- \* Identification of the origin of the place name *Wayanad* from the Kannada *Bayalu-nadu* is a significant contribution of this study. It is found that from ancient period onwards Wayanad was under the clear-cut political control of the Deccan-Kannada rulers like the Kadambas, Gangas, Hoysalas, etc.
- \* The Sripura Jain palli established by the Western Ganga king Sripurusha has been located in the medieval Bayal-nadu region. During Sripurusha, Koombadi (Paadikumbam or Kariyambadi) in Wayanad could be a Jain center. The identification of the early Jain settlements and its vestiges of Wayanad region are also remarkable.
- \* The present study also unveiled the history of a new Kadamba ruling family which exclusively administrated in the medieval Wayanad. Identification of the ‘Punnada Jainism’ as the ‘Wayanadan Jainism’ is a notable one. The regular movement of the Jain traders and missionaries from the north and the north-western India in Kerala has been understood.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.128.
- <sup>2</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.1-2.p.315-317.
- <sup>3</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.12.p.334.
- <sup>4</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56, p.395.
- <sup>5</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.53.p.391.
- <sup>6</sup> *Pathitruppathu*.2012. pp32-33; Sreedhara Menon, A.1998.pp.74-78.
- <sup>7</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.59.p.399.
- <sup>8</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.80.p.433.
- <sup>9</sup> *EI*, Vol.XIV.1917-18.p.334; *ARMAD*.1938.pp.86, 90; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.49-51; Mahalingam, T.V.1988.pp.89-93; Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.137.
- <sup>10</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.p.136; *Vol*.XXVII.1956.p.204; *SII*, Vol.IV.1986.No.132.p.8; *Vol*. VII. 1932. No.80,847.pp.34,427;*Vol*.XII.1943.No.39,42.pp.16-17; A, Nagaswamy.1970.p.121-125; Mahalingam, T.V.1988.pp.224,281-283,287-288,333-334,338-339,34-350,370-371,409,532;Chatterjee,Asim Kumar.1978.p.212; Sampath, M.D.1968.159
- <sup>11</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.
- <sup>12</sup> *IA*, Vol.VI.1984.pp.30-32; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.121-124.
- <sup>13</sup> *IA*, Vol.VII.1984.pp.33-35; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.129-130.
- <sup>14</sup> *EI*, Vol.XLII.1992.p.188; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.136-140.
- <sup>15</sup> *IA*, Vol. VII.1984.pp.37-38; Gai, G.S.1996.pp.74-76.
- <sup>16</sup> *ARMAD*.1920.pp.23-28; *1921*.pp.8-16,21; *1941*.pp.127-134; *1944*.pp.60-68; *ASMAR*.1912.p.58; *EC*, Vol.III.1894.My.25; *Vol*.IV.1898.Hg.16,103,116,Ng.85; *Vol*.VIII.1094.Nr.35; *Vol*.X.1905.Mr.72; Gd.47; *Vol*.XIV.1943.TN.252; *EI*, Vol.XXXVIII.1981.p.279; *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.155-161; *Vol*.V.1984.pp.133-140; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.43,83,173,145-149,182-189,247-48,267,280-281, 366, 378,427.
- <sup>17</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.137-140; *SII*, Vol.I.1890.No.67-68.pp.95-101; *Vol*.III.Part-III-IV.1987.No.91-92, 97.pp.223-225,229-230; *Vol*.IV.1986.No.366-367.p.104-105; *Vol*.VI.1986. No.443. p.184; *Vol*.VII.1932.No.828-829, 846, 848, 1013, 1015.p.419, 427,481-482; *Vol*.XIII.1952. No.13, 245, 297. pp.5,130,158;*Vol*.XVII.1964.No.1011.p.480;*Vol*.XIX.1967.No.51,80,89.pp.25,41,45;Desai,P.B.

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1957.pp.41-42;Ekambaranathan,A&Sivaprakasam,C.K.1987.No.25,37-39,168,281,283-285,302, 322,339,361,410,413-414,427,435-438,440,442-443,458-459,461-462,470,472-477,500, 503. pp.26, 36-39,111-112,217,219-221,235-236,254,270-271,286-287,290-291,340,343-344,356-357,363-369, 370-372,385-386,388-404,424-425,428

<sup>18</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.67, 73,118,125,131-132,137,141-143,187-188,191,193-194,235-236,240,251-252, 254, 258, 327, 349,397; *Vol.III*.1894. Sr.51,74, TN.97,103, 130,Ml.99, Md.62b, 121,122, Nj.36, 71,96; *Vol.IV*.1898; Ng.28-29, 32, 38-39, 55,70,76,78,98,103,105;Kr.8-10,12, 29, 63, 76, Ch.20, 65, 83, 98, Hs.9, 137, Hg.10; *Vol.V*.1902.Bl.17,58,74,77,89,90,112,118-119,124,137,170,171, 171a, 178, 187, 193, 199,Ak.17-18,22-23,34,42,48,62,71,79,82-83,104-105,108-110,117,119,123-125,149,166, Cn.148-149,172b,179-180,197,203,206,211b,231-232,Hn.47,51-53,65,69,71,102,119,165,Ag.12,53; *Vol.IX*.1905.Cp.179.

<sup>19</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.64.

<sup>20</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923.SB.335, 380; *EC*, Vol.IV.Ng.32. Some other important officials in the Ballala's court like Rechimayya, Bharatimayya, Bahubali, and Nagadeva were also staunch Jains and they achieved much from their master for the patronization of their master faith.

<sup>21</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2017.p.49

<sup>22</sup> Bajji, A.R.1954.p.122.

<sup>23</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.128.

<sup>24</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.12.p.334.

<sup>25</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.56.p.395.

<sup>26</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.p.128.

<sup>27</sup> *IAR*.1973-73.No.38.p.40; Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.50.pp.387, 58-581.

<sup>28</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.89.p.447.

<sup>29</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.88.p.445.

<sup>30</sup> Mahadevan, Iravatham.2003.No.12-13, 36-48, 56, 70, 74, 82.p.155,334-335,369-383, 395, 419, 425, 435.

<sup>31</sup> *Akananuru*.2017.Poem.55, 246.

<sup>32</sup> *Purananuru*.2017.Poem.65-66.

<sup>33</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.331-332; *SII*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76.pp.106-107; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.

<sup>34</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.331-332; *SII*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76.pp.106-107; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.

<sup>35</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.B23.pp.341, 484.

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- <sup>36</sup> *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.784.p.338; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72; *2013*.Index.A62.p.465
- <sup>37</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.pp.130, 145,469; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46.
- <sup>38</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868.pp.65-66.
- <sup>39</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46; Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.pp.130, 145,469.
- <sup>40</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; *2013*.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>41</sup> *EI*, Vol.VI.1900-1901.pp.331-332; *SII*, Vol.I.1890.No.75-76.pp.106-107; Ekambaranathan, A & Sivaprakasam, C.K.1987.No.338.pp.269-270.
- <sup>42</sup> *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46; *SII*, Vol.V.1986.No.784.p.338; *Vol.VII*.1932.No.174.p.74; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-78; *2013*.Index.A62,71,B123,C28.pp130,145,465,469,474,484,495.
- <sup>43</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.12.pp.275-283; *Vol.II&III*.1992.pp.116-117.
- <sup>44</sup> *TAS*, Vol.I.1988.No.284, 287; *Vol.II&III*.1992.p.126; *Vol.IV*.Part-II.1924.No.40.pp.146-148.
- <sup>45</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.p.342.
- <sup>46</sup> *TAS*, Vol.II&III.1992.p.126.
- <sup>47</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.32-35; *IA*, Vol.XXV.1896.p.27.
- <sup>48</sup> *Keralolpathi*.1868.p.58.
- <sup>49</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147; M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.53-57; *2017*.pp.691-701.
- <sup>50</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.
- <sup>51</sup> *IA*, Vol.XXX.1901.p.412.
- <sup>52</sup> *IA*, Vol.V.1984.pp.50-53,154-157.
- <sup>53</sup> M.S, Dhiraj.2015b.pp.50-68.
- <sup>54</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147; M. S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.53-57; *2017*.pp.691-701.
- <sup>55</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.
- <sup>56</sup> *EI*, Vol.IV.1896-97.pp.345, 349; *IA*, Vol.XII.1984.pp.16, 19.
- <sup>57</sup> *EC*, Vol.V.1902.Hn.65.
- <sup>58</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; *2013*.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>59</sup> *SII*, Vol.VII.1932.No.174.p.74; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; *2013*.Index.B23.p.484.

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- <sup>60</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>61</sup> *SHI*, Vo.V.1986.No.784.p.338; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.70-72; 2013.Index.A62.p.465
- <sup>62</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.
- <sup>63</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013a.p.29.
- <sup>64</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.2013.Index.A.71.pp.130, 145,469; *TAS*, Vol.V.Part-I.1924.No.13.pp.40-46.
- <sup>65</sup> *SHI*, Vol.VII.1932.No.174.p.74; Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.76-78; 2013.Index.B23.p.484.
- <sup>66</sup> *SHI*, Vol.VII.1932.No.1015.p.481-482; Ekambaranathan& Sivaprakasam.1987. No.458. p.385.
- <sup>67</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.73-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>68</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>69</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.pp.72-74; 2013.Index.C28.p.495.
- <sup>70</sup> Rangacharya, V.1985.No.852.p.1340.
- <sup>71</sup> *EC*, Vol.II.1923; SB.67,73,118,125,131-132,137,141-143,187-188,191,193-194,235-236,240,251-252, 254, 258, 327, 349,397; Vol.III.1894. Sr.51,74, TN.97, 103, 130, MI. 99, Md. 62b, 121, 122, Nj. 36,71,96; Vol.IV.1898; Ng.28-29, 32, 38-39, 55,70,76,78,98,103,105;Kr.8-10,12, 29, 63, 76, Ch.20, 65, 83, 98, Hs.9, 137, Hg.10; Vol.V.1902.Bl.17,58,74,77,89,90,112,118-119, 124, 137, 170, 171, 171a,178,187,193,199,Ak.17-18,22-23,34,42,48,62,71,79,82-83,104-105,108-110,117,119,123-125, 149,166,Cn.148-149,172b,179-180,197,203,206,211b,231-232,Hn.47,51-53,65, 69, 71, 102, 119, 165, Ag.12,53; Vol.IX.1905.Cp.179.
- <sup>72</sup> *Unniyachi Charitham*.1970.pp.20-22; 2016.pp.75, 77;
- <sup>73</sup> Narayanan, M.G.S.1972.Introduction.p.ix.
- <sup>74</sup> Raghava Varier, M.R.1974.p.22.
- <sup>75</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.
- <sup>76</sup> M.S, Dhiraj 015c.pp.135-148.
- <sup>77</sup> *ARMAD*.1944.pp.60-68; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.145-149.
- <sup>78</sup> *IA*, Vol.II.1873.pp.155-161; *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.85; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.182-189.
- <sup>79</sup> *ASMAR*.1912.p.58; *EC*, Vol.XIV.1943.TN.252; Ramesh, K.V 1984.pp.280-281.
- <sup>80</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.103.
- <sup>81</sup> *ARMAD*.1921.pp.10,21; Ramesh, K.V.1984.pp.366,378.

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<sup>82</sup> *E.C.*, Vol.IV.1898.Hg.116.

<sup>83</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ch.83,Ng.28,32,Hs.137; *Vol.V*.1902.Bl.77,114,137,170,171,199,Ak.48,138, Hn. 65, 69.

<sup>84</sup> *EC*, Vol.IV.1898.Ng.32.

<sup>85</sup> *EI*, Vol.VIII.1981.pp.146-147; M.S, Dhiraj.2015a.pp.53-57; 2017.pp.691-701.

<sup>86</sup> Gai, G.S.1996.pp.107-11.

<sup>87</sup> *ARE*.1960-1961.No.239.P.195.